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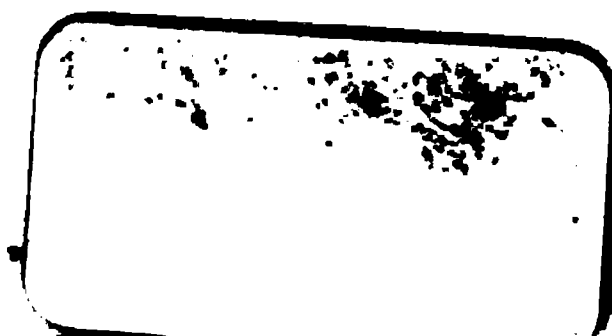
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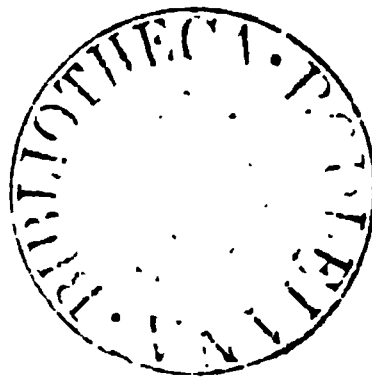
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THE history of attempts to adjust the relation between workmen and their employers in England, extends over a period of more than five hundred years. The first Statute regulating wages was passed in 1350, after a great plague had thinned the labouring class, and when the survivors, taking advantage of the small supply of workmen, were claiming an advance of wages. The animus of the Legislature of the day is shown in the preamble, where this very natural desire is ascribed to idleness and malice, and declared to be the cause of 'great damage of the great men, and impoverishing of all the commonalty.' Farm-labourers were bound down to a certain rate of wages, under penalty of three days in the stocks for disobedience to the law; while workmen in the building trades were exposed to fine and imprisonment at the discretion of the Justices.

At an early period combinations began to be formed among

workmen to free themselves from the effects of this and similar enactments; but the iron fingers of the Legislature were ready to nip such attempts in the bud. So far back as the reign of Henry VI., persons causing general chapters of masons to be held were declared felons, and persons attending such chapters were to be punished by imprisonment and fine. In 1549 an Act was passed to suppress the confederacies of workmen who had conspired together to determine, among other things, how much work was to be done daily, and at what hours and times; and it was declared that any one convicted of such a crime should for the first offence pay £10; for the second, £20; for the third, £40; with the alternative of twenty days' imprisonment, in the first case; the pillory, in the second; and the pillory and loss of one ear in the third. But it was soon found that this law was too stringent, and when, next year, the city of London petitioned against it, on the ground that it would drive away their craftsmen and artificers, and impoverish their city, it was 'made void for ever.' A kindlier spirit towards the labouring classes, however, appeared in some of the legislation of this period; and efforts were not wanting to check the oppression to which they were often exposed. In the fifth year of Elizabeth, an important and well-known enactment was passed, requiring that every workman should have served as an apprentice seven years, and restricting the number of apprentices which masters might employ. Another important provision of this Statute was, that the wages of labour were to be fixed every year by the Justices of the Peace at the Easter Quarter-Sessions. This practice, though the Act was not formally repealed till 1813, had gone into disuse long before.

Meanwhile the industry of Great Britain was beginning to assume a different form. The bodies of workmen working together were often becoming much larger, and the opportunities of combination to defeat the law and advance their interests increased in a corresponding ratio. The Legislature, ever ready to apply its specific, passed Act upon Act, 'prohibiting all agreements or associations of workmen for the purpose of advancing wages, or controlling their masters in the management and regulation of their business; and empowered the magistrate to convict summarily, and punish with imprisonment for two or three months, any workman who should take part in them.'

It cannot be denied that in the whole course of this legislation against 'combinations' the sympathies of the Legislature were for the most part with employers; and the fact must be borne in mind, when attention is turned to the excesses and follies that have accompanied the assertion of their rights by workmen in these recent years of new-found freedom. As

Adam Smith shrewdly remarks: 'Whenever the Legislature attempted to regulate the differences between masters and workmen, its counsellors were always the masters.' Combinations on the part of masters, the same writer remarks, were authorized, or at least not prohibited by law; it was the combinations of workmen only that fell under its lash. Against workmen convictions of breaking the law were taking place constantly; but there is no record of any conviction against an employer. We know how difficult it is to get rid of traditional feelings, even when the occasion for them has disappeared. For nearly five hundred years, with but little interruption, a traditional sense of hard usage, in respect of their relation to their employers, had been working into the soul of the labouring class. To eradicate that feeling it would be reasonable, we apprehend, to allot a period not less than the three generations said to be required for purifying the blood.

No law can have much effect which is not backed by the general conscience of the community; and for want of such backing the 'Combination Laws' were often disregarded. And it must be confessed the temptation to do so was sometimes very great. In the year 1786, for example, the bookbinders of London, whose day of work was from six in the morning to eight at night, applied to four of the masters for a diminution of one hour; the application was followed by the discharge of the men and the apprehension of their leaders, and by a criminal prosecution. Most of the masters combined against the men, and the booksellers backed the masters; but other masters were more favourable, including King George III., who had a bookbinder's shop in the then Buckingham Palace, for keeping in repair the royal library at St. James's, and who was the first to grant the hour. About the same time, the Sheffield cutlers had a strike against the 'extortionate practice' of making thirteen knives to the dozen. An employer who had made himself obnoxious by enforcing this vexatious violation of Cocker, was lampooned in doggrel, characterized by the usual combination of bad rhyme, rough humour, and bitter feeling, especially as regarded the use to be made of the thirteenth knife:—

'Then may the odd knife his great carcass dissect,
Lay open his vitals for men to inspect;
A heart full as black as the infernal gulf,
In that greedy, blood-sucking, bone-scraping wolf.'

At the commencement of the century strikes were common in almost every trade, and the Legislature made a vehement effort in 1800 to extinguish them completely by one other stringent enactment. The attempt was not only a complete failure,

but its results showed that such enactments only stimulated the evil they were meant to cure. At last, a committee of the House of Commons, of which Mr. Hume was chairman, having reported, in 1824, against the Combination Laws, measures were passed repealing them in that and the subsequent year. The immediate effect of the repeal was to give a great impulse to strikes, and the policy of re-enacting the exploded law was seriously considered in 1825. But milder counsels prevailed. In 1838, when an inquiry into the effects of the repeal was made by a committee of the House of Commons, it was reported that its bearing on the conduct of strikes had been on the whole beneficial. There was not so much violence as formerly, and the union men were pronounced by the majority of masters to be the most highly skilled of the operatives, and the most respectable in the trade. Since that time there is a very general concurrence of testimony, to the effect that strikes have been conducted with less of barbarous violence, with an increasing measure of outward self-restraint. No doubt cases of violence do still occur, and the brutal endeavour to blow up the house of the knife-grinder Fearnyhough, at Sheffield, a few months ago, looks as if matters were becoming worse than ever. But unfortunately not a few instances are on record of attempts to blow up houses, and of many other outrages at Sheffield. In the policy of annoyance and vexatious interference with masters, it is unhappily true, as will appear subsequently, that trades-unions have lately become far more offensive than ever they were formerly. But the days when vitriol used to be dashed in the faces of obnoxious workmen, when men at the point of death were brought into court on stretchers to identify the villains that had shot them, when clothes burnt almost to a cinder were produced to show what vitriol had done, when even young women were blinded for life for going against the rules of the union, and when actual occurrences such as these gave a dread significance to threatening letters from the 'captain of the vitriol forces,' dated from 'nine miles below hell,' and to the rough representations of pierced hearts, coffins, pistols, death's-heads and cross-bones that embellished them—such days, we trust, have passed away for ever.¹ Even if no higher principle were in force, the members of trades-unions have common sense enough to see that such atrocities inflict incalculable damage on their cause, and on the very smallest allowance of charity, they must be credited with a sincere desire to prevent their recurrence, although their policy and methods may not be so readily exonerated.

¹ See Parliamentary Report on Combination Laws, 1824 ; and Speech of Sir Archibald Alison at Glasgow at Social Science Conference, Sept. 1860.

In point of numbers, resources, organization, and activity, trade-societies have made marvellous progress. Since the repeal of the Combination Laws, a variety of circumstances has contributed to this result. In forty years the industry of Great Britain has made an amazing stride, and the number of workmen has vastly increased. The application of steam-power has caused the concentration of much larger numbers than in former times, and has thus at once given them facilities for conferring together, and impressed them with a higher idea of their strength. The penny-post, the cheap newspaper, and the railway have bound together the scattered companies and regiments of the army, and greatly promoted unity of sentiment and action. And, rightly or wrongly, the idea has gained a strong hold on their minds, that in the distribution of the profits of production labour has not had its due portion, and that capital has been fattening on the fruits that should have fallen more largely at least, to the workman's share. From the very nature too of the action which trades-unions have taken, they have necessarily tended to enlarged organization and increasing power. We do not allude here, nor shall we in this article, where space is so limited, to those confessedly benevolent and beneficent objects which most trade-societies embrace, the sick-funds and the aid-funds, by means of which they so laudably strive to benefit their members in distress. It is of their economic bearings on the labour-market that we speak, when we say that continual enlargement has been their necessary tendency. For whatever screw-power they can exercise in raising wages and easing labour, is due to the difficulty they cause in the way of employers obtaining labour on easier terms than those which they propose. It was enough in former times that this difficulty was made to exist in the immediate neighbourhood of the employer's work. But in these days, when communication is so easy, when labour can be transported in four-and-twenty hours from one end of the island to the other, it is necessary for the policy of trades-societies that the same difficulty should exist over the whole country; that employers, when they quarrel with their men in London, should find the workmen of Aberdeen and Inverness, of Dublin and Belfast, as stiff and immovable as those who have been working in their yards or mills. Nay more, wider limits must be contemplated than the boundaries of the United Kingdom. The possibility of obtaining foreign workmen on more favourable terms is becoming an important element in the strife, and to carry out in full the policy of trades-unions, it is necessary to take steps for a common understanding and united action among the labourers of all civilized lands. It is no wonder, therefore, that trades-unions

should have been strengthening their position in every possible way. The International Congress of workmen held at Geneva last autumn was an important step towards a union much more wide than the limits of a single kingdom or nationality. And where there are heads clear enough to see, and imaginations active enough to fancy, the *terminus ad quem* of their enterprise, there floats before the mind's eye the vision of a world-wide confederation of labour, an organization that utterly dwarfs the zollvereins, and leagues, and confederations of all past and present time, and before whose overwhelming might, capital, if such a thing should be able to survive at all, would have no alternative but to 'stand and deliver.'

The increasing power and resources of trades-unions since the repeal of the Combination Laws has been clearly shown by the gigantic strikes which have occurred from time to time in some of the most important and extensive branches of our industry. According to Dr. Watts of Manchester (whose calculations, however, have been challenged by unionists), the great strike of the Preston spinners, which lasted thirty-eight weeks, involved a loss of no less than £627,000. That of the amalgamated engineers cost about half-a-million. The cost of colliery strikes can hardly be put down at less. In regard to the actual number of trades-societies, and the members of each, exact information cannot easily be got. The *Daily Telegraph* of 28th January 1867 represents the number of associations as having been, a short time ago, 1800 or 2000. The number of towns in which these societies existed exceeded 400. London had then 290 such bodies; now it has probably more. In Dublin, Glasgow, Liverpool, Sheffield, and Manchester, the number ranged from 45 to 97; and it had been estimated by competent authority that the members of each amounted to about 100. The fifteenth report of the 'Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists, Millwrights, Smiths, and Pattern-makers,' shows that during 1865 nearly £28,500 was added to the accumulated fund, the total amount of which, at the close of that year, was £115,357, 13s. 10½d. During the year there had been an increase of 3583 members, making a total of 30,978. The expenditure during the year was £49,172, 6s. 2d. The society of carpenters and joiners numbered 5670 members, and had a fund of £8320, 13s. 7d., the expenditure for the year having been £6733, 11s. 5½d. At the conference of trades' delegates of the United Kingdom, held at Sheffield in July 1866, there were present 138 delegates, representing nearly 200,000 members. Two things are apparent from these figures: on the one hand, the immense power and resources of the trades-societies of Great Britain; on the other, the fact that

their membership is but a small fraction of the total labourers, skilled and unskilled, of the country.

Much though the bearing of trades-unions on social interests has been agitated, it is surprising how little can be said to have been conclusively settled or placed beyond the reach of controversy. Commonly, when a subject has been long under discussion, there comes to be a general consent on a number of points; either avowedly or tacitly, they are held on both sides to be established, or at least they cease to be objects of contention. In the discussions that have taken place on combinations and strikes, it is remarkable how little there is that on both sides can be said, as yet, to be admitted or established. Whether there is a real call and ground for combinations of workmen, or whether the self-acting rule of supply and demand would not sufficiently regulate the remuneration of labour; whether combinations and strikes have had any effect in increasing wages, or whether wages would not have risen at least as much without them; whether the mass of working men go voluntarily into them, or whether they are not coerced by clever agitators, who love pre-eminence and pay; whether or not the labourer has a right to know anything about the profit of the business to which he contributes his share of work and skill, and to adjust his demands accordingly; whether or not courts of conciliation would contribute to the peaceful solution of the differences of masters and men, and if so, how they should be constituted,—on all such questions as these, there cannot be said to be anything like agreement between both parties. Such is the mistiness that envelops the subject, that it is almost amusing to observe the differences as to plain matters of fact that sometimes characterize the statements of masters and men when a dispute occurs. One would think it would not be very difficult to agree in a statement as to the wages actually earned by workmen, the rates of pay actually current in a work. Yet in colliery disputes, for example, there sometimes occur, or used to occur, so many deviations, or alleged deviations, from obvious weights or measurements, that very great diversities arose in the statements of masters and men. Thus, in the West Yorkshire coal-strike and lock-out of 1858, Mr. Ludlow alleges that the two statements were irreconcilable, and he accounts for the fact on the supposition that the employer reckoned the ton of coal at twenty-one cwt., both for sale and for wages, while the men asserted that for wages he reckoned it at twenty-five. This, again, would seem to depend on the size of the ‘corves’ filled by the colliers, which they asserted had grown ‘like an oak-tree out of a sapling,’ while the master affirmed that they had undergone no alteration in size during

twenty years.¹ Similar differences in fundamental data have occurred in many other trade disputes. Nor can it be said that there is much to encourage the hope that the mist which envelops the whole subject will speedily clear away. The interests, and therefore the feelings, of both parties have been so much involved in the warfare, that it has been almost impossible for them to take that calm and impartial view of the question which is favourable to a common understanding; and at the present moment, the battle rages with such heat that we can hardly hope to secure even a patient hearing. We may, however, cherish the belief that there are not a few earnest truth-seekers on both sides, to whom views which have been formed after much investigation and reflection, and which are offered not in the spirit of the partisan, but in that of the mediator, will prove neither unwelcome nor useless.

One thing about trade combinations may be held as sufficiently established—they are a great fact. Whether they ought to exist or not may with some be a question; that they do exist, and have every likelihood to continue to exist, is about as certain as that standing armies and navies will continue ever so long among the institutions of civilized nations. No one seriously proposes the re-enactment of the Combination Laws, or fancies that it would be possible to administer them if they were again placed on the Statute-book. Mr. Edmund Potter of Manchester, though a decided enemy of unions, admits that ‘strikes, as the action and the almost inevitable result of commercial bargaining for labour, will always exist.’ Mr. T. J. Dunning, whose pamphlet on trades-unions and strikes is a very creditable specimen of calm and sober reasoning on the workman’s side, and who deprecates strikes as a state of moral warfare, and productive of that mutual bitterness which ensues from all war while it lasts, is notwithstanding clearly of opinion, ‘from long experience of their results to journeymen, both of success and defeat, that there is no proper alternative, in certain cases, but the position of a strike.’ It were Quixotic, therefore, to raise the question at present, whether there ought to be combinations of any kind. The tug of war must be on their practical administration, the ends they contemplate, and the means they employ for the attainment of these ends. It is to these that we propose to devote the remainder of our article.

¹ In the chain-makers’ strike in 1859-60, no agreement could be come to between the parties either as to what was the average amount of existing wages, the men putting it at less than 15s. per week, the masters at 30s.; or as to the extent of the advance demanded, the masters estimating it from 10s. to 12s. for all the higher labourers, the men from 5s. to 8s.

No good can arise from those sweeping and unqualified denunciations of either side which have been common even in our higher classed periodical literature. It is easy to set up a man of straw, and tear him to pieces. It is easy to say that trade-societies have not the confidence of the working classes, that they are managed by selfish and interested demagogues, that their conductors are utterly blind and unreasoning, ignorant of the most elementary rules of political economy, reckless of every ulterior consequence, bent only on obtaining the immediate advantage for which they are contending, and that therefore such institutions are unmitigated evils. We do not deny that some facts do give a certain colouring of truth to these charges. But in dealing with the subject, we are willing to admit that it is alike unfair and inexpedient thus to characterize the supporters of combination. We will admit that, with exceptions, working men are in favour of combinations as being, in their view, beneficial to their interests; that the delegates whom they choose generally enjoy their confidence; and that the measures which they devise are those which they consider best fitted in the circumstances to promote the welfare of the class. We will admit that there is some ground, more or less plausible, for each of the positions which trades-unions maintain in their conflict with employers; and we will endeavour to state, as far as possible in their own terms, and in the most favourable way for them, the reasons they have for all that they claim.

The avowed object of trades-unions and combinations, then, is to secure for the workman that share of the profit of production which is due to labour. That labour in past times has not obtained its fair share is inferred by the advocates of these unions from the fact that many employers have made large fortunes, and that most of them live in a style of comfort that indicates an abundant profit. It is not actually denied that the law of supply and demand is that by which the remuneration of labour ought to be regulated. It is rather maintained that the different circumstances of capitalists and labourers prevent that law from operating freely, and from determining equitably what the one ought to give, and the other to take, for his labour. If the law of supply and demand is to work fairly, the pressure, so to speak, on buyer and seller ought to be equal. If one of the parties be subject to a pressure which the other does not feel, the fair action of the law will be interfered with. If the one requires to sell his commodity immediately, but the other does not require to buy immediately, the advantage is on the side of the purchaser. The owner of an estate, or of a house, or of a horse, may sometimes be so situated that he must sell at once, for whatever the article will fetch. But in such a case he does

not get the proper market value for it. To enable him to do so, he must be in no greater haste to sell than the other to buy. To apply this to workmen and capitalists, labour is the commodity which the one wishes to dispose of to the other. But it is affirmed that singly labourers are not on an equality in entering the market. The labourer lives on his earnings from week to week, and usually supports a family on them, and therefore cannot wait. The capitalist has other means of living, and does not require to buy at once. The labourer is thus exposed to the risk of selling his commodity through necessity for anything it will fetch at the moment. To remedy this evil he combines with other labourers. By this means a fund is accumulated which gives him support if the employer and he differ as to terms, and he is saved the necessity of parting with his labour at a sacrifice. By this means, too, he is enabled to frame other conditions for the disposal of his labour. He believes that he then, and only then, enters the market on equal terms with the employer, when he can say, without fear of being undersold,—‘Here is my labour, here is the price at which I will sell it, and here are the conditions on which I will yield it.’ To place him in this position is the avowed object of trades-unions.

Without either admitting or questioning the soundness of this reasoning, let us mark one inevitable result of the policy which it suggests. The individual labourer forms a union with other labourers, and with such success, we shall suppose, that the great mass of his fellow-craftsmen agree to support him, and to support one another in bargaining for the disposal of their labour, and subscribe large funds for the purpose. How does this affect the position of the employer? Very clearly, when he goes now into the labour-market as an individual, the tables are completely turned. The pressure of necessity which formerly was presumed to bear upon the labourer now bears upon the employer. The labourer can now bide his time. But the individual employer cannot wait indefinitely. His capital is limited, and it will soon be wasted, if it be not employed. Or let us suppose that he has certain contracts in hand. Heavy penalties are incurred if the contracts are not fulfilled within a limited time. It is evident that it is he that must now go into the labour-market at a disadvantage, and buy the labour he needs at whatever price, and on whatever conditions may be demanded. Such at least is his position if he act singly, and without combination with other employers. It is therefore in self-defence that he tries to form such combination. A union of masters is regarded as necessary to restore the equilibrium which the union of workmen has disturbed. If a union of

workmen be necessary to prevent the individual workman from having to sell his labour at a disadvantage, a union of masters is necessary to prevent the individual master from having to purchase his labour at a disadvantage. The masters' union is the result of the workmen's; and the lock-out is the consequence of the strike. We are reasoning at present on abstract principles, and without reference to actual cases, where particular circumstances may render our logic inapplicable. But undoubtedly there is a point at which the necessity which urges the workmen to unite is transferred from them to the employers. Some employers, however, complicate matters by combining for the avowed purpose of breaking up the union of the men. It may be that they are driven to this. But it looks as if the masters claimed to themselves a right which they denied to the men. With the intense sensitiveness of the men as to equal rights, the avowal of such a purpose, sought in such a manner, must be exasperating. Each party has a right to combine to obviate the necessity of going into the market at a disadvantage; but neither has a right to combine to break up the combination of the other.

But it is time to advance from the abstract to the concrete. What, in point of fact, is the policy of trades-unions, when they try to make their own bargain,—what are the conditions they impose, or seek to impose, when they offer their labour to capitalists for sale?

The answer to this question may be comprised in some half-dozen particulars:—1. They seek to establish certain standard rates of wages, beneath which no employer shall be at liberty to pay his men. 2. To limit the hours of labour, and especially to discourage or do away with the practice of working overtime. 3. To discourage or do away with the practice of piece-work. 4. To limit the number of apprentices. 5. To prevent the employment of non-union men along with or in room of unionists. 6. In certain cases, to oppose the introduction of machinery, or the employment of unskilled labourers in the working of machinery. Other points may occasionally be insisted on, but, speaking generally, we may say that these six embrace the chief demands which trades-unions have been wont to make.

In order to sift thoroughly the character and the tendency of these, or any other conditions of a similar kind, it will be proper to inquire—I. Whether or not it be a right thing to trammel the labour-market with any artificial restrictions, instead of allowing a perfectly free trade in labour; II. What the precise merit or demerit is of each of the restrictions contended for, especially as regards the workman, and whether or not, according to the recognised laws of political economy, they tend to

secure the end for which they are designed ; and III. What their bearing is on the position of employers—whether or not they are compatible with that freedom and self-respect, and with that sense of responsibility for the right conduct of his undertaking, without which the position of a master is but a mockery, and the management of business a worry not to be borne.

I. Nothing, it has often been said, succeeds like success ; and the marvellous success of free-trade, as recently carried out in this country, has made it necessary for persons who contend for restrictions in any branch of business to stand on the defensive. But it does not follow, as a matter of course, that because free-trade has succeeded in one sphere, it ought to be applied out and out in every sphere. In the main, free-trade is a question of expediency. The only principle of a moral or religious nature applicable to it is, that it is the will of God that the superabundant products or commodities of one region should be readily available for the supply of other regions, and that it is a sin to frustrate this benevolent purpose by artificial restrictions, designed to promote the interests of a class. Now, it will hardly be contended that this principle has to do with the question whether labourers are entitled to place any restrictions on the sale of their own labour. What remains to be pleaded in favour of free-trade is, its great expediency—the remarkable comfort, certainty, quickness, and expansiveness of commercial transactions untrammelled by restrictions. It is this expediency that has received such marvellous illustration in the commercial policy of recent years. But although it is certainly very desirable that all business be transacted with as few fetters as possible, it is not imperative that there be no fetters. In fact, a higher expediency may render the imposition of some fetters indispensable. The interests of public health, or of public safety, or even the demands of national revenue, may be regarded sufficient to justify restrictions in trade. For such reasons the sale of poisons, of gunpowder, and of intoxicating drinks, is subjected to somewhat rigid restrictions. The free-trade expediency is checked by higher expedencies ; and fetters condemned by the one are restored at the demand of the other.

But perhaps the case of the labour-market itself furnishes the best illustration of the propriety of occasional restrictions in the exchange of commodities. For, side by side with the advance of our free-trade policy, there has been carried out a policy of limitation in the employment of labour. The Ten Hours Act is one result of this policy ; so is the prohibition of

female labour in certain employments, and of infant labour; so also is the half-time system; and indeed the whole arrangements connected with the public inspection of factories and mines, and the provisions which such inspection is designed to enforce. This is no doubt true; and, under shelter of such precedents, trades-unionists sometimes argue that they are entitled to lay upon the sale of labour the restrictions which they contend for. But before this conclusion could be justified, they would require to make out that a higher expediency than that which calls for free-trade demands such restrictions, and especially that such restrictions are called for in the interest of the public. For restrictions in the interest of public health, or public safety, or public morality, are one thing, and restrictions in the interest of a section of the community, are another. Restrictions of the nature of protection, going to constitute a monopoly, contracting the energies of industry, clipping the wings of enterprise, are those of which our free-trade experience has made us most jealous. Trades-unions would require to show that the restrictions which they propose are not of this character, and they would need to be the more particular in their proof, from the circumstance that our past experience of guilds and other protected industries has not been favourable. Our history shows that it is not in the old seats of protected industry, not round the dull and venerable halls where hammersmiths and cordwainers have held their lifeless meetings, that our modern industry has gathered its resources and achieved its matchless triumphs, but in new, unheard-of places—in Manchester, Leeds, Rochdale, ‘Birmingham by Warwick’ (as letters have been addressed within the present generation); not in Dublin, but Belfast; not in Edinburgh, but Glasgow; not in the fair city of Hal’ o’ the Wynd, but its *parvenu* neighbour, Dundee. The *onus probandi* is thrown upon the advocates of restriction, and proof must be brought forward that the measures which they plead for are not calculated to paralyse industry, or to promote the welfare only of one class. The restrictions themselves must then be examined individually, and their true character and bearing ascertained.

II. We proceed, accordingly, to examine in detail the several restrictions sought to be imposed by trades-unions on the free sale of labour, and to inquire whether these restrictions are in themselves justifiable, and whether, according to the laws of political economy, they tend to secure the end for which they are designed. In doing so, we shall first endeavour to state, as fairly as we can, on the one hand, the arguments by which the several demands are in wont to be enforced by their more tem-

perate advocates; and on the other, the objections to which they are liable.

(1.) In regard to the claim for *standard rates of wages*, where the men are paid by time, we find, at the outset, an important difference in defining the real meaning of this claim. If we take Mr. Dunning's account of it, it does not mean that all workmen—good, bad, and indifferent—should be paid alike; and it is not liable to the objection that it drags down the superior workman to the level of the inferior. It means that a certain rate should be fixed as the *minimum*, below which wages should not fall, leaving the employer to pay for superior skill, or working ability, as much more as he pleases, or as the man can obtain. It excludes a master from employing men at a lower rate, even though he should judge them, or they should be admitted to be, decidedly inferior workmen. The reason alleged for it is, that it is necessary as a barrier against the introduction of the 'sweating system,' a system that takes advantage of the urgent necessities of working men, and constrains them to work at rates that, in their effects, are alike demoralizing and ruinous. It is admitted that, in point of fact, the *standard* rate usually becomes the *average* rate of payment, and this is justified on the ground that most men are entitled to it, as being of average ability, and that the deficiencies of some are made up by the surplus work of others. Although it is denied that the regulation is *designed* to make the abler and more skilled workmen do less work than they would do under a system of graduated payment, it is hardly questioned that its *tendency* is in this direction. It is hardly to be supposed that when the wages received are uniform, the quicker and abler workman will do more work than his slower neighbour. Why should he work more than the average amount, he asks, when he receives no more than the average pay? Would a clever writer in a review or magazine, capable of doing double the work of another in the same time, write two sheets for the pay of one, if he were engaged by time? And if it be said that the master, by this system, has no redress against inferior workmen, whose work is decidedly worth less than their pay, the reply is he can dismiss them. Whenever a slack time comes, he can weed out the inferior hands; and the dislike of being dismissed, or of being superseded, acts as a check against the abuse of the regulation.

However this may be, the general effect of the arrangement, it is affirmed by masters, is to lessen the daily amount of work. In certain trades, masters complain bitterly that the work done in a given time is greatly less than it was twenty years ago.¹ This

¹ Employers of masons, for example, complain that the number of strokes given with the mallet per minute is smaller than it used to be. In a pro-

is ascribed, not so much to the predominance of a lazy habit among the men, as to the influence of a notion that has taken hold of them, that by lessening the amount of work they increase its value. By creating an artificial scarcity of labour, they believe that they increase the market value of that labour. This notion we shall have to examine fully afterwards, for we shall find that it lies at the foundation of most of the restrictions which the trades-unions contend for. Meanwhile, we may remark that the establishment of a standard or uniform rate of wages, though not relished by masters, does not seem to be one of the demands against which they are disposed to wage mortal war, provided the rates proposed are such as they think they can accept of.

(2.) We come then to the second demand—the limitation of the hours of labour. In favour of such limitation two kinds of argument are usually employed. In the first place, there is the consideration of health and morality,—a most valid and reasonable one within certain limits. Thus, in a petition to Parliament, the colliers of West Yorkshire have alleged as ‘a well-known fact, that the longer the men are employed, the more liable are they to become allured by intoxicating drinks, or other debasing habits.’ In any case, the exhaustion caused by toil requires the use of restoratives, but the restoratives provided by nature—simple diet, sleep, social intercourse, fresh air, games, scenery, music, religious services—are for the most part slow in their operation. Hence, when toil has been protracted to extra hours, restoratives of more rapid action are sought after, and intemperance is greatly promoted. At the discussion on trades-unions in Glasgow in 1860, Mr. Fergus, who began by saying that he utterly abhorred and detested strikes, referred to the case of the engineers of Lanarkshire, a class with whom he had become acquainted some thirteen years before, and who then spent their evenings most rationally; but by competition a system of overtime had been introduced, which had wrought great damage to their physical and moral nature. The evil was far greater than was generally supposed, and it wrought amongst the men physical decay, premature death, and in some cases insanity.

In so far as workmen seek to reduce the hours of labour to cession of masons at Edinburgh last autumn, a figure, representing a stonemason, who gave a stroke with his mallet when the bearer pulled a string, was declared by the masters to be a most faithful symbol of the unionist stonemason. The number of strokes per minute was extremely small, corresponding to what used to be called, in the kingdom of Fife, ‘Cupar time,’ as distinguished from ‘Auchtermuchty time;’ and the strokes were given just as the string-puller directed,—the real string-pullers being the heads of the union.

such limits as the average human frame is adapted to bear, and desire more leisure for self-improvement, their object must commend itself to every honest Christian heart. Besides, the community has selfish reasons, if it would think of them, for desiring that workmen be not made to labour beyond their strength. Wherever there is excessive labour, the death-rate and the poor-rate are increased, and widows and orphans in large numbers are thrown on the public for support. But probably there is no class to whom overtime is so hurtful, in a general point of view, as to employers themselves. When their men are working overtime, and drawing for that time the extra wages which are paid for it, they are actually doing less work for more pay. They are contributing exhausted, or at least impaired energies, and for that they are receiving more than in ordinary circumstances they get for the application of energies fresh and unimpaired. They are tiring themselves for their ordinary daily work; for a man working hard till eight or ten o'clock at night is not the same man at six next morning as he used to be, and not able to work as hard. It is but natural then that employers should be as much against overtime as workmen. What they plead, in certain trades, such as that of engineers is, that the heavy expense of their machinery and tools, and the peculiar character of the work they produce, render overtime, piece-work, and irregularity of employment an unavoidable and certain incident of their calling.

'We cannot, like the spinner, the weaver, or the cloth-worker, manufacture on speculation, and produce without order, certain that ultimately the article will be required, and must always be in demand. We can only produce to order, and we must produce our commodity *when* it is ordered. Our customers require all their purchases for a special purpose, and at a special time. Perhaps they are useless to them unless supplied when stipulated; certainly they will cease to employ us if we fail to finish to our time.'

There is obviously force and reason in these considerations, but there are other employments where the men are engaged under regulations that seem to set every consideration of health and comfort at defiance. We refer to engine-drivers, stokers, and other railway employés, whose hours of labour, at least on some lines, are one of the most unfathomable of the many mysteries of railway management. Ever and anon we hear of men who are not off work for days and nights in succession, beginning their duty perhaps on a Monday evening, and not leaving it till the following Wednesday. It is humiliating that it should be in our new industries that such barbarous instances of disregard of the laws of nature are commonly found to occur.

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Without entering here on the question (which will be touched on afterwards), whether the application of machinery does really lessen the demand for manual labour, we remark that the pith of the argument lies in this, that the workman is justified in restricting his day’s labour, in order to make room for the employment of as many of his brother craftsmen as possible. A certain amount of labour, he reasons, is needed for the work of the country; we must contrive that as many of us as possible be employed to do it; in order to this we must get the hours of labour shortened, and at the same time we must try to secure that our wages are not diminished. We do not deny that the argument is well-meant, that it is designed to promote the good of the brotherhood generally; but unless we are mistaken greatly, it is just one of those arguments that, if carried to its consequences, as we shall try to show by-and-by, would paralyse industry, and drive it, not to some hitherto unknown centre of activity within the British isles,—some Birmingham, or Leeds, or New Lanark,—but beyond the outskirts of the United Kingdom, to colonies alive with youthful enterprise, or to foreign countries, where, if they would but adopt the Celtic motto, ‘*Olim marte, nunc arte*,’ hundreds of thousands of young fellows, by beating their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, might so stimulate their national industries, that most formidable competition would be created to our own.

(3.) The argument against *piece-work* rests largely on a similar basis. In some occupations no attempt is made to disturb piece-work; but where it is open to an employer either to engage by time or by the piece, the feeling of unionists is in favour of the former. It is felt that when men are paid by piece-work the stimulus to work more than they ought to work is too great to be resisted; that work is thus confined to a limited number

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of workers ; that those who may be going idle have neither a fair share nor a fair chance ; that too high a notion is conveyed of what a day's work ought to be ; that the wages earned are apt to be considered too large, and that encouragement is thus given to masters to attempt to lower the rate of remuneration. In the iron-trades, piece-work, like overtime, is peculiarly obnoxious to the men. On the 11th July 1851, the council of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers issued a circular to all their branches, annexed to which was a schedule of questions, which members were asked to fill up. Two of the questions inquired how many members were in favour of, or against, piece-work ; and how many in favour of, or against, systematic overtime ? Out of 11,800 members upwards of 9000 voted, and of these only 16 were in favour of piece-work and systematic overtime. In arguing with their employers on the subject, they said, that the same reasons that were applicable to overtime were capable of being urged against it.

‘ Whatever evils spring from men working longer hours than is consistent with their health or moral wellbeing spring from piece-work to the full as much as from overtime. By it men are incited to work as long as exhausted nature will sustain itself, and in addition, it leads them to hurry over their work, and leaves it imperfectly finished when defects may be concealed.’

On the other hand, it is argued in favour of piece-work, that it is by far the most likely way of enabling the able workman to rise to the position of an employer.

‘ Many of ourselves,’ said the Master Engineers, ‘ have traced their rise from the position of employed to that of employers, to the opportunities afforded by piece-work, which enabled them to become small contractors, and thereby to avail themselves of the rewards of their directing skill. As it is the fairest and least fallible test of the value of labour, and best enables the master to make his estimates with security, so it is the line which measures off the expert and industrious workman from the lazy and unskilful ; and above all, it is the lever by which patient merit and superior intelligence raises itself above the surrounding level, and enables society to reward, and to profit by, mechanical genius and energy, as well as by respectability of character.’

There is no doubt that there is much force in these considerations, and their bearing on the interests of the workmen is obvious. Very likely, however, workmen would deny that in general they are allowed to reap the full fruit of the system, and would be ready to bring forward instances in which mechanics who had invented some improvement in the mode of working were deprived of the benefit of their invention. The main objection to piece-work, however, arises from the tendency

believed to be inherent in it, to lower the general remuneration of work. This question we reserve for after discussion.

(4.) Regarding the employment of apprentices, there are obvious reasons to account for the eager desire prevalent among workmen to limit their number. As a man advances in life, the feeling must gain upon him that he is less eligible than he once was to employers, and that younger men have the advantage. The grey whisker, as some one has said, is the worst letter of recommendation a workman can carry, and it is a letter he cannot suppress or conceal. A flood of youthful labourers pressing round employers is one of the most painful visions that can rise before him. Under the pressure of circumstances he sees that employers as a rule are not in favour of old workmen. In the regulation of many establishments the law of selfishness is predominant without a check; and even those masters who have heart enough to be unwilling to dismiss an old servant, sometimes find convenient excuses for telling him to go. Employers of a certain rank sometimes fall upon contrivances for getting no small amount of work performed by boy-labour; some have even been known to accumulate fortunes rapidly upon savings derived from the employment of children. What workmen chiefly dread, if no limit be placed on the number of apprentices is, that the market shall be flooded by a surplus supply of labourers; consequently that there will be a general fall in wages, and that the older and feebler workmen will go to the wall.

Besides this, it is alleged that it is the function of the journeyman to instruct the apprentice, and that therefore the former is entitled to stipulate as to the amount of time and trouble he will become liable for in doing so. The Amalgamated Engineers, in one of their documents, when asked whether they did not acknowledge the right of an employer to engage any industrious man he pleased, said that they did, but that they did not acknowledge his right to compel them to instruct an ignorant workman. In like manner, if the employer would undertake to teach the apprentices, he might have as many as he liked; but if they had to instruct him, they begged to be allowed to say how many they would undertake. The consequence of a horde of apprentices is affirmed by the Sheffield workmen to be that they are not properly taught, and therefore not qualified as efficient or first-class workmen. Such half-taught lads will be welcome to the manufacturers of cheap goods, who do not bring into the market a trustworthy manufacture, but are bent on underselling the respectable dealer. The effect of their admission is to derange the trade, to perplex if not deceive the public, and to discourage the first-class producer.

The limitation of the number of apprentices in a trade would be of little use, if it were not coupled with a provision that none but those who have served a regular apprenticeship shall be eligible for employment as workers in the trade. This demand is enforced by the consideration that it would be unjust to put persons who have not served an apprenticeship on the same level with those who have. Some persons go so far as to argue that a period of servitude, as it is called, confers something like a legal right to all the benefits of the craft in which the apprenticeship has been served. The Railway Spring-makers' Society address their members thus :—

‘ Considering that the trade whereby we live is our property, bought by certain years of servitude, which give us *a vested right*, and that we have *a sole and exclusive claim upon it*, as all will have hereafter who purchase it by the same means, it is evident that it is every man's duty to protect by all fair and legal means the property whereby he lives, being always equally careful not to trespass on the rights of others.’

It is surely clear to common sense that when people come to speak of a ‘vested right’ in any craft, or of a ‘sole and exclusive claim’ upon it, or of having ‘purchased’ it, or of its being their ‘property,’ they have got into the region of wild fanaticism. As a mode of securing due instruction to apprentices themselves, and as affording tolerable security to employers and to the public for their efficiency, the apprenticeship system may be very fairly defended. And in professions where the public can hardly judge of a man's ability to do what he undertakes, such as that of the law or that of medicine, the security afforded by his having passed through an apprenticeship, and been licensed by a competent body, is of considerable, though not complete or exhaustive value. But on what principle can a man claim a vested right to an employment, simply because he spent four, five, or seven years in trying to learn it? To do this is to confound the means with the end. The apprenticeship is the means; efficiency as a workman, or ability to do the work, is the end. An apprenticeship of ten thousand years would give no man a vested right, or a right of any sort, to any work, if he were not able to do it. Acknowledged ability to do the work is the only valid kind of claim any man can have to a craft, and that claim is not a vested right. Fancy the absurdity of trying to exclude any one from writing a newspaper article, or reporting the proceedings of a meeting, because he had not passed through a five years' apprenticeship! In ordinary circumstances, an apprenticeship affords a presumption that a man is an efficient workman; but if his efficiency can be demonstrated

otherwise, the absence of the apprenticeship cannot fairly exclude him. Was George Stephenson trespassing on 'vested rights' when, without having served an apprenticeship as an engineer, he set himself to make locomotives? Was Richard Arkwright, the barber, committing a robbery when he turned spinner, or Dr. Cartwright, when he turned weaver, without an apprenticeship? Let apprenticeship be defended ever so warmly as a benefit to the young workman, and as a *prima facie* evidence of qualification; but never let it be seriously upheld as conferring a vested interest, or an exclusive right to the benefits of the craft.

On the other hand, one can understand the apprehensions of workmen, that by opening the door to an unlimited number of apprentices, or by throwing all crafts open to all and sundry, whether they have served an apprenticeship or not, the skilled workman would be overwhelmed with the unskilled, and the market would be overstocked with labourers. On this we remark, that, as a general rule, those trained to an employment in youth will always be preferred, and that the evil of an excessive rush of apprentices to any trade will be sufficiently checked in the end by the difficulty of finding employment. Besides, the rigid limitation of the number of apprentices is against the policy of free trade. And if a rigid limitation is enforced in all trades, what is to become of the surplus boys? If they must not learn a trade, they must go to swell the ranks of the unskilful, or of the *classe dangereuse*; they must either become hewers of wood and drawers of water, or worse. But is not the class of unskilful labourers in reality that which is most overstocked? Is it not the class for whose improvement something has most need to be done? Is it not really the most helpless and defenceless of any? And is that class to be excluded altogether from the sympathies of the privileged craftsman? It is easy to draw a circle round a particular craft, and say to all but a limited number, 'You shan't come here.' It is easy to draw fifty such circles, and to say the same thing in the case of every existing craft. But what becomes of the excluded? And is society on the whole the better for having all its surplus labour thrown into this great *proletaire* class, this mixed multitude that dwell in the camp of the chosen people, but are only of the uncircumcised? When a battle is raging, it is not wonderful that each side should maintain an exclusive regard to its own interests, and refuse to look beyond; but on those who are not so engaged, it is incumbent to embrace a wider field, and endeavour to secure arrangements which will be for the welfare of the whole population.

(5.) The next limitation with which we have to deal is that which goes to exclude non-unionists from working along with, or

in room of union-men. As this is one of the most prominent of the usual conditions of trades-unions, and has very much to do in shaping their policy, it is necessary that we examine it with the greater care. The issue here between the opponents and the upholders of the policy of trades-unions is very distinct. We admit every man's right, say the former, to make a bargain with an employer for the disposal of his labour. We admit the right of any number of men to combine for the same purpose. But we utterly and indignantly deny their right to coerce other workmen, or to interfere between them and an employer as to the terms of their engagement. Now, this is the very position which the champions of trades-unions dispute. They affirm that they have a right to interfere between employers and workmen who differ from them, as to the terms on which they will labour. Their plea is, that they have a general right to prevent these men from making an arrangement which will be hurtful to their interests; that is, which will tend to bring down or keep down the current rate of wages. More particularly, they urge, that as wages are kept up, and the interests of workmen generally are promoted by the exertions of the unions, supported by the contributions of their members, those who do not belong to the union reap where they have not sown, and ought to be compelled to contribute to an institution whose benefits they share :—

'The men,' says Mr. Dunning, 'naturally expect that every man should pay his quota for an advantage which he enjoys in common with the rest. . . . In fact, whatever is deemed to be the right and proper course for the welfare of all, by the majority of a community or body of men, and adopted by it in the aggregate, will be sure to be considered by that community as the duty of all to adopt and carry out. In fact, it is its public opinion; and how potent public opinion is, need not be repeated. And if that course involves a money-payment, he who refuses or attempts to shirk that payment will always be, let him be of what class of society he may, "coerced" by its public opinion.'

This is sufficiently strong; but that it is no over-statement of the views which have been adopted by the leaders of trades-unions, and carried out with tremendous energy, will be apparent if we quote from a leading article in *The Beehive* newspaper of November 3, 1866, the recognised organ of the unionists :—

'A trades-union is a combination of workmen to keep up the price of their labour, and to keep down the hours of their labour; and to make the combination effective the members have to expend much time, trouble, and money. There are thirteen men working in one shop, twelve of whom are members of the union, and the thirteenth

holds aloof from it, but yet he reaps the benefit of the time and money expended by the other twelve, in receiving the same high wages, and working the reduced hours; for, were it not for the combination to which his twelve fellow-workers belong, he would in all probability be working at a lower rate of wages, and for a longer number of hours. He is thus reaping the benefit of a harvest he has not assisted in sowing; and we deny that there is any tyranny in the twelve men using every means, short of violence, to compel the thirteenth to bear his share of the labour and expense from the increasing of which he obtains the benefit. The sympathy of these right honourable and right reverend lecturers is, however, invariably given to the refractory, or thirteenth man, and they say he has a right to work any number of hours he pleases, or sell his labour at any rate he thinks proper; but we say no; we say he has no such right if by so doing he is likely to reduce the price paid to the other twelve men for their labour, or to cause those men to work longer hours than they desire to do. The individual in a trade, as the individual in the nation, must forego his personal liberty for the general good, and has no right to act in such a manner as to be inimical to the general body of his fellow-workmen.'

With the strongest possible wish to deal fairly and candidly with trades-unionists, we must own that it is absolutely staggering to find so loose a statement put forward by them as their defence of a position of so great importance, and against which so many minds instinctively recoil. It is a collection of assumptions throughout. First of all, there is the absolutely unqualified and unguarded assumption, that 'in a trade, as in the nation, the individual must forego his personal liberty for the general good.' Within certain limits this would not be denied; but the whole question turns on what these limits ought to be. Secondly, it is assumed that the opponent of the trades-union is 'the individual,' being as 1 to 12 to the unionists, which no doubt may be the case in particular shops, but cannot be assumed over the country at large, and cannot, therefore, even on unionist principles, justify the coercion of large bodies of workmen. Thirdly, it is assumed that the operations of the union are beneficial to the non-unionist; but this is probably what the non-unionist would deny and repudiate. It is, at the very least, not a fact so generally allowed even among workmen as to be legitimately made the basis of coercive measures. Fourthly, it is assumed that the case of a trade and the case of the nation are parallel. But how utterly do they differ! The nation, in imposing limits on individual freedom, proceeds in a public and constitutional way; discusses the matter openly in a representative assembly, allows the use of petition and remonstrance, and is open to whatever influence of public opinion may be brought to bear upon it. The non-unionist finds himself called to surrender his liberty by a body to which he does not belong,

where he is not represented, whose deliberations are close and secret, whose decisions admit neither of remonstrance nor appeal, and on which public opinion, beyond its own circle, exerts no influence whatever !

But even granting, for the sake of argument, the legitimacy of the plea, let us advert to the analogous course which it suggests for employers, when in defence of their position they are led to form a union or combination. In their view, the combination so formed is as much fitted to protect the interests of their whole body, as is the trades-union in the view of the men. Hence a measure of 'coercion' would become quite legitimate in dealing with an employer who did not approve of their course, and join their ranks. Any employer friendly to the claims of the men might thus be constrained, contrary to his judgment and his feelings, to join his brother-employers against them. Or let us suppose that the employers came to the conclusion that, for their own interests, and for the interests of society at large, it was desirable that their workmen should forego their personal liberty, in so far as to cease to be members of a trades-union. Suppose they should coerce their workmen into signing a declaration to that effect. How would the workmen relish this call to forego their personal liberty ? It is needless to say that such 'declarations' have been the cause of the keenest feelings in the contests between masters and men, and that to the defeated party, when defeat has come, the necessity of signing them has been the bitterest of all humiliations. The builders of London affirmed, that the declaration they were first asked to sign would rob them of every privilege of freemen, and reduce them to the level of serfs. We are not to be held as approving of the policy of masters in this or in similar cases. We merely indicate that if the plea in question be applicable to the men, it must be held, by parity of reasoning, to cover the masters too.

(6.) It seems hardly necessary to enter on a separate discussion of *opposition to the introduction of new machinery* as one of the grounds which union men have held in disputes with masters. That may surely be regarded now as an abandoned position. Though it be but a very few years since the shoemakers of Northampton struck, in opposition to the use of the sewing-machine in boot-closing, their movement need not excite much criticism ; it was but a feeble one, and only partially supported. The intelligence of the working classes, and their capacity of patient thought, enable them now to see how vain the endeavour to oppose useful machinery would be, even if the theoretical considerations against it were stronger than they are. No one dreams now of imitating the fury of the Luddites.

No one now drinks to the toast of 'The destroying angel, the labourer's best friend.' The utter abandonment of such positions is at least one mark of progress. Yet, in a theoretical point of view, no one of the six grievances we have discussed presented a stronger *prima facie* case against the working man. Not only did the introduction of the spinning-jenny, the powerloom, and similar machinery, deprive a host of working people of the only mode of earning a livelihood which they ever had, but it seemed likely so to flood the labour-market for the future, that the few who would get employment would be glad to take it on any terms. Experience has taught us the contrary. Machinery has given such an expansion to British industry, that probably there is no branch of employment where more men are not employed now than were employed before. The number of persons employed in letterpress printing is greater than it was before the steam-press was known. So also, more horses are needed for the work of the country than were required before a single locomotive began to snort on our railways. More wheeled vehicles are made than were made in the palmy days of the road; more hotels are required, taking all the country over, than in the times when the traveller had to content himself with eight miles an hour: so wonderful is the impulse which improvements in machinery give to industry, and so rapid is the recovery, in a normal and healthy state of things, from violent changes and temporary derangements.

Having thus passed under review, one by one, the various restrictions on the free disposal of labour for which trades-unions more or less contend, it will be proper that we now proceed to inquire whether, in accordance with the laws of political economy, the provisions sought to be enforced tend to secure the end which their supporters are trying to attain?

Looked at generally, in their relation to political economy, these regulations resolve themselves into an endeavour to secure a better remuneration for labour, by limiting the number of workers, and the amount of work done by each; in other words, by causing an artificial scarcity of labour. It is believed that, by limiting the number of apprentices, by discouraging overtime and piece-work, by maintaining the exclusive privilege of tradesmen who have served an apprenticeship, and by securing a minimum wage for every workman who practises a trade, an artificial scarcity of labour may be maintained. A glut in the labour-market will be prevented; tradesmen well advanced in life will still have a fair chance of employment; the capitalist will be obliged to pay higher wages, and, to enable him to do so, he will have to content himself with smaller profits, or to

charge his customers a higher price for the article. We do not wish it to be thought that this is the *only* view which the managers of trades-unions take of the character and bearing of the measures they recommend. We have expressly stated that our present object is to view these measures in the light of the laws of political economy; and the statement we have now made simply sets forth the state of the question when the discussion is confined to the arena of economics.

In commenting on this scheme, the first thing that claims our notice is its *artificial* character. It is not natural or self-adjusting, but at almost every point it involves an interference with the natural order of things. This, of course, does not necessarily involve its condemnation, although it must cause it to be looked on with some suspicion. But, for the sake of argument, let us in the meantime admit the beneficial tendency of the scheme in raising the remuneration of labour. Let us admit that a good move has been made on the chess-board towards the accomplishment of this object. But will no deduction fall to be made from the sum of benefit in consequence of the move which the player on the other side may be constrained to make? Will the benefit sought to be obtained by the *artificial* process we have described not be neutralized by the injury likely to be inflicted on a *natural* process that would otherwise have operated in the workman's favour? To perceive our meaning, let it be remembered that, when things are going on in a natural way, that which tends to increase the wages of the labourer is competition among employers for his services. The labourer's chance of getting an advance of wages from employer A. is, that employer B. wishes to get him, and is willing to give him more than he is receiving at present from A. If by any means this competition for labourers on the part of employers should be brought to an end, the labourer would be exposed to most serious loss. The natural force would collapse which tends to raise his wages. Suppose, then, that the policy of trades-unions should lead to a great combination of masters, and that the masters should act as one man in questions of wages and other matters, what would become of the influence of competition for the services of the men? It would be gone. B. could not now give to a labourer more than A. He is bound by an agreement which prevents him from doing so under heavy penalties. Even when B. is extending his business, and cannot obtain the number of men he requires without great exertions, he cannot offer to give to them more than is offered by A. Members of trades-unions must take this into consideration. They must consider whether the benefit expected to be derived from the artificial system which they urge is

greater than the loss accruing from the collapse of the natural ; whether the rise of remuneration that may spring from enforcing their regulations, even if they could enforce them, is greater than that which might have sprung from a free competition among employers now driven (according to the supposition) into a combination that binds them rigidly to uniform terms in dealing with their men ?

In the next place, it deserves to be considered whether an artificial scarcity in the supply of labour might not and would not lead to a similar scarcity in the demand for labour. It is surely not to be supposed that employers would have the same amount of work to be done under all conditions of the labour-market. If labour be scarce, high-priced, precarious, troublesome, many a piece of business is sure to be declined which employers, in other circumstances, would have gladly undertaken. If great difficulty is to be experienced by them in finding men for the work,—if the risk has to be run of such increased demands by the men, while the work is in progress, as would absorb the profit, or even entail a loss,—the work will probably be declined ; or, perhaps, efforts will be made to carry it on by other means. The risk and trouble of employing unskilful workmen may be deliberately preferred to the risk and trouble of employing men whose terms excite dissatisfaction, and whose spirit creates the fear of an explosion. Efforts may be made, notwithstanding the great inconvenience attending the arrangement, to import workmen from foreign countries. Under the pressure of difficulty, some one's inventive faculty may be set in motion, and machinery may be invented—as, indeed, has been done once and again—to do some part of the work. Supplies of needed articles may be got from abroad, as cargoes of doors and window-frames for housework have lately been imported from Sweden. Besides all this, it is an invariable law that when the cost of producing any article is increased, the demand for that article is diminished. When the price is high, customers take less of it than when the price is low. The policy which we are considering, by increasing the cost of production, must inevitably cause a reduction of the demand.

But, it is said, the profits of capitalists are enormous, and when they find that skilled labour is not readily to be had, they will require to abridge these profits and offer more liberal terms to the workmen. There is a laxity in this mode of reasoning which requires all the more to be noticed, because the argument is apt to be urged under the influence of excited feeling. The profits of employers, it is said, are enormous. Workmen are very apt to have their eyes dazzled by particular cases of great success or rapid fortune-making on the part of employers, and

to think of these as constituting the normal state of things. But this is obviously fallacious. Of course there are cases where, through various causes, through a sudden rise in the market, through the opening up of some new channel of trade, or through a happy application of skill and capital, profits are singularly large, and fortunes are rapidly made. But such cases are exceptional and rare, and are often balanced by other cases, where, through causes of an opposite kind, losses are sustained of equal magnitude. If it could be made out that the workmen was entitled to share in the extraordinary profit in the one case, it would follow that he was bound to share in the extraordinary loss in the other. In regard to more ordinary cases, we deny that it can be assumed that the profits of employers are in general excessive. If regard be had to the amount of capital employed, the risks incurred, the skill and trouble involved in carrying on the business, it will be found that as a general rule the profits are not larger than might reasonably be expected. In such a country as this, the steady operation of causes tending to equalize the returns of business must prevent the excessive profits that are apt to dazzle the imaginations of workmen. Profits, like water, must tend to a level. In any case, if the workman has made a simple contract for service, he is not entitled to claim the privileges of partnership, much less is he entitled to rank as partner when there is profit to be reaped, and to decline its responsibilities when loss has to be borne.

We say that there are natural influences tending to equalize the profits of employers. The competition among employers themselves for business is evidently the chief of these. Young men especially, pushing into business, and offering their wares to customers at tempting prices, are usually willing to content themselves with a smaller profit than those whose business is established. And in every case where an unusually high profit is known to have been realized, a rush of capital takes place in that direction, causing, in a short time, that very competition by which the rate of profit is speedily equalized. Let it be considered, further, that there is no impassable gulf between the employer and the labourer. An immense proportion of employers, say in the building trades, and in other trades, have risen from the ranks. It would be curious to know the statistics of this proportion, but there are no means of finding them out. But in such a place as Birmingham, it is notorious that many employers were formerly workmen. Now we are far from affirming that such employers carry into their new sphere the sympathies of the old. It is the common complaint that they are the least sympathizing masters of any. 'The case being altered, that alters the case,' and, as in the instance of a

woman who has been a domestic servant, and becomes a mistress, the exacting spirit seems to become worse when, from being the victim, it becomes the exactor. We do not, therefore, say that the interests of workmen derive any great benefit from the fact that so many pass from the ranks of labourers to those of employers. But this fact does take away the right of labourers to inveigh against employers as if they were a natural aristocracy, a hereditary nobility hedged by a divinity which no outsider dare penetrate. Those who have made the change from workmen to employers will not all speak of it with rapture. They have found, many of them, that they would have done better to bear the ills they had, than fly to others that they knew not of. Many a time they have looked back with lurking regret on the days when they drew their weekly wages, and supplied the wants of their families, as regularly, and with as little anxiety, as the sheep in the meadow or the cattle in the field supply the wants of themselves and their offspring. It was a new and very bitter experience of life they entered on, when they grappled with the anxieties of business. Never to know exactly how they stood, to be for ever muddling with bills and credits, perplexed about markets, worried with bad debts, crushed by a losing contract, haunted by the apparition of bankruptcy; to lose their sleep by night and their appetite by day; to have their very home-life embittered by cares and forebodings, and to find in the very sanctuary of God, where they used to enjoy such calm heavenly communion, ten thousand worldly thoughts ever ready to rush in and chill all divine and blest experiences—all this gave them a new light on the pleasures of employers. All men are not fit for the position. They have not education enough, brain enough, nerve enough, quickness and sagacity enough, patience and application enough to sustain its burdens. It should be remembered that a position that demands so much in order that its responsibilities may be satisfactorily met, must have, on the whole, a higher scale of remuneration. Workmen should make up their minds to see employers living on a scale of comfort and elegance considerably above their own. If it were not so, there would soon be no employers whatever, no large contracts, no large works. Society would return to a primitive condition, and there could be no more contests about sharing wealth, for the simple reason that there would no more be any wealth to be shared.

It remains to be seen whether a part of the increased wages of labour, proposed to be secured through the method of an artificial scarcity, might not be provided for by a larger price being charged for the articles produced. The best way to test this argument is to examine its operation carefully in a parti-

cular case. Let us take the case of coal-miners for example. The president of the Miners' National Association, when lately receiving a testimonial from the Scottish miners, urged the shortening of the hours of labour and the keeping down the stocks of coals as the best means of securing good wages. Let us say, once for all, that we have the greatest sympathy with any movement that aims at the shortening of the hours of labour *as far as is necessary for human health and well-being*. But this is quite a different thing, and to be aimed at by different means, from shortening the hours of labour in order to force up wages. Let us suppose, then, the object of the miners' association gained. The price of coals is forced up in the market. On whom does this rise of price press the hardest? On the rich man or on the poor? Coals are one of the articles for which the poor widow pays a much larger proportion of her income than the noble lord. It is a far greater hardship to her to pay an additional penny on her bag than the nobleman or his steward to write out a cheque to his coal-merchant for a hundred pounds in place of ninety. A rise of price on such an article as coal sensibly touches the comfort of every humble family in the kingdom. The collier is no doubt better paid, but the non-collier has the more to pay. Or let us vary the illustration, and take the case of the building trades. When masons, bricklayers, carpenters, and plasterers get their wages raised, the inevitable consequence is a rise in the rents of houses. Here, again, the pressure falls heaviest on the poor. House rent is one of those items which, to the poor man, are most difficult to meet; and a rise of rent is ever a double grievance, since it brings with it a corresponding rise of parochial and other rates. It is a more serious evil for the workman to have his rent raised from six to eight pounds, than for the merchant prince to have to pay for his mansion eight thousand instead of six thousand. If we take the case of the iron trades, the effect of an increase of prices may not be so direct; but undoubtedly it has a bearing on the poor man as well as the rich. Higher prices in the iron market imply dearer rails, dearer locomotives, dearer wheels and axles, and consequently higher railway fares; dearer grates, iron beds, pots, and locks, and therefore more expenditure in household economy. Considering the vast proportion to which the working classes are customers for all the more common products of industry, it is evident that where better wages result from higher prices, it is they that will have the largest share of the increase to defray. The rise of wages will be accompanied by the rise of prices. No doubt the working class will be benefited on the whole if wages rise generally, because it is not likely that *all* the articles they

require will become proportionally dearer; but it would be an obvious fallacy to assume that the benefit of the rise would be in proportion to its apparent magnitude, or that the increased rate of wages would represent an equal increase of the commodities of life.

We have yet to examine a very important consequence of the policy of stinting labour artificially in order to enhance its market value. We have to inquire, What effect will it have upon the *spirit* of industry? and how will it influence that character for enterprise and energy which has hitherto been the glory of the Anglo-Saxon race? Our answer to this question is very simple. Its whole tendency is to paralyse industry and enterprise. It reverses the moral conditions on which prosperity and progress depend. We have been accustomed to think that the hand of the diligent maketh rich. It has been our fancy that a conscientious servant watches the interests of his master as if they were his own, and that, according to the New Testament doctrine, he will be rewarded for doing so by the Great Taskmaster. We have even heard sluggards reprov'd by one who used to be called 'The Wise Man,' and sent to the ant for a lesson in industry. If the view be correct, that the labour of each individual ought to be minimized, in order that the more labourers may have work, and that work may command the more pay, the sluggard, when employed by a master, must be a very patriotic and philanthropic member of society. By reducing the amount of labour, he is increasing its market value. The pity is that all his comrades do not do the same. That greenhorn from the country, who works as diligently as if it were a sin to waste time, and who really accomplishes the work of two men, is a nuisance; for is he not just preventing an additional workman from being employed to do half his work? He is causing a man to go idle who might be working, and a family to starve who might have bread. Where is this reasoning to end? Where or what is the minimum below which a day's work is not to fall? Can it be thought that we are in real danger from a policy that outrages the moral instincts of every healthy mind? Must we go back to prove that, whether one be master or servant, employer or employed, 'not slothful in business' is the right motto for his active hours? Shall we get another Hogarth to reverse the pictures of the idle and the industrious apprentice? Is the time coming when parents, sending out their children to work, will instruct them to do as little work as may be? We would not insult the working people of Great Britain by supposing such a thing possible. We have far too high an opinion of their moral instincts to fancy that they could ever be led to adopt

deliberately such a position. The principle on which some of their advisers are now counselling them to proceed has, as yet, hardly been seen; it has not been subjected to deliberate scrutiny; it has been made to flit past in twilight hours, casting a vague look of friendliness upon toil-worn masses. But examined more carefully, we cannot doubt it will be found cousin-german to the prophet's roll—sweet in the mouth, but bitter in the belly.

It may be difficult, and even impossible, to define what constitutes a fair day's work. It may be impossible—we believe it is impossible—to say how much a man ought to yield to a salutary fear of impairing his health or exhausting his strength,—how much of what he feels at the moment that he might do, he ought not to do, out of regard to these considerations. In point of fact, we find that even when men are their own masters, they differ infinitely in the view they take of such matters. But surely it must be admitted, that in every healthy, vigorous, manly nature, there is a spring—an impelling force—an *ἐνέργεια*—that urges him, whatsoever his hand findeth to do, to do it with his might, and that the habitual repression of this 'spirit within the wheels' of his being would be alike unnatural and disastrous. It is through the operation of this spirit that all enterprise that has brought glory to its promoters has been carried to a successful issue; and the more equally the spirit has been diffused among the workers, the more signal has been its triumph. Arctic expeditions would have been sorry enough undertakings had not the whole crew, from the ship-boy upwards, been animated by a common interest in the undertaking, and a common desire to contribute all they could to its success. Exploring expeditions have been comparatively easy when the party were all of Anglo-Saxon blood; but woe to the Dr. Livingstone or the Sir Samuel Baker who has had to depend for co-operation on idle savages bent only on plundering him, or on doing the least possible amount of work for the largest possible amount of pay. It is to the prevalence of a similar spirit among the whole body of *collaborateurs* that British industry has largely owed its pre-eminence. The whole body of workers have brought to bear on the work a degree of intelligence and interest beyond the common, and have given effect to that inward impulse which has urged them to work with a will at the undertaking on hand. The heads of the concern have felt confidence in their workers as men of principle and men of spirit, who would not let the enterprise fail through listless indifference or any other meanness. Let these conditions be withdrawn from our industry, and who shall say it will not be like Samson with his locks shorn?

who shall say that the Anglo-Saxon, *minus* his Anglo-Saxonism, will continue to win the race? Or that colonial and continental populations, under the influence of growing freedom and enlightenment, will not be able to keep pace with the people of these islands, and that our industry, which, though slow to move, is not immovable, may not find more congenial settlements beyond the seas?

III. We have yet to view trades-unions in their bearing on the position of employers. Do they, as practically conducted, lead to such interference with the liberty and prerogatives of employers as to make the management of a large undertaking so difficult and disagreeable a task, that any man of spirit or self-respect will shrink from attempting it? Are they, or are they not, an intolerable interference with the rights of masters?

That the men have a right to combine, and by combination arrange the terms on which they will work; and that the masters have a right to direct and regulate their undertakings as they see fit, are both indefeasible propositions. The difficulty lies in adjusting them to each other. In Acts of Parliament, in controversial statements, in articles of peace after war has been raging, this difficulty is continually apparent. It is easy to say a great deal that is true and relevant in support of either of these rights. But this is nothing unless you get them fitted harmoniously to each other. Usually the collision has occurred by one of the parties pushing his claims so far as to jostle the cherished rights of the other. The consequence has been the awakening of an indignant sense of wrong, and a vehement spirit of resistance in the party believed to be invaded. A war as *pro aris et focis* has arisen; not a mere difference as to the terms of a bargain, but a bitter civil war, in which each party contends as if for life and liberty, heedless of the cost, determined to win. The coalmasters in Yorkshire resisted their men in 1858, on the ground that 'the struggle is not based on the question of wages alone, but is in fact a struggle for the entire mastery between the employers and employed.' The master-engineers in 1851-52 declared, that a great question of civil liberty was involved in the uncontrolled right of every master to contract for the services of any British subject he pleased. They were indignant because the shipwrights on the Wear were at that moment on the strike, chiefly on the simple ground of their masters venturing to assert their right freely to make their own contracts, and for refusing to dismiss their labourers, and to engage artisans to perform work that did not require skill. Mr. Rennie, an employer very friendly to the men, while proud to acknowledge the virtues and value of the

artisans of the country, felt that 'self-respect, as well as prudence, required the masters to defend themselves and peaceable hands from a dictation that was ruinous to both.' The Preston masters, in 1853, complained bitterly that irresponsible parties interfered with the relation between master and servant, dictating to the operatives the conditions on which they were *permitted* to labour, and protested that to this spirit of dictation they could no longer submit. One of them, Mr. Hollins, who was willing to comply with the terms asked by the men, shut up his mill on the question of authority, whether he was to make an independent bargain with his operatives, or to be subject to the dictation of a committee of unionists.

To understand the bearing of this part of the dispute, this question of authority, it is necessary to bear in mind the footing on which the men desire to stand with their employers in exchanging their labour for wages. They wish to be recognised as INDEPENDENT PARTIES, having a certain commodity, viz., labour, to dispose of, but determined to conserve their liberty while bargaining for their labour. As slaves, serfs, villains, or knaves, they will not be hired. They will have nothing to do with the feudal system. Perhaps they deem their employers and themselves pretty much on a level, and hold that the one is as much entitled as the other to say what he will do or what he will allow. Now, we are quite as ready as they can be to throw feudalism to the winds. We gladly and cordially acknowledge the independence of the workmen. But the very nature of the contract they make, to do work for one who has a business to manage, and who is responsible for the articles he produces, implies a certain amount of deference to him as the ruling or managing power of the concern. A domestic servant, accepting of a situation in a family, virtually binds herself to recognise the authority and to conform to the arrangements of the heads of the house. A farm-labourer, in like manner, recognises the authority of the farmer. And wherever a business has to be carried on under the guidance of a responsible head, there must be a similar concession. It is he who has to plan and arrange how he is to accomplish the work he undertakes. It is he who has to make each department of his business fit in to the rest. It is he who has to pay wages and all the other expenses; it is he who undertakes contracts, becomes liable to penalties, has to make good any part of his work which may be found defective, and runs the risks of failure incidental to all, and especially to large and difficult undertakings. When workmen accept employment from such a person, they must be understood as surrendering their individual freedom to the extent which is necessary for enabling him to

fulfil the responsibilities of his position. What that amounts to, is a question which can never be quite settled on abstract principles. Good sense and good feeling on both sides are indispensable to the comfortable adjustment of such questions. But when any flagrant violation of right takes place on either side, when the freedom either of masters or men is violently invaded, or is believed to be violently invaded, there is a fair ground for the injured party making a stand, and falling back on the rights of free-born men.

It is a very delicate matter to discuss the conduct of masters and men in relation to their mutual freedom, feelings, and interests. No doubt there have been, and there are, some masters who fail to recognise in their men those feelings of independence which they are resolved to assert. The old notion of villainage or serfage that lingered so long in the Statute-book, has its hold still on the minds of some masters, and could they enforce as rigid and unquestioning submission to their orders as the commander of a ship of war, they would not scruple to do so. Unreasonable expectations, and an intolerant and intolerable tone on the part of certain masters, have no doubt been the cause of similar conditions and a similar tone on the part of the men. The following instance is given by Mr. Rupert Kettle, an opponent of strikes and combinations, of the way in which disregard of the feelings of the men, unintentional probably, has borne the bitterest fruits :—

‘ When the mining district of South Staffordshire was convulsed by the last great strike, and when enough of loss had been sustained to prove that both parties were thoroughly in earnest, a meeting was arranged between a deputation from the masters and a deputation from the men. The meeting was fixed for a certain hour, at one of the principal hotels in the neighbourhood. At the appointed time the workmen’s delegates went to the place of meeting. They were ushered into a grand room, in which the masters had been assembled some hours before. The men found the negotiants with whom they were to meet already seated at a long table, with writing materials before each, and their chairman presiding. The men’s delegates were directed to a bench at the end of the room as the place provided for them. Here they sat in a row, dangling their hats. When all were seated, and the scrutinizing eye of ten-master-power upon them, the masters’ president opened the negotiation with—“ Well, what have you chaps got to say for yourselves ? ” The question cost the district an incalculable sum of money, positively tens of thousands of pounds. The asking of it was indeed nothing less than a public calamity. Yet the masters’ chairman could have had no intention to wound the susceptible pride of the men, for he was naturally most genial and kind-hearted. Take another instance. Lately the carpet-weavers of Kidderminster were deeply incensed, and though more prudent counsels

prevailed, and a strike was avoided, still the town was thrown into great excitement, because the representatives of the masters put on their hats and withdrew from a conciliation meeting when the men desired them to stay.'

Many instances could be given of tyrannical conduct on the part of masters when the men have wished respectfully to bring grievances under their notice. There have been works where, by a law unchangeable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, any request for an increase of wages has been followed by immediate dismissal. There have been employers who have scornfully refused to negotiate in any shape with their men on the subject of work or wages, except in the way of summarily dismissing those who have been active in getting up the memorial or petition which conveyed the request. There have been instances in which the men have had to sign their names in the form of a 'round robin,' to prevent detection of the first signatures, and consequent dismissal of the parties. All this tends to engender a like feeling in the hearts of the men,—a feeling which seeks its revenge, and does not spare the class that have produced it, when the opportunity comes round. The iron that has eaten into their soul makes them hard and regardless when their turn has come—when circumstances, for a time at least, have given them the whip-hand of their masters, and almost enabled them to dictate their terms.

Then it has become the turn of the masters to wince. In the middle of a large contract, or as it was drawing to a close, imperative demands have been made, under the instigation of the union, for conditions favourable to the men. A shipbuilder, under stringent obligation to have a vessel ready by a certain day, when she is to proceed on a voyage, possible only at certain seasons of the year, or to carry a cargo which cannot be delayed, sees the stately and beautiful fabric approaching a finished state. Suddenly, like another Tantalus, about to move the cup to his lips, he finds it dashed from his hands. A strike occurs among the workmen. The demands are peculiarly vexatious and annoying to him. The benefit which some of them may bring to the men is out of all proportion to the annoyance they will cause to him. His dilemma is very disagreeable. Should he refuse to comply, he is unable to deliver the ship, and is compelled to pay heavy penalties. Should he yield, his self-respect is wounded, and, moreover, he feels that should a similar demand be repeated, he is helpless in the hands of the men. Of course, he will be most chary of new contracts; and the shipowner who employs him will be chary of giving him fresh orders, which, not being implemented at the stipulated time, may derange the whole current of his business. No doubt, the work-

man has had his triumph. The union has turned the tables on the employer, and shown that labour is the true master. But such victories are too Pyrrhus-like to excite much satisfaction in rational men. Of the many thousands of shipbuilders who have been going idle during this fearful winter on the banks of the Thames, the Tyne, the Wear, the Mersey, or the Clyde, not a few are, doubtless, lamenting the tactics in which they may have lately been glorying. They have found that the ordinary fluctuations of trade are quite sufficient to derange or arrest the operations of the shipbuilding yard, and that there is little need to add to the embarrassment by a course which alike discourages the shipowner from giving fresh orders, and the shipbuilder from engaging to fulfil them.

The actual state of feeling prevalent among employers in reference to the proceedings of trades-unions, may be gathered from the following extract from a leading article in *The Builders' Trade Circular* of December 27, 1866, the organ of the master builders. After referring to the manner in which efforts to obtain an increase of wages are made, the writer goes on—

‘But it is altogether apart from questions of rates of wages that we would join issue with the advocates of trade-unions as they are at present conducted. These unions are now, and have for some time been, persistently interfering with freedom of trade, both as regards the master, and, still more oppressively, as regards the man. If they have their way, the old idea of a “Master Builder” will soon be an anachronism. That idea involved somewhat that of a commander of a company of volunteers. No man need enlist. But every man who does enlist accepts the conditions previously laid down both as to pay and as to duty. And if after experience of them he does not like them, he can quit the service. The greatest enterprises, both civil and military, that the world has ever seen, have been accomplished by such companies. But we are told that this is an unjust and tyrannical arrangement. We are to give up this idea, and in lieu thereof to take up one similar to that which used to actuate the Dutch and other republics. We are to be nominal commanders, but we are to be accompanied by civil commissioners, who are to direct all our goings, and who can veto all our plans. But we are even worse off than a poor Dutch general under such circumstances; for while their High Mightinesses thus thwarted him, they at least paid the troopers; but we are to be providers of the pay and other capital required, while their “High Mightinesses,” the leaders of trade-unions, dictate to us what we shall do, and how. And this dictation extends to every part of our business. As the President of the Association said at Edinburgh, “We have had rules introduced into our trade as to the number of apprentices we must employ, the men we must employ, and the men we must not employ. We have been directed that certain men, and they only, must erect a scaffold, and certain other men, and they only,

must go on it when erected." And not only so, we are dictated to as to the material we must use, the place at which it shall be worked, and the means by which we shall work it.'

Nor is this the *ne plus ultra* of the dictation complained of. In the *Builders' Circular* for Jan. 17, 1867, it is stated that Mr. Holroyd, a master plasterer of Bradford, had just received the following official letter from the Bradford Plasterers' Union:—

‘BRADFORD, Jan. 7, 1867.

‘MR. C. HOLROYD,—We, the Operative Plasterers of Bradford, do hereby give you notice, that all your sons that are working as plasterers, which are above twenty-one years of age, are requested to join the society on or before Saturday next; and failing to do so, all our men will cease work on Monday morning next, and not return again, unless you pay all the expenses of the strike.—We remain, yours,

‘THE OPERATIVE PLASTERERS OF BRADFORD.’

Mr. Holroyd may surely be congratulated on one thing—the faith reposed in the filial duty of his sons. But if the three young Holroyds, ‘which are above twenty-one years of age,’ should choose to act for themselves, and decline the society, what must become of the father? The payment of the fine will be found to be no empty threat; for nothing is more common than for masters to be called to pay the expenses of strikes caused by their alleged violation of the rules of the trade. The journal quoted from mentions the case of a plasterer in Glasgow, who in this way had lately to pay a fine of forty pounds. As another sample of the kind of letters which masters are in the habit of receiving, we give the following:—

‘SOCIETY-HOUSE OF OPERATIVE PAINTERS,
‘Held at the Cross-Keys, Byard Lane.

‘SIR,—It Having been represented to us that you have an Individual in your Employ of the name of G. Willson—who his a person that refuses to become a member of Our Respectable Body—Consequently it becomes necessary for our Interference for the protection of the Members under your Employ. We therefore Respectfully Inform you that unless you Immediately discharge the said G. Willson. We shall withhold from you the services of those Individuals who belong to us and in your Employ.—By Order. SAML—W—REEVE, Sectry.’

As warm friends of the working classes, we say that such letters are simply lamentable. We cannot conceive the possibility of the policy that dictates them issuing in anything but disaster. We would appeal to any candid workman, Is this the way you would be done by, if you were a master? Or can you fancy a master, with due self-respect, not feeling bitterly aggrieved by such attempts at dictation by his men?

There are other aspects of the recent policy of trades-unions,

besides those we have dwelt on, at which we must briefly glance. There is its bearing, for example, on the stability of our industry. We have examined most of what has been written on this subject, especially the letters of Messrs. Creed and Williams, but we have not been convinced that as yet, at all events, much trade has been driven out of the country in consequence of the disputes between labour and capital. It has always been a ready argument, when a strike occurred, that the trade would be ruined by it. In the excited state of men's minds at present, the argument has been brandished with more than usual vehemence. But the returns of the Board of Trade exhibit no falling off in our industry, even in those departments that have been most affected by trades-unions. If locomotives have been built in Belgium, and if door and window-frames have been imported from Sweden, it is quite possible that the same things might have been done had the labour-market at home remained perfectly free from disturbance. The rising spirit of enterprise abroad, the increased facilities of transport, and the great pressure on the home-market might quite possibly have given rise to these or to similar transactions.

But though there is not evidence that much harm has been done as yet, there is ample reason to apprehend it, if the present state of things should go on. Every man of common sense must see that a disturbed state of the labour-market is essentially most injurious to the prosperity of trade. The master engineers put the case strongly for the British capitalist in a statement drawn out by them in 1851-52:—

‘Afraid to subject himself to the repetition of practices which present to him only the alternative betwixt heavy fines for failure of contracts, or loss of business-character, and exorbitant remuneration for inferior skill, the master declines otherwise profitable orders, draws his operations narrower, and diminishes the demand for labour; and this dread, spreading generally through the trade, and too amply justified by offensive interference, forced upon every master, induces a universal disposition to decline the most valuable custom, and thereby seriously to depress the business and circumscribe the employment of the country.’

It is evident, too, that the British manufacturer may soon look for much keener competition with foreign nations than he has hitherto had. International exhibitions are stimulating the nations in the race of industry. Emperors are propounding that the policy of their empires is not war but peace. ‘The development of the country's resources’ is becoming the watch-word of statesmen. The success of England's free-trade policy is breaking almost everywhere the bonds of protection. Facilities of communication and of correspondence are making distant

countries like the provinces of one kingdom. Young nationalities, like those of Prussia and Italy, are becoming conscious of an energy that must have an outlet somehow. And it is well known that in continental countries work can be done cheaper than at home. From every quarter the warning comes to Great Britain to be on the alert. An able writer in the *Economist* of January 19, remarks:—‘ We have watched the approaches of foreign competition for a long series of years, and have from time to time warned our readers of the coming certainty. . . . The danger is no bugbear; but neither is it a matter for panic or despair.’ That the present is a very critical time for the interests of British industry can hardly be doubted. But though appearances are at present ugly, we have great confidence in the return of that good sense and good feeling which have so often seemed on the eve of forsaking us, but through God’s mercy have always returned when peril was near.

We are glad to find some indications, on the part even of the advanced guard of the unionist army, of the necessity of caution :—

‘ Labour, in certain departments,’ said *The Beehive* newspaper a few weeks ago, ‘ has lately achieved decided victories ; *but it may, by going too far, come to be terribly defeated.* And if any one says there is now no danger, we differ from them. . . . Our sympathies and interests are with advances, but we must go on safe grounds. We thus see, and therefore say, that it is the prudent policy and the true wisdom of the existing well-paid trades, to maintain their present position ; and certainly, just now, cease to agitate either for time or wages. . . . Already the advantages gained by their union action are attracting the floating workers of other districts, and their pits will soon be overflowed with labourers, to their own detriment. They will be overstocked by labour ; while, if they restrict work, or advance prices further, *they will drive trade to other districts more favourable to the masters. Besides, they will compel the coal-masters to united action and efforts for self-preservation.*’

The bearing of trades-unions on the higher interests of the working classes is an important subject, but it does not afford many satisfactory results. It is probable that in promoting acuteness, knowledge of the world, self-denial, perseverance, and endurance, the policy of trades-unions, with their strikes and sufferings, has done a measure of good. But, on the other hand, it is a terrible ordeal to any man, or body of men, to be engaged in a perpetual struggle for money. It may be a duty ; that we cannot deny ; but God help the man on whom the duty is laid ! How shall he be protected from the secularizing, pulverizing influence of such a conflict ? How shall he be made to feel that

‘a man’s life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth?’ It is not without significance that at this very time a conference has been held to discuss the reasons for the general alienation of skilled workmen in England from the public services of religion. We are glad to observe that Mr. Potter was a member of that conference, and that he showed a lively interest in the endeavour to promote a more religious spirit in workmen. But we doubt whether, as a rule, the leading spirits of the union are very zealous in this cause. We miss, in the columns of *The Beehive*, anything indicative of a living interest in the progress of education and temperance, or in any of those movements which aim at promoting the higher and more spiritual interests of the masses. We are concerned to find little or nothing indicative of a comprehensive view of what bears on the welfare of the working millions, the cultivation of their taste, the improvement of their domestic condition, the purification of their character, the elevation of their recreations, or even the economization of their earnings. We cannot find evidence that the mere agitation for wages tends to urge them forward in any of the higher walks of attainment and character. And when strikes occur, though there is usually a marvellous display of steadfast endurance and self-denial, we doubt whether the permanent effect on the character is beneficial. To have the habits of daily industry interrupted, to be thrown into loose and irregular ways of spending time, to have the mind kept in a state of constant excitement, cherishing a sense of wrong, and a vague expectation of a remedy so slow of coming that the heart becomes sick in waiting for it, cannot be a good state for most. The greater part may probably return to regular habits and plodding industry; but in the case of some, a disorderly life will show the effects of the derangement to which their habits have been exposed. Nor must we overlook the effect of the present agitation on the temper of employers, or the discouragement which it entails on all who desire to promote friendly bonds between them and their workmen. ‘Commercial philanthropy’ is at a discount, and efforts to get the ‘Heads’ to care for the ‘Hands’ in the world of labour, are little better than sneered at. The friends of the working man are told that their labours are producing the very opposite effects to those which they aim at; and they almost need to be ready with an apology for what but lately seemed, as indeed it is, one of the noblest of causes—the effort to raise the masses higher in all that makes human beings great and good and happy.

What then is to be done? No one can look on the present

relations of capital and labour, and say contentedly that the best or the only policy is just to leave things as they are. On the other hand, it may be that the whole subject has not been sufficiently investigated or considered, to enable us as yet to say with certainty what ought to be done. This, we own, is our own impression. In this view, we welcome the Royal Commission just appointed to inquire into the subject, although it can do little more than furnish materials for public discussion and opinion. Meanwhile, the suggestions we have to offer must be presented somewhat cautiously, more light being needed on several points to justify more dogmatic conclusions.

In the first place, then, as to trades-unions, we do not agree with those who, in present circumstances, would leave to them no functions except those of benevolence,—to care for the sick, the aged, the disabled, or the unemployed. This, beyond doubt, is of great importance, and it is the sphere in which most direct good may be done, with the smallest deduction or drawback. But, at the same time, we think that until something better be established to supersede them, there is a legitimate function for trades-unions, in connexion with the remuneration of labour. The labourer, in his individual capacity, negotiates at a disadvantage with the capitalist. The cause of this is that, as Adam Smith remarks,

‘Masters are everywhere in a sort of tacit, but constant and uniform combination, not to raise the wages of labour above their actual rate. To violate this combination is everywhere a most unpopular action, and a sort of reproach to a master among his neighbours or equals. We seldom, indeed, hear of this combination, because it is the usual, and, as one may say, the natural state of things, which nobody ever hears of.’

This being the case with masters, it is almost a necessity for the men to combine. And if it be right to combine, it may in certain circumstances be a duty to strike. But it would be of vast importance if this right to strike were only exercised on very rare occasions, and if the union operated chiefly in the way of giving weight to the representations of the men, in any dispute between them and their masters. A union-executive, characterized by wisdom, moderation, and good feeling, and never interfering without good cause, might become a great moral power, whose influence would be almost irresistible. But if it be asked, What is the likelihood *in practice* of such a state of things? we are bound to answer, Hardly any.

One thing seems to us very plain; it is a perilous thing for the working man when employers are driven into closer and more formal combinations than those to which Adam Smith

adverta. For these informal combinations still leave to the workman the benefit of a certain amount of competition among employers for his services, especially in busy times. But when employers are driven into formal combinations, this advantage is lost to the workman. Employers then act as one man, and when refused by one the workman has no chance of getting his terms from another. In ordinary circumstances, employers do not relish the trouble and difficulty incident to a combination. It is when they are unusually goaded and annoyed that they resort to this step, and its painful accompaniment, the lock-out. Of course we do not say that the circumstance of the masters combining, or declaring a lock-out, is in itself a proof that the men have done wrong; but it is a proof that matters have reached a serious crisis for the workman. It is a proof that he is about to lose a natural ally—the competition of employers for his services, and to encounter a formidable foe. It is as if the social barometer were pointing to Stormy, and warning him to retrace his steps. In most cases, certainly, where employers resort to combinations and lock-outs, there is room for inquiry whether they may not have received some unwarrantable provocation, that has roused them to a step which nature abhors, and which must be a very miserable one to all concerned.

Yet it is the universal remark that of late years lock-outs have become very frequent. They are said to be ‘alarmingly on the increase.’ A great conference of trade-delegates of the United Kingdom was held last July in Sheffield, expressly to consider what steps ought to be taken to counteract them. One of the speakers remarked that there was hardly a movement by workmen but the opposing weapon of lock-out was resorted to, and pointed in illustration to the great lock-out in London, the lock-out in 1865 in the iron trade in Staffordshire, the disturbances in Sheffield, the lock-out on the Clyde, and the lock-out in the Staffordshire potteries. We cannot refer with much satisfaction to the proceedings of this conference. Alarmed at the progress of combination among masters, it could only think of meeting the evil by an enlarged combination among workmen. A few of the speakers ventured to hint that the men were responsible for most of the lock-outs, but Mr. Troup ridiculed their ‘penitential psalms,’ and told them to think of all the good things that had lately come out of the misery of strikes to the working man. The vista opened by the Sheffield conference is not a cheering one. If the men combine the more to resist the masters, will not the masters combine the more to resist the men? Shall we not by and by have two colossal confederations in mutual conflict, that of labour against capital, and that of capital against labour? And which of the two will

be first exhausted? And while they are exterminating each other, what will become of our industry?

Another remedy that has been proposed for the prevailing evils is Arbitration. Courts of Conciliation are proposed to be formed, on a basis similar to the *Conseils des Prud'hommes* of France and Belgium, for the settlement of trade disputes. A Bill for this purpose was introduced in the House of Lords by Lord St. Leonards, during last session of Parliament. That measure, however, was withdrawn, because the masters did not like it. Lord St. Leonards had said that he would not go on with it unless both masters and operatives were in favour of it. The masters were not satisfied, but as his Lordship thinks that their objection may be arranged, he has again introduced his Bill during the present session.

In one well-known and interesting case, that of the Wolverhampton Building Trades, the method of arbitration has been adopted for the settlement of disputes, and has been found to answer remarkably well. In the spring of 1865, there was a strike impending in the building trades of that town. The Mayor called a public meeting of the trades, to devise, if possible, a remedy. One branch of the trade, the carpenters and joiners, appointed six delegates to confer with six delegates of the masters, and endeavour to arrange their differences. The twelve delegates met in March, elected a chairman-umpire, discussed a code of trade rules, and came to an agreement upon them. In November a difference arose which required adjustment; the delegates were called together, and the umpire gave a decision on the case. One of the rules was, that the code should continue in operation from May to May, but that if any alteration were proposed, notice should be given, and the Court called in the previous January. In January 1866, alterations were proposed and considered, and harmoniously settled. The same method has been at work in other towns, and with similar success.

It has, indeed, been doubted whether arbiters are competent to decide all the questions that are liable to arise between masters and men. The matter in dispute, the masters have sometimes said, is of a private nature; it involves a detail in the management of our business; and we can trust no one with the settlement of it, because no one can know so well about it as we do. But whether or not such courts of conciliation would be competent to decide in every case of disagreement between employers and labourers, there can be no doubt that they might bring to an end, or wholly prevent, a great amount of miserable wrangling. That which begins as a difference about a bargain often degenerates into a keen, bitter, unreasoning party contest.

The parties become incapable of coming to an agreement; the more they meet the more they wrangle, and the more bitter becomes the strife. In such a case, a court of conciliation would have little difficulty in settling the dispute. The spread of the conflagration would be arrested, and a bitter and lasting alienation between masters and men prevented.

The gradual growth of courts of conciliation, or of committees of arbitration, would greatly lessen the necessity for the action of trades-unions. These might continue to exist for a time, but as disputes would be otherwise disposed of, their economic function might gradually cease and determine.

A third proposed method of obviating the evils now so prevalent is that of co-operation. Under this general term, workmen might either carry on business together, being masters and operatives in one; or the workmen might have an interest in the profits of the business, either as shareholders of its capital, or as recipients of a stated bonus, where the business was profitable, in addition to their wages. The success of the plan of a bonus out of profits has been so far evinced in the case of the Methley Collieries, and in other instances where it has been tried. But a much wider induction of facts is needed to show whether this plan could be worked extensively in practice. The inquiries of the Commission might very profitably be directed to this important question.

It is remarkable that the methods of conciliation and co-operation find more favour among foreign workmen than among those of Britain. At the International Congress of Geneva this was apparent; the Continental delegates inclining to the more peaceful methods of solving the problem of capital and labour; while the British were more disposed to rely on combination.

Lastly, we are not to forget, among the means of putting an end to the present disastrous strife, the promotion of a spirit of sympathy and mutual regard. Nothing is more apparent in the history of this subject, than that this spirit, where it has existed, has been the means of either preventing strifes altogether, or of causing them to be speedily adjusted. Employers who have shown a friendly interest in the welfare of their men, and who have treated them with kindly consideration, have not had much difficulty in settling wages or other points in dispute, except when their people have been overruled by a distant union-executive. Such interference of unions has given rise to the most distressing results. Nothing can be more painful than the sight of a workshop driven into war with a kind-hearted and considerate employer by the indiscriminate commands of a union, whose motto seems to be,

‘Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.’

The statement of Sir Charles Fox at a recent meeting we thoroughly indorse:—

‘It had fallen to his lot to have the management of large numbers of working people, and his experience went to prove that if they were dealt with as Christian and rational beings, and not as cold chisels, to be laid aside when done with, the best feeling could prevail between employers and employed. At one time he had 12,000 men to superintend, and though they had had several strikes, they always came to terms, because he said to them, “Send a few men to have a talk with me,” and thus an amicable arrangement had always been arrived at.’

It has been remarked, that strikes are seldom got up by the old hands that have been long in the employment of a master, but by comparative strangers, who seem to have a vocation for wandering hither and thither, and exciting disaffection and revolt. Nothing would be more to be regretted, in connexion with the present agitation, than that it should have the effect of discouraging kindly employers in their philanthropic and Christian efforts to promote the good of their workmen, or that it should fill the hearts of workmen with bitter jealousy and dislike towards masters really anxious, if they knew how, to do their duty.

In writing, on the 16th July last, to the Secretary of the London Trades’ Council, Lord St. Leonards remarked:—‘The operatives as well as the masters cannot lose sight of the alarm which exists in the public mind at the vast spread, throughout the land, of strikes and lock-outs.’ Would it not be well for both parties now to proclaim a truce, and endeavour to devise a method of settling their differences worthy of the most civilized and the most Christian country of Europe?

- ART. II.—1. *Georgii Buchanani, Scoti, Poetarum sui seculi facile Principis, Opera Omnia, ad optimorum codicum fidem summo studio recognita et castigata.* Curante THOMA RUDDIMANNO, A.M. Edinburgh, 1715.
2. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan.* By DAVID IRVING, LL.D. Second Edition. Edinburgh, 1817.

THE fate of those men of genius who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries employed the Latin language as their instrument for acting upon the intellect of Europe, has been something altogether peculiar, and to which no parallel can be found in the history of literature. The old classic writers still live. The old modern writers still live. There are students of Horace and Cicero; there are students of Chaucer and Montaigne. But to be at once a classic neglected by scholars, and a modern neglected by readers for amusement, is a destiny of curious hardness; and it is the destiny of the great men, one of whom we have chosen for our subject on this occasion. Nobody is entitled to say that they have become obsolete for want of those literary qualities, the want of which, in a general way, not unnaturally consigns the mediæval chroniclers to lasting obscurity. On the contrary, they were in constant familiarity with literatures of which the chroniclers had heard only a faint echo; and they had learned to develop their powers in every direction which has since been taken by the European intellect. The mere talents of Erasmus were certainly not inferior to those of Voltaire. There is as good, rich, sly, sarcastic portraiture of monkery in the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* as in Rabelais. The *Scaligerana* has not less sense and wit than the recorded Table-Talk of Walpole or Rogers. Yet the names of Erasmus, Von Hütten, Joseph Scaliger, or our own Buchanan, resemble nothing so much as the V.R.'s or other royal initials, the day after an illumination. They may still be made out on the walls; but the light has gone from them; and the casual passer-by perhaps wonders why they have not been taken down before. The better these memorable writers did their work, the worse it has proved for them. They were classics in the interest of the modern world, and moderns in the interest of the classical world. They spent their lives in uniting the two; and now they cannot be said to have a place in either. Modern Europe has as little grateful recollection of them as a pair of young lovers—made one—has of the parson without whom their union could not have taken place.

We are unwilling to believe that Scotland has been more

ungrateful to George Buchanan than other countries to their heroes of the same class. The edition of his works by Rudiman is a literary monument as honourable as the edition of Erasmus by Le Clerc. Something was done for his biography by George Chalmers; and it was written by Dr. Irving with much good sense, and much solid research. His Latin version of the Psalms was long used in our schools; and his portrait adorns the cover of the most famous of our periodicals. Nevertheless, what Father Prout said is very true: we are more apt to glory in his reputation than to read his works. And, perhaps, we hardly appreciate the immense importance of that reputation to our literary dignity in Europe. When all is said and done, we Scots have at best produced three writers of European influence and celebrity; George Buchanan in the sixteenth, David Hume in the eighteenth, and Walter Scott in the nineteenth century. This calculation involves no disrespect to the memory of Burns or Adam Smith, because Burns was hampered by the limitations of his culture, his subjects, and his language; and Smith devoted himself mainly to one study, connected only with one side of human affairs, and has not even yet penetrated with complete success the Continental mind and Continental legislation. Now, of the three, the three who keep the citadel of our fame for us, Buchanan was the earliest. The Scottish genius had *brairded* before his day, but had never ripened into grain to be eaten as bread. From many passages in Erasmus, it is clear that we were only beginners in letters before Buchanan's time. He it was who made us famous from the Vistula to the Tagus, and gave us a national name in literature by his pen, as Bruce had given us a national name in politics by his sword. Of such a man, every Scot ought to have something like a familiar image in his mind; and every Scot ought to know by what labours, and kind of labours, his fame was achieved.

It is not known to which of the races making up our nationality the ancestors of Buchanan belonged. The name in itself proves nothing, because it was taken from the lands which they gained, and lands were gained not by Celts only, but by Norwegians, Angles, Saxons, and Normans. It is certain, however, that he was a cadet of the Buchanans of that Ilk, and came of a family which he has himself described as *magis vetusta quam opulenta*. Like every Scotsman of that age, Knox included, he had a vein of feudalism in him; and the late Mr. Joseph Robertson well pointed out that as 'a Lennox man' hostile to the Hamiltons, he showed his breed and his associations in his politics. He was born about the beginning of February 1506, in a humble house called the Moss, in the parish of Killearn,

Stirlingshire ; being the third son of Thomas Buchanan (second son of Thomas Buchanan of Drummakill) by Agnes Heriot, daughter of Heriot of Trabroun in the Eastern Lowlands. The family fortunes were at a low ebb ; and no peasant's son could well have had a harder fight of it than this poor scion of an old Dumbartonshire house from the neighbourhood of Loch Lomond. His father was cut off early by the stone. His grandfather, who survived, was a bankrupt. And the family, of five sons and three daughters, were painfully brought up by their mother, who engaged in farming, and provided for them as best she could, in the old rugged frugal Scotch way. George was a clever lad, and showed some promise at the local schools, though he ought to have told us to which of them he was sent. He was seven years old when FLODDEN was fought,—quite old enough to feel a shudder of sympathy with the thrill of anguish that the bloody news sent through Scotland. Probably there were tears in the modest household when that news came. For we all know how—

‘ Far on the left, unseen the while,
Stanley broke Lennox and Argyle,
Though there the Western mountaineer
Rushed with bare bosom on the spear.’

And districts and names were so linked together in those days, that a disaster pierced to the hearts of a hundred families, and plunged them in a common grief.

The promise which George Buchanan showed in the *scholis patriis*, whichever they were, already referred to, induced his uncle, James Heriot, to send him to school in Paris in 1520. Here we have one fruit of the old French alliance, and a very pleasant one. Buchanan worked hard at Latin. But within two years his kind uncle died ; want and sickness pressed together upon him, and he was forced to return home. He gave a year to the care of his health ; and in the winter of 1523 served a campaign on the Borders with the Duke of Albany, the Regent, who had come over with a body of French auxiliaries to make war on the English. The great question whether Scotland, now passing from the mediæval into the modern life, was to develop under Continental or English influences, was fitfully settling itself, sometimes in sharp paroxysms, sometimes in slow struggles. It was to be Buchanan's destiny to arrive through a Continental experience, and yet liking the Continent, at English politics. His immediate motive now was to see a little of war as a part of education. Long afterwards, he expressed his opinion that there was much more affinity between the literary and the military intellect than was vulgarly sup-

posed. This, too, was characteristically Scotch in him, and akin to the spirit in which Scott worked at his Dalgettys and Bradwardines. The one campaign of Buchanan, however, was not a satisfactory experience. The Regent's army besieged Werk, but was beaten off. The Scots forces were not agreed on the policy of continuing the war at that time. And as they made their way homewards by Eccles and Lauder, a storm of snow in the night fell heavily upon man and cattle. The young adventurer's health again gave way, and for the rest of the winter he was confined to his bed.

Early in the spring of 1524, Buchanan was sent to St. Andrews, which he entered as a *pauper*, that is, as a bursar or exhibitioner,—a fact which we owe to the industry of George Chalmers, who had the registers searched.¹ Here he attended the lectures of John Mair or Major (*solo cognomine Major*), who was then teaching what he himself called Dialectics, but what Buchanan preferred to call Sophistics. Major moved to Paris, and Buchanan followed him, on which simple basis of fact was built up a grave charge of 'ingratitude' against George, because he afterwards pelted the old theologian with a classic epigram, neat as a pebble from the Ilissus. But in their anxiety to prove the ingratitude, these calumniators forget to prove the obligation. We shall find the same injustice being done to our scholar at a later period. It was during this second residence in Paris that Buchanan first fell under the suspicion of Lutheranism, and for two years he had a sore struggle with evil fortune. However, he fought his way through all hardships. He had become a Bachelor of Arts in St. Andrews. He became Bachelor, and Master, and Procurator of the German nation in the Scottish College of Paris in 1528 and 1529, and for three years presided over a grammar-class in the College of St. Barbe. What kind of life that was he has told us in the first poem in his Book of Elegies, the subject of which is *Quam misera sit conditio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiæ*. The wretched master, he says, is old before his time. He has a crew to teach whom nothing can keep in order but flagellation; and whom even flagellation fails to make learn. Poverty is his habitual companion at bed and board. 'Go then,' he exclaims, 'sterile Muses, and seek another servant. Our lot and our inclination call us elsewhere:—

'Ite igitur, Musæ steriles, aliumque ministrum
Quærite: nos alio sors animusque vocat.'

¹ Chalmers's *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 312. This sort of investigation was Chalmers's great merit. His politics were violent, and his style absurdly turgid; while of his ignorance of Latin some curious proofs can be produced. Among these we rank his denying that Buchanan was the author of his very characteristic autobiography.

The new occupation which he had found was that of domestic preceptor to the young Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, whose father had been murdered in the prime of life by James Hamilton the Bastard, a very few years before. To him Buchanan dedicated his first work, a translation into Latin of Thomas Linacre's Rudiments of Latin Grammar, and he lived with him for five years. When the Earl returned to Scotland, Buchanan accompanied him, and stayed with him at his seat in Ayrshire, in which county, and Wigtonshire, an Earl of Cassilis of those days was *late tyrannus*:¹—

‘Twixt Wigton and the toun of Ayr,
Portpatrick and the Cruives of Cree,
No man need hope for to bide there,
Unless he court with Kennedy.’

This residence at the young Earl's *château* led to an event of importance in Buchanan's life. He amused his leisure there by writing the *Somnium*, a satire on the Franciscans, who soon heard of it, and watched for an opportunity to do the author a mischief. The friars and monks of those days were very different from the early men who exercise so much fascination over the genius of the Count of Montalembert; and the men of letters, especially the humorists and satirists, seem to have had a loathing for them, such as, long before, Juvenal had for sham Stoics, and, long afterwards, Molière had for the models of Tartuffe. They were greasy, lazy, ignorant, cruel,—not unworthy champions of a Church which was rotten to the roots, gorged with wealth ill gotten and ill spent; and whose prelates, at once oppressors of the poor and corrupters of the rich, came from the embraces of harlots, and palaces the neighbourhood of which swarmed with their bastards, to preside at the burnings of the holiest and wisest men of the nation. The known enmity of the Franciscans stimulated the growing Lutheranism of Buchanan. And he soon had an opportunity of turning the *Somnium*, a comparatively light and playful satire, into a satire of which neither Juvenal nor Swift would be ashamed. He had been presented to James the Fifth, and when his connexion with Lord Cassilis ceased, James made him tutor to James Stewart, his natural son by Elizabeth Shaw of the Sauchie family.² A similar duty had been discharged by Erasmus for

¹ It was the son of Buchanan's pupil who roasted the Abbot or Commendator of Crossraguel in his vault at Dunure, a playfulness of the old school which seems to have deeply impressed the imagination of Mr. Froude.

² One of the rare slips of the accurate Ruddiman was his confounding this James Stewart with the celebrated Regent,—a mistake all the stranger, because, in dedicating the *Franciscanus* to the Regent thirty years afterwards, Buchanan tells him that he was appointed by the King to educate his son, which would have been a ridiculous piece of information to the son himself.

a natural son of James the Fourth, who fell with his father at Flodden. While Buchanan was engaged upon it, in 1537, James brought over from France his young bride Magdalen, whose death in less than two months after her arrival caused such general sorrow in Scotland, that Buchanan says it gave the first occasion to the use of mourning in that country. Soon after her death, there was a talk of a conspiracy against the King, and James, who thought the Franciscans had acted insincerely about it, called Buchanan to him one day at Court, and asked him to write a poem against them. Buchanan, feeling that this was a task which it was dangerous either to refuse or to perform, brought a half-harmless production, which he hoped would pass as a compromise; but the King wanted something sharp and pointed, *acre et aculeatum*. The result was the *Franciscanus*, which now opens the second part of the second volume of Ruddiman's edition. It is a long satirical poem in sonorous hexameters, occupying seventeen folio pages. He sets out by warning a young fellow who had some thoughts of becoming a Franciscan what kind of men they were. In the first place, the order is recruited, he says, from the ranks of those born to nothing, and who take up sanctity as a livelihood; who have a harsh stepmother, perhaps, or a hard father; who don't like school and study, from their stupidity, and whom laziness and feebleness make unfit for the oar and the plough. Then, there are the fanatical candidates and the greedy ones, who hope to prey on the superstition of the vulgar; and a darker school of hypocrites, who look to the grey garb, the cord, and the cowl as disguises favourable to a life of secret crime. What those crimes were Buchanan tells us with the most pungent frankness, in a part of the poem where he ironically introduces a veteran of the society teaching his young neophytes how to impose upon and enjoy the world. It may suffice to say that debauchery and fraud are far from being the worst of them, and that the Scotch religious of that day had some curious points of resemblance to the pagans of Juvenal's time. There is one story introduced, and told with great spirit and pictorial power, which may have belonged to a later period of Buchanan's experience, and have been added by him to the finally-revised edition which he dedicated to the Earl of Murray in 1564. A brother of the order, he relates, embarked on the Garonne for Bordeaux with a woman whom he had seduced, and who was far gone in her pregnancy. The wretched creature fell into labour on the way, and her scoundrelly companion deserted her at the first landing-place, and left her with her child to the pity or contempt of the gazing crowd. An admirable touch of humour follows the narrative: 'I myself,'

exclaims the old friar who tells the story, 'young and strong as I then was, could hardly keep down the murmurs and voices of the people; . . . sturdily though I swore that the criminal was a follower of Luther, concealing himself under the name of our holy sect!' There is here some of that unctuous irony, at once rich with fun and bitter with scorn, the great masters of which are Juvenal in the ancient, and Swift in the modern world. It is the natural satire of strong and serious, as distinct from the pleasantries of light and brilliant natures; and Buchanan, a good deal of whose work in the world was done by satire, belongs, as a satirist, to the school of Juvenal and Swift, Dryden and Churchill, rather than of Aristophanes, Horace, Erasmus, or Voltaire. He had a distinct poetical vein, and could relish love, and beauty, and external nature. But this was a vein in the flint of a good hard solid intelligence, primarily strong in its sagacity and its reasoning powers, and in harmony, accordingly, with a disposition from which neither wit nor poetry banished a certain austerity that was natural to it. And, indeed, the austerity would not have been wonderful if there had been nothing else to account for it but the complexion of George Buchanan's fortunes. A pauper gentleman from a country steeped in aristocratic sentiment, a famished student, a suffering schoolmaster, a hunted Reformer,—these are not the parts in the drama of life which are favourable to the continuous good humour of the performer. But the severity of Buchanan's satire was wholesome. And in estimating its power, let us not forget, what the very excellence of his Latinity constantly tends to make us forget, that he was always—unlike the past Juvenal and the Swift to come—writing in a language which was not his own. The swing and freedom of the hexameters of the *Franciscanus* was not the special acquirement of a man who had studied one metre. All metres came alike to him, and all varieties of prose, narrative, dialogue, and oratory. He was rather a Scotticized Roman than a Romanized Scot; or we may say that, like the founders of Rome in the old legend, he had the Roman wolf for his foster-mother, and absorbed her milk into his whole being.

James the Fifth probably enjoyed the *Franciscanus*. He had the Stewarts' parts, though his education had been neglected, as Buchanan in his *History* remarks; and he was not without a relish for attacks on the abuses of the Church and the clergy. In those very years, he had been present at the open-air performance of the satirical play of good Sir David Lindsay,—to our taste, still the most freshly readable of our old poets, a man of keen sense and gay sprightly humour, the half-developed Aristophanes of an uncultivated age. Nay, there

were some hopes that his marriage with Magdalen, who was niece of the Queen of Navarre, would be favourable to the cause of the Reformation in Scotland. But Magdalen was laid, in her girlhood, in the Abbey of Holyrood; and the marriage-torches of his nuptials next year with Mary of Guise lighted the piles of many martyrs. The year after that, early in 1539, Buchanan was made prisoner. The King failed to protect the man who had provoked the bigots at his own request; and Buchanan was even told by friends at the Court that his life was to be sold to Cardinal Beaton for money. He made his escape, when his guards were asleep, through his bedroom-window, and fled to London;¹ not without hazard, on the road, from the thieves on the Borders, and the plague in the north of England. A Sir John Rainsford, whose memory he honoured afterwards with grateful lines,—it is significant that we should find him grateful to persons whom *we know* to have befriended him,—did him great services at this time; and some verses addressed to Thomas Cromwell, and to King Henry, show that he was anxious to find friends, and perhaps a settlement, in London. We should like to be sure that he visited the tomb of his predecessor in Scottish scholarship, Bishop Douglas, who is honourably mentioned in his *History*, and had been buried in the Church of the Savoy seventeen years before. But his stay on the banks of the Thames was short. The King was burning, with rigid impartiality, those who insisted on believing in the Pope's authority, and those who insisted on disbelieving the Pope's religion. So, the uncertainty of public affairs, the hopelessness of his private affairs, and, as he tells us, the *summa humanitas* of the French whom he always liked, took him once more over to Paris. There, he had the misfortune to find his enemy, Cardinal Beaton, acting as Ambassador; so he accepted an engagement from Andrew Govea, a learned Portuguese, who had been for some time head of the College of Guienne, and set off for Bordeaux. Scotland has always been famous for good Latin and good claret; and that her greatest scholar should have taught Latin in the capital of the claret-country has a historical fitness about it which we rather like. It was still the eventful year 1539 when he settled there; for Charles the Fifth visited the city, in which he held a festival of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and Buchanan addressed a poem to him, in December. Buchanan wrote little poems on several occasions of public interest, which spread abroad, and diffused his reputation, though they were not collected and

¹ Chalmers said that he was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Andrews, quoting, in proof of it, a passage in which Brantôme said the same thing—of Queen Mary!—(See Irving, *note*, p. 23).

published, in the modern sense, till after years. Writers publish books now in order to become known; they published books then because they were known. The world of letters of Europe formed a European commonwealth or confederation, with the Latin as its common language. Englishmen, Scots, French, Poles, Portuguese, moved to and fro, serving in each others' universities from the mountains of Scotland to the vineyards of Aquitaine; and this migratory life and free international communication gave superior men a celebrity which was in a certain degree independent of the issue of books.

Buchanan remained at Bordeaux, teaching Latin in the college of Guienne, for three years. It was an interesting period of his life, though not free from anxiety, inasmuch as Cardinal Beaton sent letters urging the Archbishop of Bordeaux to arrest him; and the Franciscans, as usual, were criminally busy scheming how to do him an injury. But it was the fortune of this illustrious man, and an admirable sign of the affectionate respect which he inspired, to make friends wherever he went. At Bordeaux, he had friends who staved off the danger from the Archbishop till the death of James the Fifth, in 1542; and a plague raging in Aquitaine diverted the attention of his persecutors. Meanwhile, he pursued his regular duties, and his nobler literary labours, with his usual energy and success. One young gentleman, sent at a very early age to the College, had him for a domestic preceptor there, and has carried his name to many and many a circle where it might not otherwise have penetrated. This was the great humorist and moralist, whom Europe appreciates,—now, perhaps, better than it ever did,—Michel de Montaigne. In his famous essay addressed to Madame Diane de Foix,—‘*De l’Institution des Enfants*’ (*Essais*, liv. i. chap. 25), Montaigne speaks of him as ‘*Georges Buchanan, ce grand poëte escossois*,’ and says that he was one of his ‘*precepteurs domestiques*.’ They met in after years, Montaigne goes on to tell, when Buchanan had charge of the young Comte de Brissac, and Buchanan declared that he meant to write on education, and take that of his old pupil as a model. Montaigne had learned Latin in his infancy by hearing nothing else spoken, and used to chatter it so freely as a youngster, that Buchanan and Muretus, he adds, were afraid to accost him. What a pleasant picture that of such a meeting between the grave and storm-tossed, but brilliant and high-spirited Scot, and the bright-witted, lively French boy, before whom a life of such quiet happy sunshine was slowly opening! When he grew a little older, Montaigne used, as he likewise himself informs us, to play parts in the Latin dramas which Buchanan wrote to be acted in the College. These dramas are *Jephthes* and *Baptistes*;

the first based on the story of Jephtha's vow in Judges, the second on the fate of John the Baptist. They are written, not indeed with much tragic tenderness, but with an elevated vigour, and in diction of great purity and elegance. The *Baptistes* is particularly interesting; because it is easy to see that in drawing a cruel Pharisee, Buchanan is thinking of not less cruel Papists; while the stern abhorrence which he shows of tyranny in his whole presentation of Herod, is the natural forerunner of the *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* and the *Rerum Scotticarum Historia* of future years. His Protestantism was steadily strengthening itself; and he had drawn from the purest founts of classical antiquity a love of freedom never more necessary to Europe than just at that time, when the feudal checks on despotism were growing weak, and nothing had yet risen to take their place. In his double capacity of Scottish gentleman and classical scholar, George detested despotism; and we shall see presently that he is one of the undoubted founders of the modern constitutionalism of Europe.

At Bordeaux, also, Buchanan translated the *Medea* and *Alcestis* of Euripides, versions used so lately as the other day by Monk. And to Bordeaux belongs the charming *Maïæ Calendæ*, for he speaks there of the grape which grows on the sandy soil of Gascony:—

‘Nec tenebris claudat generosum cella Lyæum,
Quem dat arenoso Vasconis uva solo.’

The poem is full of all the images of love, and joy, and southern merry-making; and, like many a quaint passage in Knox's History, and many a brilliant hit in Beza's epigrams, is instructive as giving us the genial side of those great sixteenth-century reformers, whom wretched modern sentimentalists scarcely ever name without a shudder. Buchanan had heard the chimes at midnight, and the laugh of Neæra in the corner; and knew well the flavour of Gascon wine, and talked well over it. He was earnest and laborious and proud; but also hilarious and humane. We sometimes think that he was very fairly typified by his coat-of-arms,—a lion rampant holding a human heart in its dexter paw. He was leonine, but he had the kindly affections of nature too. One great man whom he came to know during his stay in Gascony evidently found him so,—Julius Cæsar Scaliger. Scaliger, now getting well on in middle life, was settled as a physician at Agen, and to Agen, Buchanan and others used to go and visit him in the vintage-time. He forgot even his gout,—records his son, the famous Joseph,—when he had such men to talk with about letters: the ‘literary man’ without literature, being still (happily) in the womb of time.

And Buchanan enjoyed Scaliger as much as Scaliger enjoyed Buchanan. It once happened that our George was detained when his friend expected him, and he expressed his feelings in some pleasant lines, which conclude as follows:—

‘ Quamvis laboris omnia ingratis
Sint plena, res mihi unica
Magis molesta est cæteris molestiis
Non intueri Julium.’¹

Joseph Scaliger, the ‘greater son’ of Julius, as many have thought him, must have been born while Buchanan was in the province,² and may possibly have been exhibited to him on one of his visits, as the *βρέφος* or *infans*. He inherited his father’s admiration for Buchanan, and perhaps his friendship for him. He certainly tells us, in that eminently curious book of table-talk, the *Scaligerana*, that he was in Edinburgh soon after the murder of Rizzio (A.D. 1566); and it is hard to conjecture why he should have visited Scotland, without counting a wish to see Buchanan amongst his chief probable motives. Strange to say, this journey of the younger Scaliger to the North has failed to attract the attention of any of Buchanan’s biographers. Buchanan mentions him with honour in his *History*; and he celebrated Buchanan in an epitaph, the last couplet of which ranks with the most masterly things that we know:—

‘ Imperii fuerat Romani Scotia limes,
Romani eloquii Scotia finis erit.’

This memorable residence at Bordeaux lasted, as we have said, for three years. With an indifference to chronological detail, of which Bayle complains, Buchanan passes over in his autobiography the five years which followed, during which he visited Toulouse, and was a regent of the College of Cardinal Le Moine, in Paris. The scholars of that age loved to remember how Buchanan, Turnebus, and Muretus all taught in this College at the same time; and a Scot may assert, without fear of being convicted of patriotic exaggeration, that Buchanan was the greatest of the illustrious triad. As a scholar merely, he was a match for any man; but the greatness of many scholars ended where his had still a new world before it. He was not only a critic, philologer, or Latin stylist, but a man of genius, using the accomplishments which these titles imply as the tools of a fine intellect. The orations of Muretus, for instance, are still worth reading by anybody who cares to see with what easy grace a dead language may be used by a man of parts and scholarship. But that exhausts their praise; for there is no mind at bottom worth

¹ Buch. *Epig.* i. 49 (*Op.* ed. Rudd. ii. 78).

² In 1540.

the skill employed in the superficial expression. The classicism of Muretus is a Roman mask, but a mask only. The classicism of Buchanan is a Roman face, with a strong living brain behind it.

He was now turned forty, and the gout had begun to give him sharp hints of what was in preparation for his old age. A wanderer from his boyhood, he was to be a wanderer still, and in 1547, he set off with his friend Andrew Govea to Portugal, the king of which country, John the Third, had founded a university at Coimbra, which he was anxious to stock with sound and eminent professors. Of the men selected, several were Buchanan's friends. Portugal seemed a quiet corner to retreat to, at a time when the whole of the rest of the Continent was threatened with war. And the whole prospect seemed so tempting, that he persuaded his brother Patrick to join the group.¹ But soon after they all settled down in their new land Andrew Govea died. His powerful influence withdrawn, the Portuguese bigots and heresy-hunters began to vex the little colony of scholars. Three of them were confined, after much outrageous insult, in the dungeons of the Inquisition. Buchanan himself was handled with peculiar severity. He was a foreigner, and without patrons. He had written a satire against the Franciscans, which his persecutors did not detest the less, because none of them had seen a copy of it; and because Buchanan had taken the precaution to explain all about it to King John before he entered the country. He had eaten flesh in Lent, and the whole Peninsula did the same. He had made occasional jokes at monks; and was reported to have said in conversation, that St. Augustine seemed to him to lean towards a view of the Eucharist condemned by the Church of Rome. All this was quite enough to ruin him in the eyes of a Portuguese religious rabble. But he was a man of European distinction; so the authorities, after teasing him for half a year, shut him up in a monastery that the monks might 'instruct' him! The monks were civil enough, but very ignorant, Buchanan informs us. Yet will his stay within their walls be remembered long after the last monk in Portugal has become an honest ploughman or cobbler; for in that Portuguese monastery Buchanan began his immortal version of the Psalms, and executed many of them. Surely it would be difficult to find a more dramatic position even in that, the heroic period, as it may be truly called, of modern literary history! Here was a Scot from the Lennox,—born on the river Blane, amidst the lochs and mountains of the north,—imprisoned among lemon-

¹ Pate was cut off prematurely; and his brother celebrated him with Catullian tenderness.—*Epig.* 2. 23 (*Op. ed.* Rudd. ii. 84).

complexioned monks under the sun of Lusitania, and while nominally undergoing their illiterate teaching, beguiling the hours by founding a great classical religious work. But there is something more than dramatic in the picture of Buchanan translating the Psalms in a Portuguese cell. His great nature had known sorrow, and was feeling it now, like the royal Psalmist himself; and if he cried to his Lord in a language which was not that he had learned from his mother, the intellectual labour did not, we may feel sure, altogether deaden the spiritual pain. The translation, thus viewed, has a special moral interest; and the fact that such were Buchanan's occupations, prepares us for finding him by and by one of the founders of modern Protestant Scotland, along with the Regent Murray and Knox.

Buchanan's version of the Psalms is indeed, in many respects, a translation standing alone in the history of literature. It is not a translation of a mere work of art, however illustrious, but of a work which the nations have agreed to receive as inspired by more than human wisdom, and expressed with more than human beauty. It is not a translation into the language of the readers to whom it is addressed, but into a language in no way coloured by the faith embodied in the original, and all the associations of which are different from, and often incongruous with, that faith. Buchanan was to render the deep Semitic spiritualism of the prophet monarch into a Pagan tongue; into the speech of Epicurean *procurators* of Judea, and Roman men of the world, whose poetry was half a result of cultivation; into metres made famous by the love-songs of Æolian girls, and the war-songs of Æolian demagogues; the idylls of Sicilians at the court of the Ptolemies, and of their graceful imitators in the Rome of the Emperors; the epics of artificial poets; and the satirical and familiar pieces of debauched heathen wits. This was no common task, but luckily it fell into the hands of no common man. Buchanan knew that his version must be classical; there is no standard of Latin but that which the classical writers supply. So he set himself to build a classical temple in honour of the true God; and instead of the hewn stone, and the cedars of Lebanon, and the gold, and the lily-work, and the pomegranates of the temple at Jerusalem, he provided the marble, and the oak, and the olive-wood, and the silver from Laurion, and the subtle, graceful carvings of Greece and Italy. For every rose of Sharon, he did his best to provide a rose of Pæstum. And the result is a work unequal in parts, too closely recalling, sometimes, its classical models; but grave, chaste, noble, skilful, and occasionally of a beauty which defies all rivalry; which has the Syrian depth of feeling with the European charm

of form, and in which you seem to hear the old sad Hebrew soul breathing itself through the strings of an Italian lute. Lest the reader should fancy that our reverence for Buchanan has carried us too far, we transcribe what is perhaps the gem of the whole work, the '*By the Rivers of Babylon*,' the 137th Psalm:—

'Dum procul a patria mœsti Babylonis in oris,
 Fluminis ad liquidas forte sedemus aquas;
 Illa animum subiit species miseranda Sionis,
 Et nunquam patrii tecta videnda soli.
 Flevimus, et gemitus luctantia verba repressit;
 Inque sinus liquidæ decedit imber aquæ.
 Muta super virides pendebant nablia ramos,
 Et salices tacitas sustinere lyras.
 Ecce ferox dominus Solymæ populator opimæ
 Exigit in mediis carmina læta malis:
 Qui patriam exilio nobis mutavit acerbo,
 Nos jubet ad patrios verba referre modos,
 Quale canebamus, steterat dum celsa Sionis
 Regia, finitimis invidiosa locis.
 Siccine divinos Babylon irrideat hymnos?
 Audiat et sanctos terra profana modos?
 O Solymæ, O adyta, et sacri penetralia templi,
 Ullane vos animo deleat hora meo?
 Comprecor, ante meæ capiant me oblivie dextræ,
 Nec memor argutæ sit mea dextra lyræ:
 Os mihi destituat vox, arescente palato,
 Hæreat ad fauces aspera lingua meas:
 Prima mihi vestræ nisi sint præconia laudis;
 Hinc nisi lætitiæ surgat origo meæ.
 At tu (quæ nostræ insultavit læta rapinæ)
 Gentis Idumææ tu memor esto, pater.
 Diripite, ex imis evertite fundamentis,
 Æquaque (clamabant) reddite tecta solo.
 Tu quoque crudeles Babylon dabis impia pœnas:
 Et rerum instabiles experiere vices.
 Felix qui nostris accedet cladibus ultor,
 Reddet ad exemplum qui tibi damna tuum.
 Felix qui tenero consperget saxa cerebro,
 Eripiens gremio pignora cara tuo.'

This may be studied as a model of such compositions. There is thorough power, yet perfect ease; a quiet finished classical tone throughout, but no patchwork, no mosaic, no *centoism*. His Muse does not carry the classic rose in her bosom as something she has plucked; but it is on her cheek, it comes from the classic health in her blood. Anybody who wishes to see the difference between a modern man of genius writing in Latin, and an accomplished modern gentleman who can write Latin verses, should turn to the *Anthologia Oxoniensis*, and compare

this delightful performance with the translation of the same psalm by Lord Grenville.

Another poem in Buchanan's version which stands very high, is the 104th—'*Bless the Lord, O my soul.*' There is a fine roll of genial vigour in the passage we are about to quote. The reader may like to compare it with the version used in our churches, to which we give precedence, accordingly:—

' He watereth the hills from his chambers :
The earth is satisfied with the fruit of thy works.
He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle,
And herb for the service of man :
That he may bring forth food out of the earth ;
And wine *that* maketh glad the heart of man,
And oil to make *his* face to shine,
And bread *which* strengtheneth man's heart.
The trees of the LORD are full of *sap* ;
The cedars of Lebanon, which he hath planted ;
Where the birds make their nests :
As for the stork, the fir-trees *are* her house.
The high hills *are* a refuge for the wild goats ;
And the rocks for the conies.'

' Tu pater aerios montes, camposque jacentes
Nectare cœlesti saturas, fœcundaque rerum
Semina vitales in luminis elicis oras.¹
Unde pecus carpat viridis nova pabula fœni :
Unde olus humanos geniale assurgat in usus :
Quæque novent fessas cerealia munera vires,
Quæque hilarent mentes jucundi pocula vini,
Quique hilaret vultus succus viridantis olivi.
Nec minus arboribus succi genitabilis humor
Sufficitur : cedro Libanum frondente coronas,
Alitibus nidos : abies tibi consita surgit,
Nutrit ubi implumes peregrina ciconia fœtus.
Tu timidis montes damis ; cava saxa dedisti,
Tutus ut abstrusis habitaret echinus in antris.'

The great variety of metres used is another distinction of Buchanan's paraphrase of the Psalms, and shows the range of his command over the language. Here is the latter part of the 27th Psalm—'*The Lord is my light, and my salvation,*' from the 9th verse onwards :—

' Ne conde vultus lumen a me amabilis,
Neu me in tenebris desere.
Servum per iram ne sine opprimi tuum :
Vitamque, quam debet tibi,
Tuere ab hoste, et e periclis eripe,
O spes salutis unica.

¹ Some editions read *auras* (see note ap. *Op.* ed. Rudd. ii. 69).

Me cari amici, me propinqui, me pater,
 Me blanda mater liquerat :
 At non reliquit, qui pios in asperis
 Non deserit rebus, Deus.
 Parens benigne, me vias doce tuas,
 Rectaque deduc semita :
 Ne vis metusque ab hoste me deterritum
 De calle recti detrahat.
 Ne me impiorum obnoxium libidini
 Relinque. Testes impii
 Fingunt maligne falsa de me crimina,
 Armantque se mendaciis.
 Mens victa tantis jam fatisceret malis,
 Ni spes foveret me tuæ
 Benignitatis, post labores anxios
 Mox affuturum gaudium.
 Vivusque vivos inter ipse commoda
 Vitæ beatæ præstolor.
 In rebus ergo turbidis ne concide,
 Sed fortis usque sustine :
 Te roborabit Dominus, et cor fulciet ;
 Tu fortis usque sustine.'

This measure, used by Horace in the *Epodes*, was a favourite with Buchanan, who has employed it in his paraphrase twenty-eight times, while Sapphics appear on ten, and Alcaics on sixteen occasions.¹ It is true that he takes a greater license sometimes than is now permitted to those who produce once or twice in a lifetime, a choice copy of verses as an academic exercise. But Tate has shown in the *Horatius Restitutus*, that he did not exceed in this way more than still later modern Latinists of the first rank. And besides, it belonged to his very character as a creative writer, who had taken all Latin, as Bacon took all knowledge, for his province, and who really spent his life not so much in imitating Latin literature as in adding to it.

Now and then Buchanan simply borrows a line or two from an ancient, and dovetails them into his Psalter. Thus we find—

‘Gentis humanæ pater atque custos’

(Hor. *Carm.* i. 12) opening Psalm 8th ; and

‘Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
 Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovæ.’

(Hor. *Carm.* iii. 1) opening Psalm 82d. But such cases are rare, and with regard to the latter, which has excited some censure,

¹ See Ruddiman’s *Essay, De Metris Buchananæis*, appended to his invaluable edition.

Dr. Irving observes that '*Jova* is the tetragrammaton of the Hebrews,' and that 'to insert the word Jehovah in the translation of a psalm certainly cannot be called reprehensible.'¹ The extent of Buchanan's Hebrew scholarship is not, we believe, accurately known. He seems to have consulted the Hebrew text with the interpretation of his friend Vatablus and the commentators, and he probably used these as subsidiary to the Vulgate, the Septuagint, and the modern translations. But this is a question for Hebraists, and we recommend the inquiry as an interesting study to our probationers.

Our present object being, however, to give something like a sketch of the whole life and works of our great countryman, we cannot linger even over this renowned paraphrase, much less enter into any comparison of its merits with those of the version of Arthur Johnston. After some months of monastic imprisonment, he was set free. The king gave him a little money for his daily expenses, and held out some vague hopes of employment. But Buchanan was sick of Portugal, and longing for brilliant cultivated Paris, a longing which he has expressed in a delightful allegorical pastoral, the *Desiderium Lutetiae*.² While he was in this mood (and those who know the smells of Lisbon in our own time, will have dark visions of the Lisbon of three centuries ago), a Cretan vessel bound for England put into the Tagus. Buchanan embarked in her,—Crete belonged to Venice in those days, and she was probably a decent vessel with a valuable cargo,—passed down the noble river, with its sloping hills clothed with woods, and reached the country then ruled by young Edward the Sixth, in safety. Buchanan seems always to have had a kind of dim prophetic notion that London was a place which ought to afford a field to a Scotch man of letters. The time, however, was not yet come. The factions of Northumberland and Somerset were agitating the country, the public mind was disturbed, and after a brief delay, Buchanan made for the French capital, where we find him in January 1553. France had always something for him; and after holding for some time the office of Regent in the College of Boncourt, he was engaged as domestic tutor to the young Count Timoleon de Cossé, son of a great noble, distinguished soldier, and accomplished gentleman, the Marshal de Brissac. If a gentleman must take employment of this kind, he is likelier to be happy with a family of real quality and distinction than elsewhere. Buchanan spent five years with the Marshal,

¹ Irving's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, p. 113.

² *Silva*, No. III., *Op. ed. Rudd.* ii. 50. For a good squib on Portugal and a strange colony then being sent out from it to Brazil, see the *Fratres Fraterrimi* (*Op. ed. Rudd.* ii. 25).

by whom he was treated with the highest consideration, and lived with him in France and Italy. During this time, 1555-1560, Buchanan had leisure to study theological questions more than he had yet done, and also began, or planned, the *De Sphæra*, which the occupations of his subsequent life did not permit him to finish. The first specimens of his Psalms appeared during those years, and his *Alcestis*. He flung off occasional poems also, *more suo*; one on the surrender of Calais, a topic which engaged the highest French wits; and an epithalamium on the marriage of his beautiful young countrywoman Mary with Francis the Second. She was then as brilliant and charming in the eyes of Buchanan as the Dauphiness Marie Antoinette two centuries afterwards in the eyes of Burke. But how different the duty that was to devolve on Buchanan towards the lustrous young sovereign of his day, from that which the other man of genius was to discharge to the other beautiful offspring of the blood of Lorraine!

Mary landed in Scotland on the 19th August 1561. The exact date of Buchanan's arrival is uncertain, but he too was beyond doubt in his native land in 1561, after an absence, as he himself describes it, though a little inaccurately, of twenty-four years. He found his country victorious over the Papal tyranny, but with much still to do for the establishment of its Protestantism. He joined the new Church, towards which all the lines of his intellectual life had long been converging, at once; and his value was immediately seen and recognised. He was appointed to assist in inspecting the revenues of the Universities, and drawing up a model of instruction; and, being a member of the General Assembly in 1563, he was one of those charged with the revision of the *Book of Discipline*. Next year he dedicated the *Franciscanus*, in its revised and perfected form, to the Earl of Murray. But as yet it was quite possible to be a firm friend to the Scotch Reformed Church, and to all good causes, without ceasing to be a loyal friend to Mary Queen of Scots. Buchanan had probably been presented to her in Paris. Almost the first trace we have of him after his return is in the letter from Randolph to Cecil¹ of April 1562, which describe him as daily reading Livy with the Queen in Holyrood. The list of the Queen's books shows that she was a highly accomplished woman, and no mere tiro in Latin will ever get any pleasure out of Livy. Buchanan became, for some time, the laureate in fact, if not in title, of Mary; and it was no mean part of her splendour in a lettered age to have in one and the same person, and that person a subject, the best scholar in Europe for her preceptor, and the

¹ First quoted by Chalmers, *Life of Ruddiman*, pp. 319, 320.

best poet in Europe for her poet. Mary was far from being insensible to such claims, and want of liberality was never one of her faults. She presented Buchanan, in October 1564, with a pension of £500 Scots, to be drawn from the temporalities of Crossraguel. Buchanan did his best to repay her with a wit brighter than gold. He celebrated her nuptials with Darnley in 1565; and the Pompæ or Masques which he supplied for the festivities are equal in point and grace to anything of the sort by Ben Jonson or Voltaire. Nay, far more, he brought out, that winter, or next spring, 1565-66, at the house of the Stephens of Paris, the first complete edition of his Paraphrase of the Psalms, and dedicated it to the Queen in the renowned epigram which every Scotsman ought to have by heart; which is one of the brightest jewels in the Scottish crown; and which rivals or excels any compliment paid to a European sovereign since the revival of letters. Listen, reader, once more, to this famous specimen of the wit and politeness of a great old world that has passed away:—

‘ Nympha, Caledoniæ quæ nunc feliciter oræ,
 Missa per innumeros sceptrâ tueris avos :
 Quæ sortem antevenis meritis, virtutibus annos,
 Sexum animis, morum nobilitate genus,
 Accipe (sed facilis) cultu donata Latino
 Carmina, fatidici nobile regis opus.
 Illa quidem, Cirrha procul et Permesside lymphâ,
 Pene sub Arctoi sidere nata poli :
 Non tamen ausus eram male natum exponere fœtum,
 Ne mihi displiceant quæ placuere tibi.
 Nam quod ab ingenio domini sperare nequibant,
 Debebunt genio forsitan illa tuo.’

We subjoin a translation, but feel painfully how in striving to preserve the condensation of the original we have let its elegance escape:—

‘ Lady, who happily in Calydon,
 The sceptre of a thousand sires bygone,
 Bearest; whose lot thy merits far outshine,
 Whose worth thy years; mind, sex; and manners, line;
 Gently accept, in Latin garb arrayed,
 The noble songs the prophet monarch made.
 Born far from Cirrha and Permessian stream,
 Almost beneath the pole-star’s icy beam :
 Yet would I not the bantling cast abroad,
 Lest I should seem to scorn what you applaud.
 For what their master’s genius cannot give,
 Thy genius may bestow, and make them live.’

About this time, too, Buchanan collected the fugitive pieces that he had scattered abroad during his wanderings in life, and which had got blown like thistle-down all over the world. Some of these were stinging little satires against monks and similar riff-raff of the old bigotry; and it may amuse our readers to see the freedom with which he handles such *canaille*. The lines that follow are addressed to St. Antony, whom an old tradition represents as having kept a herd of swine:—

‘Diceris, Antoni, porcos pavisse subulcus
 Vivus, adhuc monachos lumine cassus alis.
 Par stupor ingenii est ventrisque abdomen utrisque,
 Sorde pari gaudent, ingluvieque pari.
 Nec minus hoc mutum pecus est brutumque suillo,
 Nec minus insipidum, nec minus illepidum.
 Cætera conveniunt, sed non levis error in uno est,
 Debuit et monachis glans cibus esse tuis.’¹

‘When living, thou, St. Antony,
 As swineherd kept thy swine,
 Now dead thou keep’st, St. Antony,
 This herd of monks of thine.

‘The monks as stupid are as they,
 As fond of dirt and prog;
 In dumbness, torpor, ugliness,
 Each monk is like each hog.

‘So much agrees ’tween herd and herd,
 One point would make all good,
 If but thy monks, St. Antony,
 Had acorns for their food!’

There is a grim humour characteristic of the man and the age in our next quotation:—

‘IN PIUM PONTIFICEM.

‘Vendidit ære polum, terras in morte relinquit:
 Styx superest Papæ quam colat una Pio.’²

‘Heaven he had sold for money; earth he leaves in death as well:
 What remains to Pontiff Pius?—nothing, that I see, but hell.’

The distich on Zoilus is better known:—

‘Frustra ego te laudo, frustra me, Zoile, lædis;
 Nemo mihi credit, Zoile, nemo tibi.’

¹ *Fratres Fraterrimi*, 22 (*Op. ed. Rudd. ii. 24*).

² *Fratres Fraterrimi*, 10.

‘ I praise thee, Zoilus, in vain,
In vain you rail at me always;
Because the world don’t care a grain,
What either of the couple says.’

But, as we have seen before, Buchanan shone in the complimentary as much as in the satirical epigram; and, indeed, it is a very great, though a very common mistake, to limit the signification of the word to sarcastic effusions. Of the famous lines on Neæra, Ménage used to say that he would have given his best benefice to have written them, and Ménage, as has been observed, held some fat ones:—

‘ Illa mihi semper præsentî dura Neæra,
Me quoties absum semper abesse dolet;
Non desiderio nostri, non mæret amore,
Sed se non nostro posse dolore frui.’

‘ Neæra is harsh at our every greeting,
Whene’er I am absent, she wants me again;
’Tis not that she loves me, or cares for our meeting,
She misses the pleasure of seeing my pain.’

In 1566 Buchanan was made Principal of St. Leonard’s College, St. Andrews; and in 1567 he was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly. That was the dark and dreadful year of the Darnley murder; of the Bothwell marriage; and of the Queen’s imprisonment; and it behoved honest men to look to their country’s honour and safety, and to take an active part in public affairs, according to their conscientious convictions. No Scottish man of letters has ever held such important public offices as Buchanan. In 1568, after Langside, and the Queen’s flight to England, Buchanan appeared in England with Murray, and Morton, and the other Commissioners, and assisted them in the exposure of Mary, by drawing up the *Detectio*. We shall probably never hear the last of his ‘ingratitude’ on this occasion, because there is no sign of any future lack of intellects of the calibre suited to the belief of nonsense of that stamp. It is vain to tell an operative sentimentalist that when a queen rewards a great writer for his services in an innocent part of her life, she does not thereby bind him over to support her through thick and thin, after she has become an adulteress and a murderess, and the wife of her accomplice in murder and adultery. We put the matter very plainly, because it was just in this plain light that it appeared to Buchanan, and determined his course of action. And that is all with which we have to do for our present biographic purpose. It so happens, indeed, that we believe as Buchanan believed on the subject, and as Hume, Principal Robertson, Mr. Laing, Sir Walter Scott, M. Mignet,

M. Teulet, Mr. Kingsley, Mr. Froude, Mr. Joseph Robertson, and Mr. John Hill Burton, have concurred in believing since. But we do not need to go into the miserable and hackneyed controversy once more, because the only point of consequence to us now, and here, is, whether Buchanan was sincere in the faith which he professed in Mary's guilt, and on which he acted? And why should he not have been so? He was a public man, with every opportunity for observing the circumstances. He had led an honourable life up to sixty years of age; and was the esteemed friend of half the great men in Europe, from Tycho Brahe in Denmark to Roger Ascham in London, and from Roger Ascham in London to Theodore Beza in Switzerland. Hitherto he had always passed for a wise and an honest man; why should he have suddenly become a fool, or a scoundrel? No rational answer can be given to this question. The factious and foolish answer is, that he conspired against his Sovereign in the cause of his ambition;—he who never cared for money, as Joseph Scaliger specially remarks;¹ who was never noted as eager for advancement; and who had already secured independence and distinction. But it is no common guilt that the partisans of Mary attribute to Buchanan. They accuse him not of ingratitude to her merely, which is more a silly charge than anything else under the circumstances; but of forging her handwriting to sustain the impeachment of her by her chief nobles. And all this rests on mere conjecture, and is not supported by a tittle of the evidence which is required to bring home a forgery to the ordinary practitioners of the art at the Old Bailey. We know no such stupendous impudence of calumny against a man of the same rank, in the whole history of letters.

Fortunately, however, venomous drivel of this kind is now found on the lips of the lower grade of controversialists only, some of whom would be sufficiently punished if they were called on publicly to construe five lines of the great genius whom they defame. Scholars, like Mr. Froude, substantially accept the *Detectio*, and the higher currents of historical criticism are all flowing in the same direction. We may therefore go on to say that, having done his duty according to his lights, at York, Westminster, and Hampton Court, Buchanan returned to Scotland, and was in 1570, the year of Murray's assassination, made principal teacher of the child king, James.² This rendered

¹ 'Contemptis opibus, spretis popularibus auris,
Ventosæque fugax ambitionis, obis,'

are two of the fine lines in which this great man celebrates Buchanan after his death.

² Chalmers made an exquisite blunder about this appointment (*Life of Ruddiman*, p. 329, note). He found, in Buchanan's *History of Scotland*, that

it necessary that he should give up St. Leonard's, and his headquarters for some time were now at Stirling. On the whole, he was very successful in his tuition of James. A man or a gentleman he could not make him in the nature of things. But it was possible to make him a scholar, though of a peculiar type, and this Buchanan achieved. There is a tradition that when somebody blamed him for turning the lad into a pedant, George answered that it was the best result of which the case admitted. Other stories, too, floated down, illustrative of the wholesome severity of his discipline; and we need not repeat his well-known saying to the Countess of Mar, when she scolded him for a pungent application to an important part of the person of the 'Lord's anointed.' The caustic humour of the much-travelled veteran seems to have increased with his years, and was probably not improved by the gout, or by the continual labour which he imposed on himself to the end of his useful life.

The same year, 1570, which saw him made the King's teacher, saw him made, during the regency of Lennox, Keeper of the Privy Seal. This gave him a seat in Parliament, and he took an active and leading part in public affairs. He opposed Morton; he helped the Church to revise the Book of Policy; he drew up a scheme for the reform of the University of St. Andrews, one effect of which, if the Act establishing it had not been repealed, would have been to widen and deepen the study of Greek in Scotland. He wrote two political essays in his native tongue, 'Ane Admonitioun to the Trew Lordis,' and the 'Chamæleon.' These are both well worth reading still, if only as samples of the good old literary Scots, so full of vigour and character, of the sixteenth century.

To the last years of Buchanan's life belong two very important works, the exact progress of which it is not now possible to know in detail. The first of these, in order of time, was the *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, a well-known dialogue on government, first published in 1579. The object of this work is to lay down the abstract principles of political rule, and to illustrate them by the traditions of Scotland and other countries. A friend of the author, Thomas Maitland, is introduced as having just returned from France, and as falling into conversation with him on the recent events,—Darnley's death, and the incarceration of Queen Mary. These events, Maitland says, had caused great indignation in France,—the first as a gross crime; but the second, also, as a violation of the rights of monarchs. Buchanan

Mary had appointed certain *tutores*—that is, of course, *guardians*—to her son, and thinking it meant tutors in the sense of teachers, antedated Buchanan's nomination to the office by some years!

holds the last feeling cheap, and invites his friend to discuss with him the origin and nature of monarchy. He proceeds, accordingly, to lay down the doctrine, that when society formed itself among mankind, a king was chosen, like a physician, as a healer of social perturbations. But a king, after all, being only a man, the law was given him as a colleague or moderator. Buchanan denies that he has any dislike of monarchy in the abstract, though he is aware that his companion thinks so, from having often heard him praise the ancient republics and the government of Venice. He does not care whether the ruler be called king, duke, emperor, or consul, so long as he is placed in his magistracy for the purpose of equitable administration. The general decisions arrived at for the welfare of the country ought to be the result of counsel taken between the *rex* and the *populus*. Buchanan does not want the people to impose its wishes on the king by force, but only to prescribe a measure to *his* absolute government; so that the two powers may consult together in common, and come to a common resolution as to their common interest. Nor is the old philosopher for allowing the whole people to take part in the matter:—‘*Ego nunquam existimavi*,’ says he, ‘*universi populi judicio eam rem permitti deberi*.’ He would have been content with a selection from all orders, very much like that of the Scottish Parliament—*prope ad consuetudinem nostram*. A sharp distinction is drawn throughout between the king and the tyrant, and a suggestion is made that prizes ought to be given to those who slay a tyrant, as to those who kill a wolf. Coming to the Scots monarchy, Buchanan maintains that our princes were originally selected for their virtues; that many of them who acted cruelly and flagitiously were called to account, of whom some were punished with exile and some with death, no measures being ever taken against their punishers. But of all nations, he declares none was ever more severe on the violators of good kings. The murderers of James the First were fearfully tortured to death; while as for James the Third, a wicked man, nobody avenged his fate, or even regretted it. He illustrates this general law of our history by a characteristic reference to the fate of King Evenus, one of those fabulous monarchs before the Christian era, who are now regarded as never having existed, except on the walls of Holyrood. He cites the case of the rejection of John Baliol also; and presently he passes on to the argument from the Scriptures, and argues that when St. Paul advised his disciples to be subject to the higher powers, he was not advising an acquiescence in tyranny, but only checking some fanatics who were opposed to all civil obedience whatever. The Scriptures, according to Buchanan, clearly permit tyrannicide; and

he lays down plainly the doctrine that, as kings derive their powers from the people, the people has a right, in a just cause, to reclaim the powers which it gave.

Such are the prominent points of this celebrated dialogue,—the natural offspring of three influences: the traditions of a country where monarchy was weak; the freedom-loving spirit of the Greek and Roman literature; and the still sterner teachings of the Hebrew history, as it appeared to the mind of the most vehement of the Reformers. What seem to us its common-places now, were heresies which, in the sixteenth century, sent a thrill through Europe. Buchanan was ‘answered’ at once, of course, and generations of royalists tilted at him. We find a squib of the Civil War beginning

‘A Scot and Jesuit,¹ hand in hand,
First taught the world to say,
That subjects ought to have command,
And monarchs to obey.’

Dryden looked upon Buchanan as the inspirer of the politics of Milton, and Fletcher of Saltoun and that old classical generation all loved his name. He must be regarded, therefore, as one of the founders of our modern freedom—in fact, of our modern constitutionalism; for his whole dialogue shows that he was quite content to leave the kings their share of power, if they in their turn would be content with that. In short, he wanted a well-regulated historical freedom, such as Burke and De Tocqueville have loved in later times; something equally removed from a tyranny and a democracy. To Buchanan, who had seen so much of the Continent, especially, the danger from tyranny must have appeared the master-danger of the age; and there is no doubt that in another generation he might equally have laboured to save society from the mob,—especially if he had seen that mob-government was only a roundabout way of arriving at the despotism which he abhorred.

The dedication of the *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* is sufficiently remarkable to demand special mention. It is dated at Stirling, and addressed to the young King, who was then (January 10th, 1579) in his thirteenth year. After stating that he had written the dialogue several years before, in turbulent times, Buchanan, with the gravity of an old man who felt that he had not much more to say in this world, earnestly commends its lessons to James. He is inclined to hope good things of him from his promise; but he fears, sometimes, that the flattery of courtiers

¹ The Jesuit was Mariana, the historian of Spain, who also wrote a political treatise of a similar complexion.

may corrupt him, and begs him to take the little book as a guide through such rocks. Well would it have been for the Stewarts if they had listened to the voice—with a mournful tone of love in it visible through all its hard clearness—of the venerable sage!

When the *De Jure* appeared, Buchanan was occupied, as he had been for some years, with his *Kerum Scoticarum Historia*,—his History of Scotland. For the practical purposes of ordinary readers this work has been long superseded. The early part of the narrative is thick with fables; there are inaccuracies of statement in later parts, which Ruddiman has punctually exposed; much that a modern student wishes to know of the growth of our nation is wholly passed over; and the solid trustworthy portions of the book have been long absorbed, and expanded by much valuable detail in later histories. Modern criticism has, like a winter wind, blown thirty-nine leaves, with the names of kings on them, from Buchanan's genealogical tree of the Scots monarchy.¹ We know now what to think of the league of Achaius with Charlemagne; and of the descent of the Stewarts (a Norman family coming out of Shropshire) from Banquo; and we know that Bruce the Competitor *did* swear fealty to Edward the First in 1291, and did not make the patriotic answer which Buchanan attributes to him. And yet, for all that, the *History* of Buchanan is a great literary monument, beautiful even in obsolescence and decay. Nobody but a man of genius could have cast his eye over Scotland as he did, and produced the masterly little picture of it, a literary map, which occupies fourteen pages of Book First. Every region is described there, in a few happy strokes, by the characteristics which still fix it on the observer's mind. He brings before us the Lothians, already distinguished by their high civilisation, and their comparative plenty; '*hæc regio humanitatis cultu, et rerum necessariarum ad usum vitæ copia, cæteras longe præcellit.*' He glances at Fife; marks its fringe of little towns, '*totum littus frequentibus oppidulis præcingitur,*' and its variety of occupations; and says a good word for St. Andrews, where he had learned as a youth and taught as a man. In three words he disposes of the rich Carse of Gowrie (Gorea), '*frumentariis campis nobilis.*' He notes the amenity of the climate of Morayshire; sketches the line of the mountains of the Highlands; shows the run of all the chief rivers; and photographs Galloway as swelling with frequent hills. The islands take their turn; and, indeed, everywhere, the essential facts, moral and physical, of Scottish geography, are hit upon with the true master's eye. If Adam

¹ See Mr. Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 318.

Smith had selected the points, and Walter Scott described them, they could hardly have been made more of in the same narrow compass. The reader who may not have leisure to go through the whole twenty books cannot do better than peruse this description ; and his attention may also be specially called to the fine character of Robert Bruce, the concluding paragraph of Book Eighth ; and the noble speech of Bishop Kennedy, in Book Twelfth, which, Ruddiman thought, disputed the palm with the ancients themselves. The tragedies, too, of Mary's reign lose nothing in the hands of so vigorous a describer ; for vigour is the distinguishing element of Buchanan's style. It is consummately elegant, no doubt, but the manly power is what arrests the mind first. Of his special felicitous phrases in the *History*, one has had extraordinary success. There is hardly an expression in commoner use everywhere to this day than that in which we talk of the '*perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*.' It is simply a variety, without being an improvement, of the words of Buchanan in the Sixteenth Book, in which, describing the Treaty of Berwick of 1560 between Queen Elizabeth's Government and the Scots, he says that the English leaders warned the Scots not to fight the French till their allies came up, being afraid '*ne SCOTORUM PRÆFERVIDA INGENIA in errorem inemendabilem rem præcipitarent*.'¹ There can be no greater error than to regard Buchanan as only, or mainly, a Latinist. He was a man of invention, and brilliant as well as solid and reasoning intellect ; a poet and a wit ; whose originality comes out in his *History* as everywhere else. That *History*, for instance, is as superior even to good books like Camden's *Annales*, in natural power, as in style.

The politics of the *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* are the same as those of the *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*. He is everywhere an advocate of constitutional rights ; and if he sometimes builds on uncertain precedents, still the effect was good. He accustomed men to love freedom, and to seek a historical basis for it. He gave an impulse to thought, and roused the hearts of men against those courtly sophisms and servile theories which were rising everywhere into fashion after the fall of the feudal aristocracies. The Stewarts would not listen, and they were swept away about a century after his death. The Bourbons would not listen, and another century found them, too, in exile and on the scaffold. But we must not confound the spirit of Buchanan with that of our modern revolutionists. His was the inspiration of Alcæus, Plato, Cicero, Lucan, not of the penny newspaper and the platform of the demagogue. There are few more characteristic passages than that in which

¹ Buch. *Op.* ed. Rudd. (i. 321, D).

he talks of a rumour that some gentleman was to be turned out of his estate for the benefit of Rizzio, and records the indignation excited by the prospect that men of ancient nobility and good reputation were to be thrust from the seats of their ancestors at the will of a needy knave.¹ The Professor of Latin was classical, but the Cadet of Buchanan was feudal into the bargain.

Whatever the imperfections of this *History*, it had a splendid effect on our national reputation. It was received everywhere as a classic; was reprinted at Geneva, Frankfort, Leyden, Utrecht, Leipsic; and taught Europe that we had a past, and a past of which we might well be proud. Men of letters, long after the author was in his grave, loved to discuss the question whom among the ancients its author most resembled. Fletcher of Saltoun pronounced for Cæsar; Rapin for Livy; Le Clerc for Sallust and Livy combined.² With more justice, Ruddiman held that he had formed a style of his own from the study of all these admirable models.

‘The person love does to us fit,
Like manna, has the taste of all in it’—

says Cowley, or some other of Johnson’s metaphysical poets; and this is the character of the Latin style of the *History* of Buchanan. Porson observed of some indifferent Latin verses, that there was ‘a great deal of Horace in them, and a great deal of Virgil in them, but nothing Horatian and nothing Virgilian.’ The merit of Buchanan’s prose is just the antithesis of this. Livy and Sallust and Tacitus are not there in pieces, but the general atmosphere is redolent of the odour of their charm.

Buchanan was a very old man when his *History* appeared; for it first saw the light at Edinburgh in 1582, the year that he died. He writes to Randolph in 1577:—

‘I am occupiit in wryting of our historie, being assurit to content few, and to displease many tharthrow. The rest of my occupation is wyth the gout, quhilk haldis me besy both day and ngt. . . . And thus I tak my leif shortly at you now, and my lang leif quhen God pleasis, committing you to the protection of the almighty.’

It is to be regretted that we have not more familiar and domestic details of his life. The scholars of that and the following century were voluminous letter-writers, but the relics of Buchanan’s correspondence are painfully scanty. We

¹ *Rer. Scot. Hist.* lib. 17 (*Op.* ed. Rudd. i. 344).

² Ruddiman’s Preface to the Works.

have some details, however, of him in his last years, which throw light on his character as it appeared to those who survived him. He was of austere look, says David Buchanan,¹ and of homely garb, but brightened readily into wit and pleasantry even in the most serious discussions. He was 'a Stoick philosopher,' says Sir James Melville, '. . . pleasant in conversation, . . . and also religious.' He was wont to despise pompous monuments, observes Archbishop Spottiswood; and Scot of Scotstarvet tells that, being summoned to 'compear' before the Council for some passages in his *History* while it was going through the press, he told the macer that 'he was to compear before ane higher Judge.' Andrew Melvin and his nephew James, with Thomas Buchanan, found him not long before his death in Edinburgh, teaching a young lad in his service the hornbook. 'I perceive, sir,' Andrew said, 'you are not idle.' 'Better this,' the old man answered, 'than stealing sheep or sitting idle, which is as bad.' The Melvins came to him again after visiting Arbuthnot's printing-office, where they had seen the passage of his *History* relating to Rizzio's burial, and expressed a fear that the King would prohibit the work entirely. 'Tell me, man,' Buchanan asked from his bed, 'if I have told the truth.' 'I think so,' the younger Buchanan replied. 'Then I will abide his feid and all his kin's,' said the dying scholar. 'And so,' concludes James Melvin, to whom we owe this narration, 'by the printing of his chronicle was ended, that maist learned, wise, and godly man ended this mortal life.' One of the last stories told of him is, that he asked his servant what money he had, and finding that it would not cover his funeral expenses, ordered it to be given to the poor, leaving the city of Edinburgh to bury him or not as it pleased. All he had in the world was an arrear of a hundred pounds due on the pension he derived from Crossraguel. He died while King James was in the hands of the Gowry conspirators, ten years after Knox, and during the boyhood of Shakespeare,² on Friday the 28th September 1582, about four months before his seventy-seventh birthday. He had suffered much pain from gout and other disorders at the close of his long, laborious,

¹ Of the two portraits of him which hung last year in the National Portrait Exhibition at Kensington, that belonging to the Royal Society struck us as the most characteristic, and we have seen an engraving from it in one of the Continental editions of his *History*. What has become of the portrait which King James recognised on the walls of the house of Tycho Brahe in Denmark? (See Irving, p. 201.)

² A passage in the *History of Scotland* shows that Buchanan had seen the fitness of the story of Macbeth for dramatic purposes; and this suggestion of his may have reached Shakespeare, who was a very well read man (*Op.* i. 115).

and wandering life; and had looked forward for some time to this harbour (as he calls it in his Autobiography) with weariness, but not without hope. No tougher, more genuine Scotch mountain-ash ever fell before the inevitable blow, or had put forth greener leaves in its time, or left behind it nobler timber.

George Buchanan was buried in the churchyard of the Greyfriars, and his funeral was attended by 'a great company of the faithful.' 'His ungrateful country,' we quote Dr. Irving, 'never afforded his grave the common tribute of a monumental stone.'¹ But his name will outlast the proudest monument in that old burying-ground. His fame rides on the sea of time by two anchors, and can perish only with the memory of the Latin language and the Scottish nation.

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 309. Chalmers (we like to see a reviler of Buchanan blundering so often) quoted an old epigram in contradiction of this fact, which very epigram unluckily proved that it was perfectly true. Irving shows that the want of a monument was a frequent reproach, though the spot of Buchanan's interment was known, and may have had a mark of some kind or other on it. Surely it is not too late to repair this omission of our ancestors, whose disturbed political life affords some excuse for them?

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ART. III.—*The Political Writings of Richard Cobden.* 2 Vols.
W. Ridgway: London.

THE time has not yet arrived for writing Cobden's life.

The great political struggles in which he engaged are still too fresh in the memory of the present generation to admit of a faithful record of his political career, without including much which affects too closely the characters of public men still on the scene, or but recently removed from it; and of the last great achievement of his life, and his solitary official act, the Commercial Treaty with France, it is impossible yet to speak freely.

But it is on this account only the more important,—and especially at a time when, upon the conduct and intelligence of the Liberal party in this country, it depends whether the years before us are to bring with them a repetition of the inconsistencies and hesitations which have too often deformed and paralysed our recent course, or are to be a fruitful and brilliant period of rational and consistent progress,—that the policy of which Cobden was the foremost representative should at least be thoroughly understood and widely known.

It is therefore with a peculiar satisfaction that we hail the work before us, and we trust that it may be shortly followed by a republication of his principal speeches, both in and out of Parliament, so far as these can be collected, and if possible, by a selection of his letters on the great practical questions of the day.

In bringing together in a connected form these political essays, written on various subjects, on different occasions, and at wide intervals of time, but unsurpassed in cogency of reasoning, and in their truthful and temperate spirit, Mrs. Cobden has rendered a great service both to her husband's memory and to the rising generation of Englishmen.

Presented originally to the public in the ephemeral form of pamphlets, thrown out in sharp opposition to the prevailing passions and prejudices of the hour, and systematically depreciated as they were by the organs of public opinion which guide the majority of our upper classes, we suspect that they are well-nigh forgotten by the elder, and little known to the younger men among us. Yet do these scattered records of Mr. Cobden's thoughts contain a body of political doctrine, more original, more profound, and more consistent than is to be found in the spoken or written utterances of any other English statesman of our time, and we commend them to the earnest study and consideration of all who aspire to exert any influence on the future government of our country.

Whenever the day shall come for an impartial review of the history of England since the reform of Parliament in 1832, it will, we think, be found that of all those who have played a prominent part in our public affairs during the last thirty years, the two men who, widely unlike in many qualities, both of character and intellect, but with an extraordinary unity of purpose and principles, have left the deepest mark on their generation, and made the most profound impression on the policy of the country, have been Richard Cobden and John Bright.

We know that this belief is very far from being shared generally by the upper classes of their countrymen, the majority of whom still regard these men with open aversion, or concealed suspicion, as the foremost and most powerful advocates of changes in our system of government, designed, as they believe and fear, to affect the security of vested interests which they have been in the habit of identifying with the greatness and welfare of the State.

But it cannot, we think, be denied even now, that in spite of the resistance of class interests, and of the avowed or tacit opposition of the great political parties, our national policy has been steadily gravitating in the direction of these men's views, and that thus far at least every successive step towards the fulfilment of their principles has led us farther onward in the path of national progress and prosperity.

The truth appears to be, that in estimating the character and labours of these two statesmen, it has been too often the practice to forget that they have been the only two great political leaders of our time, perhaps of any time in our Parliamentary history, who have steadily and uniformly throughout their whole career worked for great principles, without any regard to the interests of classes or of parties, or to the popular clamour of the hour, and that thus they have in turn been brought into collision with all classes, and with all parties, and on some memorable occasions even with the great body of the people themselves.

We believe that to this cause is to be traced the false and shallow judgment so commonly passed upon them. It is thus that they have been constantly charged with narrowness, and with hostility to the institutions of their country, too often confounded with its conservative forces, and cherished as such by many who are entitled to our respect, as well as by the ignorant and selfish ; but it will be found that the charge is usually brought on the part of some class whose special interests they had denounced and thwarted, or on the part of the nation at large, when the assumed national interest is opposed to the larger interests of humanity. They have been accused of indifference

to the greatness and honour of their country, when, on the contrary, a deeper examination of their views will prove, we think, that they are almost the only leading statesmen of our time who have exhibited a real practical faith in the future of England.

They have suffered the fate of all those who are in advance of the age in which they live, and who aspire to be the pioneers of progress and the apostles of a new political faith; but we believe that when the period of transition and confusion through which we are now struggling shall have passed away, they will occupy a place among the wisest statesmen and truest patriots in our history.

The last is still among us, and is destined, we trust, to add still more to the many splendid services which he has rendered to his country, and to the world. But Mr. Cobden's work is done, and it only remains for those who feel the priceless value of his character and teaching, to point the moral of his life, and to gather up with reverence the maxims of political truth and wisdom which he has left behind him.

Mr. Cobden's political character was the result of a rare and fortunate combination of personal qualities, and of external circumstances.

Sprung from the agricultural class, and bred up (to use his own expression), 'amidst the pastoral charms of southern England,' imbued with so strong an attachment to the pursuits of his forefathers, that, as he says himself in the volumes before us, 'had we the casting of the rôle of all the actors on this world's stage, we do not think that we should suffer a cotton-mill or manufactory to have a place in it;' trained in a large commercial house in London, and subsequently conducting on his own account a printing manufactory in Lancashire, Mr. Cobden possessed the peculiar advantage of a thorough acquaintance and sympathy with the three great forms of industrial life in England. Nor were the experiences of his public career less rich and varied than those of his private life.

The first great political question in which he bore a conspicuous part, the Anti-Corn-Law agitation, and his consequent connexion with the powerful producing class, which, by a fortunate coincidence of interest with that of the people at large, originated and led this great and successful struggle, gave him a thorough insight into this important element of our body politic, in all its strength and in all its weakness; his knowledge of other countries—the result of keen personal observation, and much travel both in Europe and America, his intimate relations with some of their best and most enlightened men, as well as with their leading politicians, together with the moderating and

restraining influences of twenty years of Parliamentary life, during which he conciliated the respect and esteem even of his strongest opponents, combined with the entire absence in his case of all sectarian influences and prejudices,—gave to his opinions a comprehensive and catholic character, which is perhaps the rarest of all the attributes of English statesmanship.

Mr. Cobden entered Parliament, not as is the fate of most of our public men, to support a party, to play for office, or to educate himself for professional statesmanship, still less to gratify personal vanity, or to acquire social importance, but as the representative of distinct principles, and the champion of a great cause.

He thus found himself at once in the front rank of Parliamentary debaters, and in a few sessions, aided by his powerful coadjutors, Bright, Gibson, Villiers, and Ricardo, achieved a success which, for its moral greatness, and for its influence on the destiny of England, is without a parallel in our annals.

It is, however, no part of our present purpose to dwell on Mr. Cobden's character, or to narrate his life. Our object is rather to present our view of his principles, which, from their soundness, their depth, and their close logical connexion with each other, appear to us to afford the only consistent and intelligible grounds for the policy of the Liberal party in this country.

The great problem presented for the solution of the present century, is to prepare without violent convulsions for the advent of popular government.

The task of our age is to carry on and to complete the great work, already so far advanced, of liberating capital and industry from all the restrictions and trammels which have hitherto impeded human progress ; in other words, to vindicate the rights of property and of labour.

The mission of man in this world is to possess the earth and subdue it, and for this purpose, to summon to his aid and bring under his control the external forces of nature. This task, hard and ungrateful at first, becomes lighter as it proceeds. Every natural force successively subdued to man's uses, adds to the stock of gratuitous services which are the common possession of the race, and when the rights of property and labour are thoroughly established by universal freedom, and the services of man have thus secured their just remuneration, the inequalities which prevail in the conditions of human life, so far as they are the result of artificial and not of natural causes, will diminish and disappear more and more, till even the lowest classes in the social scale will be raised to a level of well-being hitherto unknown and unimagined.

But this, by whatever name it may be called, is democracy, by which we mean, not the rule of a class, but the rule of a nation, in which each class possesses its just share of power. The form of government under such a rule may be monarchical or republican, thrones and aristocracies may find their place under it, and exert their due influence; but whenever the body of the people emerge from their present degradation, and acquire the intelligence and independence which material prosperity will secure them, they must become the preponderant power in the State.

The tendency to this consummation can only be checked and arrested, by opposing the economic law which lies at the foundation of all human progress. It may be a subject of regret to those who prefer the contemplation of types of humanity, which they too hastily assume to be the product of aristocratic institutions alone, to the wide-spread and general diffusion of well-being among all the classes of a nation, but it is not a question of taste, it is one of necessity.

The progress of this law has already profoundly modified the conditions of modern society. The downfall of the feudal system, and the gradual adoption of the representative principle in most of the countries of Europe, have rendered necessary a searching examination of the institutions and policy, which had their origin in an order of things which is passing away.

So far as England is concerned in the solution of this problem, no man was more alive than Cobden to the aristocratic instincts of the nation, or less disposed to advocate republican institutions among us; but he saw (and it is idle to shut our eyes to the fact) that if our mixed system of government was to be maintained, we could only raise the masses of our countrymen from their present degradation, and hold our place among the nations of the earth, by the adoption of principles of policy by which the forces of the State should be economized to the utmost, and the interests of the people amply and liberally secured.

In his paper on England, Ireland, and America, Cobden says:—

‘But they who argue in favour of a republic, in lieu of a mixed monarchy, for Great Britain, are, we suspect, ignorant of the genius of their countrymen. Democracy forms no element in the materials of English character. An Englishman is, from his mother’s womb, an aristocrat. Whatever rank or birth, whatever fortune, trade, or profession may be his fate, he is, or wishes or hopes to be, an aristocrat. The insatiable love of caste that in England, as in Hindostan, devours all hearts, is confined to no walks of society, but pervades every degree, from the highest to the lowest. Of what conceivable use, then, would it be to strike down the lofty patricians that have descended to us from

the days of the Normans and the Plantagenets, if we of the middle class—who are more enslaved than any other to this passion—are prepared to lift up, from amongst ourselves, an aristocracy of mere wealth, not less austere, not less selfish, only less noble than that we had deposed? No: whatever changes, in the course of time, education may, and will effect, we do not believe that England, at this moment, contains even the germs of genuine republicanism.

‘We do not, then, advocate the adoption of democratic institutions for such a people. But the examples held forth to us by the Americans, of strict economy, of peaceful non-interference, of universal education, and of other public improvements, may, and indeed must, be emulated by the Government of this country, if the people are to be allowed even the chance of surviving a competition with that republican community. If it be objected that an economical government is inconsistent with the maintenance of the monarchical and aristocratic institutions of this land, then we answer, Let an unflinching economy and retrenchment be enforced—*ruat cælum!*’

Mr. Cobden belonged to the school of political thinkers, who believe in the perfect harmony of moral and economical laws, and that in proportion as these are recognised, understood, and obeyed, by nations, will be their advance in all that constitutes civilisation.

He believed that the interest of the individual, the interest of the nation, and the interests of all nations, are identical; and that these several interests are all in entire and necessary concordance with the highest interests of morality. With this belief, an economic truth acquired with him the dignity and vitality of a moral law, and instead of remaining a barren abstract doctrine of the intellect, became a living force which moved the hearts and consciences of men.

It is to a want of a clear conception of this great harmony between the moral and economic law, or to a disbelief in its existence, that are to be traced some of the most pernicious errors of modern times.

In France, from an imperfect and superficial knowledge of the order of facts on which economic science rests, and from the prevalence of false ideas of society derived from classical antiquity, the principles of government, whether under a republic, a constitutional monarchy, or an empire, have, until recently, been in many essential respects opposed to the law of material progress. Rousseau, who exercised a greater influence than any other man upon the great French Revolution, and after him Robespierre and Mirabeau,—the two great figures who represent and personify that mighty upheaving of society,—were all fatally and fundamentally wrong in their conception of the right of property. This, instead of regarding as a right preceding all law, and lying at the root of all social exist-

ence, they considered simply as a creation of the law, which, again, derived its rights from a social compact, opposed, in many respects, to the natural rights of man. Society itself was thus made to rest upon the quicksand of human invention, instead of the rock of God's providence ; and law was made the source, instead of the guardian, of personal liberty and of private property.

Hence the disastrous shipwreck of a great cause, the follies and the crimes, the wild theories, the barren experiments, and the inevitable reaction. The principle involved, the State, was stronger than the men who appealed to it, and swallowed them up in a military despotism.

This false direction of ideas survived the Restoration, and when, after 1830, the intellect of France again addressed itself to social questions, it was with the same result. Saint Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, and Proudhon are there to attest the deep-rooted perversion of thought which has hitherto made all free government impossible in France, and brought upon her again, for the second time, the stern hand of the military ruler.

The great founder of the English school of political economy, who had witnessed himself in France the same disorders, and speculated on their causes, viewed them from another side. He instinctively perceived that, as all human society must rest upon a material foundation, it was to the laws of material progress that inquiry must be first directed, and that before and beneath all systems of government and all schemes of public morality, there must lie the science of the 'wealth of nations.' To the investigation of this science Adam Smith devoted those years of patient and conscientious thought, to which we owe the treatise which has made his name immortal, and which, in spite of much that has been added, and much that has been taken from it since, remains as a great storehouse of knowledge to the students of economic laws.

In the hands of Smith, however, it is easy to trace the habitual connexion in his mind between the dry facts of science and the great social laws which alone give them life and meaning, and the steady natural gravitation of all the interests of our race towards order and moral progress.

The school of English economists who succeeded him, appear to us to have too much lost sight of this necessary connexion, and to have dwelt too exclusively on the phenomena of economic facts, as distinct and separate from their correlative moral consequences. To this cause we attribute the absence of adequate political results which has attended their teaching, the repugnance which their doctrines have too often excited in generous and ardent natures, and the consequent discredit of a science indispensable to the progress and prosperity of nations, and

destined, perhaps more than any other branch of human knowledge, to reconcile the ways of God to man.

The first great law of humanity is labour. 'By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread.' From this there is no escape. The burden will be lightened as the forces of nature are brought by science and industry more under the control of man; and it may be shifted, as it is, from the whole to a part of society, but the law remains.

It is this law, then, the law of labour, which lies at the root of all human life. Upon this foundation rests the whole fabric of society, religion, morals, science, art, literature—all that adorns or exalts existence. But if the law of labour is thus paramount and sovereign, it follows that its rights are sacred, and that there can be no permanent security for any society in which these are not protected. The rights of labour involve and comprehend the right of personal liberty and the right of property; the first implies the free use of each man's powers and faculties, the second, an inalienable title to the products of his labour, in use or in exchange.

It is to the violation of the rights of labour and of property, thus identified, in all the various forms of human oppression and injustice, by force, or by fraud, in defiance of law, or in the name of law, that is to be traced the greatest part of the disorders and sufferings which have desolated humanity, and the unnecessary and unnatural inequalities in the conditions of men.

It is to the assertion of these rights, and to the gradual ascendancy of the opposing and equalizing principles of justice and freedom, that the coming generations alone can look for a future which shall be better than the past.

'Il n'y a que deux moyens,' says Bastiat, 'de se procurer les choses nécessaires à la conservation, à l'embellissement, et au perfectionnement de la vie,—la production et la spoliation.' And again, 'Propriété et spoliation, sœurs nées du même père, Génie du Bien, et Génie du Mal, Salut et Fléau de la Société, Puissances qui se disputent depuis le commencement l'empire et les destinées du monde.'

These truths, though familiar to us now, are of comparatively recent acceptance even in theory among us, and in practice still are far indeed from being applied. Such, moreover, is the confusion of thought, engendered by historical association, political prejudice, and class interest, that many of the forms of spoliation are hardly recognised when disguised in the garb of a British institution, a party principle, or a vested right; in which artificial costume they still impose on the credulity of our countrymen.

It is true that war is generally admitted to be an evil, and

slavery to be a wrong; that the Reformation has dealt a heavy blow at theocracy, and Free-trade at monopoly.

But the spirit of war is still fostered and stimulated by false ideas of national honour, patriotism, and policy, and to the art of war we still devote our mightiest efforts, and consecrate our costliest sacrifices. The grosser forms of slavery have indeed disappeared, but the taint of that accursed thing is still to be traced in some of our laws, and in our treatment of subject races, while the spirit of its offspring 'feudalism' still lingers in the most important class of our body-politic. Our Reformed Church with its temporalities, and its exclusive pretensions and privileges, is still too often the enemy of the foundation of all freedom, the liberty of thought, and, by perverting the judgment of too many of its members, strikes at the root of human progress.

The last, and perhaps the most insidious, of the leading forms of 'spoliation,' commercial monopoly, though driven from its strongholds, and expelled from our national creed, is still regarded by many among us with secret favour, and by most of us rather as a political error than as a moral wrong.

It was to a struggle with this last great evil that Cobden devoted his life, and it is with the most decisive victory ever achieved in this field of conflict that his name and fame will be for ever identified; but it is significant and interesting to know that in selecting his work in life, it was to 'Education,' and not to 'Free-trade,' that his thoughts were first directed.

Two reasons decided him to prefer the latter as the object of his efforts:—*Firstly*, His conviction (referred to above) that the material prosperity of nations is the only foundation of all progress, and that if this were once secured the rest would surely follow. *Secondly*, His consciousness that no direct attempt to obtain a system of national education which deserved the name, could lead to any clear result in the life of his own generation, and that measured with those at his command, imposing as were the forces of resistance arrayed against him on the question of Free-trade, they were less formidable than those which would be brought to bear against a measure which united in a common hostility the Established and the Dissenting Churches.

It was Cobden's fate or fortune to find himself, in taking up the cause of Free-trade, in the presence of one of the worst laws which the selfishness and folly of Governments have ever imposed on the weakness and ignorance of a people.

When the soil of a country is appropriated, the only means whereby an increasing population can limit the encroachments of the proprietors, is by working for foreign markets. Such a

population has only its labour to give in exchange for its requirements, and, if this labour is constantly increasing, while the produce of the soil is stationary, more of the first will steadily and progressively be demanded for less of the last.

This will be manifested by a fall of wages, which is, as has been well observed, the greatest of misfortunes when it is due to natural causes—the greatest of crimes when it is caused by the law.

The Corn Law was the fitting sequel to the French war. The ruling classes in England had seized with avidity on the reaction of feeling created by the excesses of the French Revolution, to conceal the real meaning of that event, and to discredit the principles of popular sovereignty which it asserted. They had at their mercy a people impoverished and degraded by the waste of blood and treasure in which years of war had involved their country; and seeing with dismay the prospect before them, which the peace had opened, of a fall in the prices of agricultural produce, under the beneficent operation of the great laws of free exchange, they resorted to the unjust and inhuman device of prolonging by Act of Parliament the artificial scarcity created by the war, and of thus preserving to the landed interest the profits which had been gained at the expense of the nation.

It is thus that as the forces of progress are invariably found to act and react on each other, the forces of resistance and of evil will ever be side by side, and that as protection, which means the isolation of nations, tends both by its direct and indirect effects to war, so war again engenders and perpetuates the spirit of protection. Free-trade, or, as Cobden called it, the International Law of the Almighty, which means the interdependence of nations, must bring with it the surest guarantee of peace, and peace inevitably leads to freer and freer commercial intercourse, and, therefore, while there is no sadder page in the modern history of England, than that which records the adoption of this law by the British Parliament, there is, to our minds, none more bright with the promise of future good than that on which was written, after thirty years of unjust and unnecessary suffering, its virtual and unconditional repeal.

But as the intellect and conscience of the country had failed so long to recognise the wide-spread evils of this pernicious law, and the fatal principles which lay at its root, so did they now most dimly and imperfectly apprehend the scope and consequences of its abolition.

It was called the repeal of a law; admitted to be the removal of an intolerable wrong; but we doubt whether in this country, except by the few gifted and far-seeing leaders of this great campaign, it was foreseen that it was an act which

involved, in its certain results, a reversal of the whole policy of England.

This was, however, clear enough to enlightened observers in other countries. By one of those rare and mysterious coincidences which sometimes exercise so powerful an influence on human affairs, it happened that while Cobden in England was bringing to bear on the great practical questions of his time and country, the principles of high morality and sound economy, which had been hitherto too little considered in connexion with each other, Frederic Bastiat was conceiving and maturing in France the system of political philosophy which has since been given to the world, and which still remains the best and most complete exposition of the views of which Cobden was the great representative.

It appears to us that these two men were necessary to each other. Without Cobden, Bastiat would have lost the powerful stimulant of practical example, and the wide range of facts which the movement in England supplied, and from which he drew much of his inspiration. Without Bastiat, Cobden's policy would not have been elaborated into a system, and, beyond his own immediate coadjutors and disciples, would probably have been most imperfectly understood on the Continent of Europe.

More than this, who can say what may not have been the effect on the minds of both these men, of the interchange of thoughts and opinions which freely passed between them?

In his brilliant history of the Anti-Corn-Law League, '*Cobden et la Ligue*,' Bastiat thus describes the movement of which England was the theatre during that memorable struggle:—

'I have endeavoured to state with all exactness the question which is being agitated in England. I have described the field of battle, the greatness of the interests which are there being discussed, the opposing forces, and the consequences of victory. I have shown, I believe, that though the heat of the contest may seem to be concentrated on questions of taxation, of custom-houses, of cereals, of sugar, it is, in point of fact, a question between monopoly and liberty, aristocracy and democracy,—a question of equality or inequality in the distribution of the general well-being. The question at issue is to know whether legislative power and political influence shall remain in the hands of the men of rapine, or in those of the men of toil; that is, whether they shall continue to embroil the world in troubles and deeds of violence, or sow the seeds of concord, of union, of justice, and of peace.

'What would be thought of the historian who could believe that armed Europe, at the beginning of this century, performed, under the leadership of the most able generals, so many feats of strategy, for the sole purpose of determining who should possess the narrow fields

that were the scenes of the battles of Austerlitz or of Wagram? The fate of dynasties and empires depended on those struggles. But the triumphs of force may be ephemeral; it is not so with the triumphs of opinion. And when we see the whole of a great people, whose influence on the world is undoubted, impregnate itself with the doctrines of justice and truth; when we see it repel the false ideas of supremacy which have so long rendered it dangerous to nations; when we see it ready to seize the political ascendant from the hands of a greedy and turbulent oligarchy,—let us beware of believing, even when its first efforts seem to bear upon economic questions, that greater and nobler interests are not engaged in the struggle. For if, in the midst of many lessons of iniquity, many instances of international perversity, England, this imperceptible point of our globe, has seen so many great and useful ideas take root upon her soil,—if she was the cradle of the press, of trial by jury, of a representative system, of the abolition of slavery, in spite of the opposition of a powerful and pitiless oligarchy,—what may not the world expect from this same England when all her moral, social, and political power shall have passed, by a slow and difficult revolution, into the hands of democracy,—a revolution peacefully accomplished in the minds of men under the leadership of an association which embraces in its bosom so many men, whose high intellectual power and unblemished character shed so much glory on their country, and on the century in which they live? Such a revolution is no simple event, no accident, no catastrophe due to an irresistible but evanescent enthusiasm. It is, if I may use the expression, a slow social cataclysm, changing all the conditions of life and of society, the sphere in which it lives and breathes. It is justice possessing herself of power; good sense of authority. It is the general weal, the weal of the people, of the masses, of the small and of the great, of the strong and of the weak, becoming the law of political action. It is the disappearance behind the scene of privilege, abuse, and caste-feeling, not by a palace-revolution or a street-rising, but by the progressive and general appreciation of the rights and duties of man. In a word, it is the triumph of human liberty; it is the death of monopoly, that Proteus of a thousand forms, now conqueror, now slave-owner; at one time lover of theocracy and feudalism, at another time assuming an industrial, a commercial, a financial, and even a philanthropic shape. Whatever disguise it might borrow, it could no longer bear the eye of public opinion, which has learned to recognise it under the scarlet uniform or under the black gown, under the planter's jacket and the noble peer's embroidered robe. Liberty for all! for every man a just and natural remuneration for his labour! for every man a just and natural avenue to equality in proportion to his energy, his intelligence, his prudence, and his morality. Free-trade with all the world! Peace with all the world! No more subjugation of colonies, no more army, no more navy, than is necessary for the maintenance of national independence! A radical distinction between that which is and that which is not the mission of government and law; political association reduced to

guarantee each man his liberty and safety against all unjust aggression, whether from without or from within; equal taxation, for the purpose of properly paying the men charged with this mission, and not to serve as a mask under the name of outlets for trade (*débouchés*), for outward usurpation, and, under the name of *protection*, for the mutual robbery of classes. Such is the real issue in England, though the field of battle may be confined to a custom-house question. But this question involves slavery in its modern form; for as Mr. Gibson, a member of the League, has said in Parliament, "To get possession of men, that we may make them work for our own profit, or to take possession of the fruits of their labour, is equally and always slavery; there is no difference but in the degree."

This passage, all due allowance made for the tendency to brilliant generalization which Bastiat shared with so many of his gifted countrymen, remains on the whole a most powerful, condensed, and accurate analysis of the great principles involved in the political conflict then passing in England, and is a testimony to the rare insight and sagacity of the writer. It also affords a marvellous illustration of the power which a clear and firm grasp of principles gives to the political student, in guiding his speculations on the most complicated problems which society presents.

The system of which the Corn-Laws were the corner-stone, traced to its source, rested on the principle of spoliation, and on the foundation of force.

That which was inaugurated by the overthrow of that law, rested on the principle of freedom, and on the foundation of justice.

Monopoly of trade, involving, as it must, the violation of the rights of property and of labour, both in the internal and external relations of a State, and implying, when carried to its logical consequences, national isolation, contains within itself the germs of inevitable decay and stagnation. To avoid these results, it is necessary that a Government which maintains it, should resort to all the expedients of force and fraud,—to conquests, colonial aggrandizement, maritime supremacy, foreign alliances, reciprocity treaties, and communism in the shape of poor-laws,—and should perpetually appeal to the worst and most contemptible passions of its people, to national pride, to false patriotism, to jealousy, to fear, and to selfishness, in order to keep alive its prestige, and to conceal its rottenness.

It is impossible not to admire the skill and resources of the ruling classes of England in their use of these expedients, but there was a point beyond which even these would not suffice to avert the national ruin; and with a debt of £800,000,000, a starving people, the universal distrust, and the avowed or concealed

hostility of foreign nations, who had imitated our policy too faithfully, while growing communities of our own race, with boundless material resources and free institutions, were outstripping us in the race of progress, and making the future competition of force impossible, a state of things had been engendered which called for prompt and vigorous remedy.

To Cobden, and his colleagues of the League, belongs the merit of having traced the disease to its source, of having stayed the progress of the poison which was slowly, but surely, undermining the national greatness, and of changing the current of English policy.

Mr. Bright has recently told us the occasion, and the manner, of Cobden's invitation to him to join him in this beneficent work.

At a moment of severe domestic calamity, Cobden called on him and said,—‘Do not allow this grief, great as it is, to weigh you down too much. There are at this moment, in thousands of homes of this country, wives and children who are dying of hunger, of hunger made by the laws; if you will come along with me, we will never rest until we have got rid of the Corn-Laws.’ The appeal was not made in vain, and we know with what results.

By the repeal of the Corn-Laws, the idle dream of national independence, a dream which never could be realized without violating the fundamental laws of God's providence, and condemning our country to inevitable decay, was for ever dispelled, our foreign trade became a condition of our existence, and the great law of international dependence assumed its rightful place as the animating principle of our future course.

But though the edifice of protection was shaken at the base, and the fabric irrevocably doomed to destruction, the work was only begun; the ideas which the system had created had taken too deep root in the minds of the governing classes, and the forces of reaction were still too powerful, to allow of speedy or logical progress. To insure the immediate application of the policy of Free-trade, it should have been intrusted to the hands who had forced it on the House and the country, and this was not to be.

To make Cobden minister would have been an act of political justice and wisdom, for which the times were not ripe, and to accept subordinate office from men who had so recently and so reluctantly espoused his views on Free-trade, and who so imperfectly apprehended or accepted its ulterior consequences, would have fatally compromised his future usefulness.

He knew that there were several necessary measures which the general intelligence of the Liberal party would immediately

force upon the Parliament, and his work at this moment lay in another direction. He had been the chief instrument in giving the deathblow to a mighty monopoly, in redressing a grievous wrong, and in giving food to suffering millions at home. His services as an Englishman being thus far accomplished, he entered upon his mission as an 'international man.'

He knew, and had measured accurately the obstacles presented by the laws of other countries, often the too faithful reflection of our own, to the fulfilment of the grand aim of his life, the binding together of the nations of the earth by the material bonds which are the necessary and only preparation for their moral union. These laws had raised around us innumerable barriers to intercourse, and as many stumbling-blocks in the way of peace.

In a tour through Europe, which often resembled a triumphal progress, he was everywhere received with interest and attention; but the sudden recantation of a policy, bound up with all the traditions of England, and written in letters of blood in the history of every country in Europe, was open to too much suspicion to inspire confidence, and he was obliged to be content with sowing the seeds of much which has since borne fruit, and with inspiring new zeal and hope in the minds of the good and enlightened men who, in each centre which he visited, were labouring in the cause.

No stronger proof can be afforded of the fundamental misconception of Mr. Cobden's political character which has prevailed in England, than the judgments and criticisms which it was the custom to pass upon him with reference to the class of questions to which he addressed himself on his return to public life at home.

The gradual breaking up of the protective system after the repeal of the Corn-Laws, was a work which must in any case have proceeded, under the pressure of the irresistible force of circumstances, but we think that justice has never been done to the Government of Lord John Russell in the years succeeding the repeal in this respect.

The equalization of the Sugar-Duties, the repeal of the Navigation-Laws, the reform of our 'Colonial System,' and the introduction of self-government into our principal colonial dependencies, were all accomplished by this administration, and few indeed have been the Governments of England which can point to such substantial services as these in the cause of progress. In looking back it is impossible not to feel how different might have been our history for the last fifteen years, and how superior our present condition, if the spirit which then predominated in the councils of the State, and which would

doubtless have rendered possible the cordial co-operation of Cobden, either in or out of office, had been permitted to inspire our national policy.

But to return to our subject. It seems to have been expected that Cobden would have exclusively devoted himself to commercial questions, and when it was found that he proceeded to attack systematically our foreign policy, our system of government in India, our national expenditure, our military and naval administration, and our maritime laws, he was accused of going beyond his province, and discredited as an enthusiast incapable of dealing with the great mysteries of statecraft.

Those who used this language either knew too well, or not at all, that Cobden aimed at something very different and very much deeper than mere commercial reforms.

In each and all of these he took, as was natural, a sincere and consistent interest, but he felt that he could safely leave them to be carried through in the hands which had undertaken the work, and he knew that incalculable as would be the results, to the wealth and prosperity of the country, they would not alone suffice to raise the lower classes of this country from their condition of moral and material degradation, and thus to rescue England from the reproach of failure in the highest ends of civilisation, and assure for her a permanent place in the front rank of nations.

It was therefore, that instead of entangling himself in the snares of office, and devoting his time to the details of practical legislation, he undertook the harder and more ungrateful, but far nobler office, of endeavouring to open the eyes of his countrymen to the necessity under which they lay, of preparing for fundamental changes in many of the essential principles upon which our national policy had previously been conducted, in its three great divisions,—Domestic, Foreign, and Colonial.

The programme which, in the fulfilment of this task, Cobden appears to have set before him embraced the following objects:—

Complete freedom of trade throughout the British empire, exclusive (as a practical necessity) for the present, of restrictions for fiscal purposes.

Freedom of the press from all taxes, happily designated by Mr. Milner Gibson as ‘taxes on knowledge.’

The largest measure of self-government in our colonial possessions, including the obligation of self-defence.

The final and unqualified abandonment of our policy of conquest and territorial aggrandizement in India and elsewhere.

The adoption of the general principle of ‘non-intervention’ in our foreign policy, publicity in all the transactions of diplo-

macy, and the renunciation of all ideas of national preponderance and supremacy.

The reduction of our military and naval forces within the limits strictly required for the national security.

A large reduction of our taxation.

A reform in the laws affecting landed property.

The reform of our maritime laws.

We have not included in this enumeration the two great measures of National Education and Parliamentary Reform, because, although these are essential articles in the creed of every liberal politician, and it is needless to say that they both enlisted Cobden's warmest sympathy, he felt that in his time he could more usefully devote himself to questions upon which his views were less generally shared.

Cobden saw clearly that unless our system of government, in all its branches, were adapted to the altered conditions of our national existence, not only would our commercial reforms be shorn of their most valuable and complete results, in the elevation of the masses of the people, but that we should also incur the risk of very serious dangers. Nothing is so fatal to success in the life of individuals or of nations, as a confusion of principles in action.

Under the system of monopoly, it was logical enough in our foreign policy to keep alive the chimæra of the balance of power, to seek, in foreign alliances and artificial combinations of force, the security which we could not hope to derive from legitimate and natural causes. In the government of our foreign possessions, it was logical to annex provinces and extend our empire, and by the display of force and the arts of diplomacy to coerce and despoil; and for both these purposes, it was necessary to maintain costly and imposing forces by sea and land, and to cast on the people the burden of a proportionate taxation.

By means such as these we might have prolonged, for two or three generations, a false and hollow supremacy, and warded off for a while the inevitable doom which awaits all false principles.

But with a policy of free exchange, these things are not only inconsistent, they are dangerous.

They are inconsistent, because a policy of Free-trade rests on the principle, that the interests of all nations lie in union and not in opposition; that co-operation and not competition, international dependence and not national independence, are the highest end and object of civilisation, and that, therefore, peace, and not war, is the natural and normal condition of civilized communities in their relation to each other.

They are dangerous, because a country which is unable even to feed its own population without its foreign trade, and of

whose prosperity, and even existence, peace is thus a necessary condition, cannot afford to encounter the risks of wars with powerful enemies. If such a country appeals to the law of force, by that law will it be judged, and the result must be crushing failure, disaster, and ultimate defeat. The sacred simplicity of the Protectionist mind dimly apprehended this, and deprecated the repeal of the Corn-Law accordingly. It did not perceive that the alternative was an inadequate supply of food for a third of our population.

From this point of view, the 'balance of power' can only be sought in the free development of the natural forces, whether of morality, intelligence, or material wealth, residing in the different countries of the earth, and the balance will always be held (to use the expression of William III., in his address to Parliament, quoted by Mr. Cobden in his paper on 'Russia') by the country which, in proportion to its powers, has economized its material resources to the highest point, and acquired the highest degree of moral ascendancy by an honest and consistent allegiance to the laws of morality in its domestic policy and in its foreign relations.

The acquisition of colonies and territories formerly required to afford new fields for monopoly, and defended on the plea that outlets were necessary for our trade, while our ports were closed to our nearest and richest neighbours, appeared in its true light as a wicked waste of national influence, and a costly and useless perversion of national wealth, when all the countries of the earth became our customers, and England the metropolitan *entrepôt* of the world.

Large standing armies and navies, with their necessary accompaniment of heavy, and because heavy, unequal, and indirect taxation, are only rational in countries which are constantly liable to war, and cannot therefore be equally required under a system which relies on moral influence and on international justice, as under one which depends on force and monopoly. For what are the causes which make a country liable to war?

These are of several kinds, but for our present purpose we may class them under the following heads:—

First, The disposition to engage in wars of conquest or aggression.

Second, The necessity of maintaining (for the purpose of repressing liberty at home) a large military force, which a government may at any moment be obliged to employ in foreign war, either to gratify the military spirit engendered by the presence of a powerful service, or to divert public attention from domestic questions.

Third, The habitual violation of the rights of labour and property in her international relations, by prohibitive and protective laws.

Fourth, The pretension of holding the 'balance of power,' and for this purpose of interfering in the affairs of other nations, with its result,—the theory of 'armed diplomacy,' which aims, by a display of force, at securing for a country what is supposed to be its due influence in foreign affairs.

Fifth, The requirements of a nation for purposes of defence against foreign aggression.

Of these, the three first may be dismissed at once, as absolutely inoperative in the case of England under the 'Free-trade' system. For although, to our shame, it must be admitted that our government both in India and in Ireland still maintains itself greatly by force, the conditions of our empire render this necessity in some respects a guarantee of peace rather than a cause of war.

Of the two remaining causes, the first must be so cut down and modified in order to be a pretext for military armaments as to lose its broad and general character, and to require re-statement.

The doctrine of the 'balance of power' is, we hope, consigned to the limbo of exploded fallacies with the 'balance of trade,' and we refer any remaining believers in the 'balancing system' to the history and analysis of this remarkable phenomenon contained in the essay on Russia in the work before us,¹ as we think it cannot fail to dispel any lingering faith in this delusion.

With the doctrine of the balance of power, a fruitful source of dangerous and useless meddling in the affairs of foreign countries has been cut away. There remains, however, a limited form of interference in foreign affairs, which it is still thought by many among us, and even by a large section of the Liberal party, that we should be prepared to exert in certain events, and for which, if the principle be admitted, some allowance must be made in estimating the extent of our requirements. We refer to the supposed duty of England to resort to war, in possible cases, for the purpose of defending the principles of free government and international law, or of protecting a foreign country from wanton and unjust aggression. This question is so important that we shall discuss it at greater length in considering the doctrine of 'non-intervention' as the key-stone of our Free-trade foreign policy.

This fourth cause, thus materially modified, and the last, are then the only remaining grounds, so far as our foreign relations are concerned, on which it is necessary still to devote a portion of

¹ *Vide* Article on Russia, in vol. i.

the national wealth to military and naval armaments ; and it is obvious that even these operate with far less force under a system of policy which proceeds on principles of international morality, and appeals to the common interests of all the nations of the earth, than under one which rests on ideas of national supremacy and rivalry.

It cannot, therefore, we think, be denied, even by those who are the most disposed to connect the greatness and security of England with the constant display of physical force, that as our liability to war has diminished, our preparations for it should also diminish ; and that it is as irrational to devote to our 'services,' in a period of 'Free-trade,' colonial self-government, and non-intervention, the sums which were wrung from our industry, in an epoch of monopoly, of colonial servitude, and of a 'spirited foreign policy,' as it would be to pay the same insurance on a healthy as on a diseased life.

To summon into existence a principle which in all human relations shall assert the right of property, in mind and in matter, in thought and in labour, and to secure this right on its only true foundation,—the universal rule of justice and freedom,—is to evoke a force which is destined to root up and destroy the seeds of discord and division among men ; to bind up the nations of the earth in a vast federation of interests ; and to bring the disorders and conflicting passions of society under the domain of law.

To promote all the agencies through which this force can act, and to repress all those which oppose its progress and neutralize its operation, and for this purpose to analyse and expose to view these several agencies, both in their causes and in their effects, eternally acting and reacting on each other, was the task which Cobden set himself to accomplish.

It was inevitable, with these objects in view, that Cobden was often obliged to raise discussion upon questions which, to ordinary minds, appeared somewhat chimerical, and to propose measures which were in the nature of things premature ; that he should give to many the impression of wasting his strength on matters which could not be brought to an immediate practical issue, and in the agitation of which he could not hope for direct success.

It will be found, however, that although there often existed no possibility of realizing or applying his projects at the time of their enunciation, these were always themselves of an essentially practical character, and inseparably connected with each other ; and that although presented as occasion served, from time to time, and as the nature of his mission required, in a fragmentary and separate form, they each and all formed

the component parts of a policy coherent and complete, and destined, we cannot doubt, to a gradual but certain triumph.

We have already enumerated some of the principal questions to which, in this vast field of activity, Cobden successively devoted himself, and referred to those among them in which, at the same time, his views were shared by the majority of his countrymen, and which, in whole or in part, were soon adopted by Parliament and the country.

We shall therefore confine our further remarks to those features of Cobden's programme which during his life he laboured, for the most part in vain, to make acceptable to the governing classes of his countrymen, and upon which there still exist, even among those who entertain what are called 'advanced views,' great difference of opinion, and sometimes, we think, no little confusion of thought.

We refer our readers to the essays contained in the volumes before us for a more powerful and elaborate exposition of the writer's leading views on the subjects to which they relate, in a popular and practical form, than any which we can offer; but although it is impossible, in the limits of the present article, to do more than indicate briefly what appear to us to be the broad general outlines of Cobden's creed on the questions to which we shall refer, and these are so intimately connected with each other that they are hardly susceptible of separate treatment, we will endeavour to offer a few suggestions with respect to the opinions which he appears to have held in connexion with each of the following topics:—

Foreign Policy.

Colonial and Indian Policy.

Limitation of Armaments.

Reduction of Expenditure.

Taxation.

Cobden's general views on the principles of our Foreign policy have been sufficiently indicated in previous parts of this article, but we desire to make a few observations on what is called the doctrine of 'non-intervention,' by which that policy is ordinarily characterized.

Cobden never, so far as we are aware, advanced or held the opinion that wars, other than those undertaken for self-defence, were in all cases wrong and inexpedient.

The question, as we apprehend it, was with him one of relative duties. It is clear that the duty and wisdom of entering upon a war, even in defence of the most righteous cause, must be measured by our knowledge, and by our power; but even where our knowledge is complete and our power sufficient, it is necessary that, in undertaking such a war, we should

be satisfied that in doing so we are not neglecting and putting it out of our reach to fulfil more sacred and more imperative duties.

The cases are rare in the quarrels of other nations, still rarer in their internal dissensions, in which our knowledge of their causes and conditions, and our power of enforcing the right, and assuring its success, in any degree justifies us in armed interference—the last resort in the failure of human justice.

But even if these difficult conditions of our justification in such a war were satisfied, the cases must be rare indeed in which, with a population of which so large a part are barely receiving the means of decent existence, and another part are supported by public charity at the expense of the rest, and at a charge of more than £7,000,000 per annum, this country would be justified in imposing on our labouring classes (on whom, be it remembered, the burden must chiefly fall) the cost of obtaining for another people, a degree of freedom, or a measure of justice, which they have so imperfectly secured for themselves.

Such a course is certainly not defensible until the people have a far larger share in the government of their country than they now possess in England.

When we add to these considerations the singular inaptitude of the governing classes of this country to comprehend foreign affairs, the extraordinary errors which are usually to be observed in their judgments and opinions on foreign questions, and the dangerous liability to abuse in the hands of any government, of the doctrine of 'Blood and Iron,' even if it be sometimes invoked in a just cause, we shall, I think, acknowledge the sober wisdom of Cobden's opinion, that for all practical purposes, at least for the present generation, the rule of non-intervention should be sternly and systematically enforced.

It was a great defect in our new Colonial system that, in conferring upon our possessions the right of self-government, we did not at the same time impose on them the duty of self-defence.

Cobden never lost an opportunity of protesting against this last misappropriation of the money of the British tax-payer, and of exposing the secret connexion of this feature in our policy with the perpetuation of pretexts for increased armaments.

The British rule in India was to Cobden a subject of the deepest anxiety and apprehension. His paper in the present volumes, entitled 'How Wars are got up in India,' is an honest and indignant criticism upon an episode in our Indian history,

which has only too many parallels, and gives expression to one of his strongest convictions, viz., the retribution which one day awaits the lust of power and of territorial aggrandizement, and the utter disregard of morality so often exhibited in our dealings with the races of this great dependency.

The changes advocated by Cobden in our foreign and colonial policy necessarily involved a large reduction in our military and naval establishments, and to this object his most strenuous efforts were constantly directed; but here the difficulties which he had to encounter were enormous, and the Crimean War, and its results throughout Europe, have rendered all attempts at reform in this branch of our national economy hitherto unavailing.

In attacking our 'Services' he not only had to contend against powerful interests, connected with almost all the families of the upper and middle classes of the country, but also against many honest, though mistaken, opinions, as to the causes of national greatness and the sources of our power. It was the wide-spread prevalence of such opinions that, combined with the selfish influence of the worst element in British commerce, which led, on the occasion of the Chinese War in 1857, to the rejection of Cobden by the West Riding, and of Bright and Gibson by Manchester. The class of ideas symbolized by the 'British Lion,' the 'Sceptre of Britannia,' and the '*Civis Romanus*,' irrational and vulgar as they are, have nevertheless a side which is not altogether ignoble, and are of a nature which it requires more than one generation to eradicate.

Cobden approached this question of reduction by two different roads. He endeavoured to bring to bear upon it international action, by arrangements for a general limitation of armaments, in which, as regards France, there appeared more than once some possibility of success, and in which he was cordially supported by Bastiat in the years succeeding the repeal of the Corn-Laws; he also sought, by every means in his power, to urge it on his countrymen, by appeals to their good sense and self-respect. He exposed firstly our policy; and secondly our administration; and showed, with irresistible arguments, that, while the one was unsound, the other was extravagant; and that thus the British people were condemned not only to provide for what was useless, and even dangerous, but at the same time to pay an excessive price for it.

He tells us in his article on Russia, vol. i. p. 309:—

'If that which constitutes cowardice in individuals, viz., the taking excessive precautions against danger, merits the same designation when practised by communities, then England certainly must rank as the greatest poltroon among nations.'

Cobden was often blamed for not devoting more time and labour to the task of minute resistance to the 'Estimates' in the House of Commons. This was the result of his perfect conviction, after years of experience and observation, that such a course was absolutely useless, and that no private member, however able or courageous, could cope in detail with the resources at the disposal of Government, in evading exposure and resisting reductions. He therefore always insisted that the only course was to strike at the root of the evil, by diminishing the revenue and the expenditure in the gross. And this brings us to our next topic, which is inextricably bound up with the last, viz., the reduction of the national expenditure, and the consequent diminution of taxation, objects the importance of which is becoming yearly more vital. Cobden knew that no material reform in our financial system could be effected (for all that has been hitherto done has been to shift the burden, and not to diminish it) until our external policy was changed, and hence his incessant efforts in this direction; but he also knew that the surest method of accomplishing the latter object was, to diminish the resources at the disposal of Government for military and naval purposes.

The first object in financial reform was, in Cobden's opinion, the gradual remission of indirect taxation.

In a letter to the 'Liverpool Association' he made use of the remarkable expression that he considered them to be the only body of men in the country who appeared to have any faith in the future of humanity.

His objections were threefold, and they are conclusive:—

'1. The dangerous facilities which they afford for extravagant and excessive expenditure, by reason of their imperceptibility in collection, and of the consequent readiness of the people to submit to them, and also of the impossibility of insuring a close and honest adaptation of the revenue to the expenditure.'

What would be thought of an attempt to provide for the administration of our Poor-Laws by taxes on the consumption of the district, instead of by a rate?

'2. Their interference with the great law of free exchange, one of the rights of property, and (so far as customs duties are concerned) the violation of international equity, which they involve; for it is obvious that the conditions of international trade are essentially affected by taxes on imports and exports, and it is impossible to apportion them so as to insure that each country shall pay neither more nor less than its own due share.

'3. The enhancement of the cost of the taxed article to the consumer, over and above the amount of the tax.'

If it be objected that indirect taxation is the only method by which the masses of the people can be made to contribute their share to the revenues of the State, we reply that, if the condition of the masses of the people in any country is such as to place them beyond the reach of direct taxation, it is the surest proof that the whole national economy is out of joint, and that, in some form or other, resort will be had to 'communism.' In England we have too clear and disastrous evidence of this in our Poor-Law system, and in our reckless and prodigal almsgiving. In withholding from our children the bread of justice, we have given them the stone of enforced and sapless charity.

We hail, therefore, with pleasure, the movement which is beginning in Germany and Belgium, in favour of a gradual abolition of all customs duties; and are convinced that there is, none, perhaps, among all the articles of the Liberal creed which, both in its direct and indirect effects, contains the promise of so much future good.

There are two other great questions which occupied a prominent place in Cobden's programme, but at which our space forbids us from doing more than glance. We allude to the laws affecting property in land, and to our maritime laws.

Cobden held that the growing accumulation in the hands of fewer and fewer proprietors of the soil of the country was a great political, social, and economical evil, and as this tendency is unquestionably stimulated by the system of our government, and some of our laws, which give it an artificial value, he foresaw that one of the principal tasks of the generation which succeeded him, must be to liberate the land from all the unnecessary obstacles which impede its acquisition and natural distribution, and to place it under the undisturbed control of the economic law. We cannot here attempt to enter upon a due examination of the causes which in this country neutralize and subvert this law in the case of landed property, but the general principle involved may be very shortly suggested.

The more abundant the supply of land in a country, the cheaper will it be, the larger will be the return to the capital and labour expended on it, and the greater the profits to be divided between them.

It is obvious that laws which keep land out of the market,—laws of entail, laws of settlement, difficulties of transfer, as well as a system of government which gives to the possession of land an artificial value, for social or political purposes, over and above its natural commercial value,—must have the inevitable effect of restricting the quantity, of enhancing the price, and of diminishing the product to be obtained. Land thus acquires a monopoly price, small capitals are deterred from this form of

investment, competition is restricted, production is diminished, and the condition of those who live by the land, as well as of those who exchange the produce of their labour for the produce of the land, necessarily impaired.

To illustrate our meaning by an extreme case: let us suppose that the State were to connect with property in land the highest titles and privileges, on the condition that it was entirely diverted from all productive uses, and kept solely for purposes of ornament and sport, and that the honours and advantages so conferred were sufficiently tempting to induce many persons to accept these conditions. It must follow that the stock of available land in such a country would be diminished to whatever extent it was so appropriated, and its material resources proportionably reduced.

In a less degree, who can deny that these causes are operating among us, and are a source of incalculable loss and waste of the national wealth? The suggestion last year that our coal-beds would be exhausted in one hundred years almost startled Parliament from its propriety. Yet we acquiesce year after year without a murmur in a curtailment of our supply of land, and those who warn us of our danger are denounced as the agents of revolution.

In his speech at Rochdale, in November 1864, which was his last public utterance, Cobden especially left this task as a legacy to the younger men among us, and told them that they could do more for their country in liberating the land than had been achieved for it in the liberation of its trade.

On the question of 'Maritime Law,' it is needless to say that he advocated the largest extension of the rights of neutrals, and the greatest possible limitation of the rights of belligerents as a necessary and logical accompaniment of a free-trade policy.

His views on this subject will be seen from a letter addressed to Mr. H. Ashworth in 1862, in which he recommends the following three reforms:—

1. Exemption of private property from capture at sea during war by armed vessels of every kind.

2. Blockades to be restricted to naval arsenals, and to towns besieged at the same time by land, with the exception of articles contraband of war.

3. The merchant ships of neutrals on the high sea to be inviolable to the visitation of alien Government vessels in time of war as in time of peace.

In this letter he observes:—

'Free-trade, in the widest definition of the term, means only the division of labour by which the productive powers of the whole earth are brought into mutual co-operation. If this scheme of universal

dependence is to be liable to sudden dislocation whenever two Governments choose to go to war, it converts a manufacturing industry such as ours into a lottery, in which the lives and fortunes of multitudes of men are at stake. I do not comprehend how any British statesman who consults the interests of his country, and understands the revolution which Free-trade is effecting in the relations of the world, can advocate the maintenance of commercial blockades. If I shared their views I should shrink from promoting the indefinite growth of a population whose means of subsistence would be liable to be cut off at any moment by a belligerent power, against whom we should have no right of resistance, or even of complaint.

‘It must be in mere irony that the advocates of such a policy as this ask—Of what use would our navy be in case of war if commercial blockades were abolished? Surely, for a nation that has no access to the rest of the world but by sea, and a large part of whose population is dependent for food on foreign countries, the chief use of a navy should be to keep open its communications, not to close them!

‘I will only add that I regard these changes as the necessary corollary of the repeal of the Navigation-Laws, the abolition of the Corn-Laws, and the abandonment of our colonial monopoly. We have thrown away the sceptre of force, to confide in the principles of freedom—uncovenanted, unconditional freedom. Under the new *régime* our national fortunes have prospered beyond all precedent. During the last fourteen years the increase in our commerce has exceeded its entire growth during the previous thousand years of reliance on force, cunning, and monopoly. This should encourage us to go forward in the full faith that every fresh impediment removed from the path of commerce, whether by sea or land, and whether in peace or war, will augment our prosperity, at the same time that it will promote the general interests of humanity.’

In most of the foregoing questions Cobden, as we have said, was contented to preach sound doctrine, and to prepare the way for the ultimate adoption of principles of policy and government, which in his time he could not hope to see prevail.

But he was destined before the close of his career once more to engage in a great practical work, and to identify his name with an accomplished success, scarcely inferior in its scope and results to the repeal of the English Corn-Law.

This was the Commercial Treaty with France.

As the Corn-Law was the great stronghold of monopoly in England, so was the prohibitive system in France the keystone of protection in Europe, and Cobden selected these accordingly, with the unerring instinct of real statesmanship, as the first points for attack, and fastened upon them with a tenacity and resolution which insured success.

Fifteen years had elapsed since England had renounced, in principle at least, the false system of commercial monopoly,

and in Cobden's words quoted above, 'thrown away the sceptre of force, to confide in freedom, uncovenanted, unconditional freedom.'

She had trusted to the teaching of her example, and to the experience of her extraordinary success, in leading the countries of Europe to respond to her appeal for co-operation in liberating trade, and vindicating the rights of labour,—but she had met with slight response.

Our conversion was perhaps too recent, our course still too inconsistent, and our motives too much open to suspicion, to make this surprising, and, so far as France was concerned, we had unfortunately contrived in all our reforms to retain in our tariff, restrictions upon the staple articles of French production, wine and silk.

The time had come when, unless some new impulse could be given to international intercourse, the forces of reaction might have again acquired the ascendancy, and European progress have been thrown back for years.

Our relations with France were those of chronic distrust and rivalry. The cry of '*Perfide Albion*' in France too often resounded in our ears; and the bugbear of French invasion was successively invoked on this side of the Channel no less than three times in the period we are considering.

This was a state of things fraught with danger. Monopoly had borne as usual its deadly fruits, in alienating two great nations destined by nature for the closest relations of friendship and mutual dependence, and in fostering in both the spirit of war.

It was under circumstances such as these that Cobden set his hand to the great work of co-operation which led to the Commercial Treaty.

Bastiat, who would have hailed with delight this tardy reparation of the defects in our reformed commercial system which he always deplored, was no longer alive to aid the cause, but to the most distinguished of modern French economists, Michel Chevalier, is due, in concert with Cobden, the merit of the scheme which the Governments of England and France were induced to adopt, which has opened to us a new era of progress, in gradually welding together the nations of Europe in a great commercial confederation, and in laying the foundations of a civilisation which may yet keep pace with that now dawning on our race, in the Anglo-Saxon republics of the Western World.

It was pleasant to see how his old friends rallied around him on this occasion, and how many, who had been often unable to comprehend or follow him in his political career, rejoiced to see

him once again in the field against his old enemy, Protection. But, on the other hand, he was assailed by an influential class among us with a bitter animosity, which all but made his task impossible, and which revealed too clearly the strength and vitality, of the reactionary forces still at work in our midst.

As Cobden saw in his beneficent work the hope of a new era of peace, and of liberal progress in Europe as its certain fruit, so did his opponents instinctively perceive that his success would carry with it the doom of the traditions of hatred and of fear, which the Governments of Europe had too often successfully invoked, to plunge the people into wars of which they are the invariable victims, and to keep alive the rumours of wars, which have deprived them of the solid fruits of peace.

We believe that it is scarcely too much to say, that the Commercial Treaty with France was a turning-point in the destiny of England. We look upon the contest of public opinion in this country and in France, which was roused and decided by this event, as the death-struggle between the conflicting principles which had for so many years been striving for the mastery in the direction of their affairs.

So long as the political condition of Europe is such as to render necessary or possible the huge armaments, which are a reproach to our age and boasted civilisation, while 4,000,000 men, in the flower of their age, are taken from productive industry, and supported by the labour of the rest of the population, no real and permanent progress can be made in the emancipation of the people, and in the establishment of free institutions.

At the time of which we are speaking, even still more than at present, all direct attempts to mitigate this monster evil appeared hopeless ; and although he never ceased to urge, both in England and France, the wisdom of a mutual understanding, with a view to reduced armaments, he knew that the only certain and available method of undermining this fatal system and preparing for its ultimate overthrow, was to assist in every way the counter-agencies of peace.

It was in the consciousness that by breaking down the barriers to commercial intercourse between England and France, a greater impulse would be given than by any other event to the forces of progress in Europe, that the men who in both countries undertook and completed this international work entered upon their arduous work. We have said that the time has not arrived when it is possible to speak freely of this episode in Cobden's life, but it is necessary to vindicate his policy from charges which, although forgotten and overwhelmed in its extraordinary

success, were brought against it too commonly, and from quarters whence it ought least to have been expected, at the time.

In France he was reproached, by many of his earlier friends, whose sympathies were bound up with the Orleanist or Republican *régimes*, and who viewed, with a natural aversion, the Second Empire, for contributing to a work which, if successful, might do more than anything else to consolidate the Imperial reign. He replied, that what the immediate effect might be he neither knew nor cared, but that all the forces of freedom were 'Solidaires,' and that the ruler who gave 'Free-trade' to the nation, whether King, President, or Emperor, was doing that which, more than anything else, would assure the future liberties of France.

The same causes operated in many quarters to make the Treaty unpopular in England; but he was also assailed in a more insidious form. He was accused of having forgotten or forsaken the sound doctrines of political economy, of which he had in his earlier life been the uncompromising advocate, and of having revived the discarded policy of 'reciprocity treaties.'

It would perhaps be unnecessary to revert to this charge, were it not that a suspicion of unsoundness still lurks in many minds as to the principles of the French and subsequent 'Treaties of Commerce. It may be well, therefore, to say that, so far as this charge was honest, and something more than a convenient method of discrediting a measure which it was desired to obstruct, it proceeded on a very imperfect knowledge of the policy of the Treaty, and on an erroneous and confused idea of the principles of Free-trade itself.

The system of reciprocity treaties, and tariff-bargains, was one of the natural but most pernicious developments of the doctrine of protection. The most notorious of such treaties in our history is perhaps the famous 'Methuen' Treaty, from the effects of which we are still suffering in England in the shape of adulterated wine. These arrangements aimed at the extension of the limits of monopoly by securing for our products protection in a foreign country against the competition of all other countries, and always proceeded on the supposed interest of the producer, to the injury of the consumer. They were logical, when it was believed or professed that the reduction of a duty was a sacrifice on the part of the country making it, to the country in whose favour it was made. From this point of view, it was natural, in making such reductions, to demand what were thought to be equivalent concessions from the country with which we were treating, and the supreme art of negotiation was held to consist in framing what had the appearance of a 'nicely-adjusted balance of equivalents,' but in which each

country secretly desired, and sought to obtain, the 'maximum' of reductions from the other against the 'minimum' of its own.

But from the Free-trade point of view, in which all reductions of duties, at least so far as protective duties are concerned, are an admitted and positive gain to the country making them, it becomes absurd and impossible to use them as the ground of a claim on a foreign country for compensating or equivalent remissions.

The French Treaty had no affinity, except in form, to treaties such as these.

Instead of a bargain in which each party sought to give as little and to get as much, as possible, it was a great work of co-operation, in which the Governments of England and of France were resolved, on both sides, to remove within the limits of their power, the artificial obstacles to their commercial intercourse presented by fiscal and protective laws.

England had already spontaneously advanced much further than France in this direction, and hence alone, if for no other reason, all idea of 'equivalent' concessions was out of the question. She contributed her share to the work, by sweeping from her tariff, with some trifling exceptions, all trace and remnant of protection, and by reducing within moderate limits her fiscal duties upon wine and brandy.

France, unable at one stroke to destroy the whole fabric of monopoly, nevertheless made a deadly breach in the edifice, by substituting moderate duties, for prohibition, in the case of the chief British exports.

If these reforms had been made exclusively in each other's favour, they might have been justly open to the charge of unsoundness, but they were made equally for the commerce of all the world, on the side of England immediately, on the side of France prospectively, and thus, instead of reverting to a system of monopoly, the prohibitive and differential policy of France was annihilated, and the equal system of England maintained and consolidated.

There were, however, two objections made to the treaty, of a more plausible kind, and which we will, therefore, briefly notice :—

First, That a work of this description need not assume the form of a treaty, which tends to disguise its real character, but should be left to the independent legislation of each country.

Secondly, That, although it might be well, to abolish protective duties by this method, it was impolitic to fetter ourselves by treaty, with respect to fiscal taxes.

As regards the first objection, it is sufficient to reply, that at the time we are considering, for political reasons, a treaty was

the only form in which such a measure could be carried in France; but a more permanent justification is to be found in the fact, that a treaty is nothing more than an international statute-law, and that, in a matter of international concern, it is necessary that there should exist an international guarantee of permanence. Without such a security, what would be the condition of trade?

The second objection is more subtle, but has no better foundation. A tax which, from whatever cause, dries up an important source of national wealth, and thus takes from the fund available for taxation more than the amount gained by the revenue, is a bad tax, and ought never, if possible, to be imposed or maintained.

The tax on French wine and spirits had the effect of restricting most injuriously one of the most important branches of our foreign trade, and would, if maintained, have deprived us, by preventing the conclusion of the Treaty, of an addition of at least £20,000,000 sterling per annum, to the value of our general exchanges with France. No wise legislation could retain such a tax in the face of such consequences. There is probably no other form of tax to which it would not have been preferable to resort, rather than to maintain these obstacles to our trade with France.

But the consequences of the Treaty with France were not confined to that country and to England. It was an act which, both by its moral effect and its direct and necessary influence on the legislation of the other Continental countries, has set on foot a movement which grows from year to year, and will not cease till all protective duties have been erased from the commercial codes of Europe.

It was thus the rare privilege of the man, who had been foremost in giving the deathblow to monopoly in England, to be also among the first to storm the citadel of protection on the Continent, and to give to the work which he commenced at home a decisive international impulse, destined to afford new securities for the most sacred of human rights—the right of labour, and to add ‘new realms to the empire of freedom.’

Cobden had yet another success awaiting him, to our mind the most signal triumph of his life. He lived to see the great moral and economic laws, which he had enforced through years of opposition and obloquy, asserting their control over the forces of reaction, and moulding our foreign policy.

It must have been with a superb and heartfelt satisfaction (and it was so) that Cobden watched the conflict of public opinion at the time of the Danish War.

The diplomatic intervention of the Government had brought

us to the verge of war, and made it more than usually difficult to retreat.

The old instincts of the ruling classes of the nation were thoroughly aroused, and, unless they had been neutralized and overpowered by stronger and deeper forces, we should, under a fancied idea of chivalry and honour (if anything can deserve these names which is opposed to reason and duty), have squandered once more the hard-earned heritage of English labour in a war of which the causes and the merits were for the most part unknown among us, and could never have been made intelligible to the nation, and in which our success, if possible, might have thrown back all liberal progress for years, both in England, and on the Continent.

But it soon became manifest that a nobler and larger morality had been gaining ground in the heart of the nation, had at last found its expression in the Councils of the State, and had enforced its control over those who still believed in the vain and idle dream, that the mission of England is to hold by force the balance of power in Europe.

The memorable debate which decided the course of our policy in this critical moment, decided far greater issues; and the principle of 'non-intervention,' the only hope for the moral union of nations and the progress of freedom, became the predominating rule of our foreign policy, and with different limitations and qualifications, a cardinal point in the liberal creed.

We must here close a hasty and imperfect sketch of Cobden's political life and principles, in the hope that the outline which we have traced may be filled up by abler hands. Our object will have been attained, if we have succeeded in leading some of our readers to suspect the erroneous and superficial nature of the prevalent opinion of Cobden in the upper ranks of English society, to believe that the verdict of history will rather confirm the judgment of his humbler countrymen, with whom his name has become a household word, and that his life and words and deeds deserve their deepest study and most impartial examination.

In reviewing the political programme given in the preceding pages, we shall see that while much has been done, far more remains to do; and that although there is great cause for hope, there is also much ground for fear.

Of all the dreams in which easy-going and half-hearted politicians indulge, the idlest appears to be that in which it is fondly imagined that the days of party strife are over, and that no questions lie before us on which the majority of moderate and honest men are not agreed. It is useless to shut our eyes to the fact, that before the future greatness and prosperity of

our country can be assured, great issues must be raised, and fierce political struggles traversed. We have a firm and confident belief that the forces on the side of progress are sufficient to achieve what is required for this consummation, by peaceful and constitutional reforms; but the cause will not be won without strenuous efforts.

It will not be won without the aid of men who, in the measure of their gifts, will bring to bear upon the task the qualities of which in Cobden's life we have such enduring proofs: pure morality, keen intelligence, perfect disinterestedness, undaunted courage, indomitable tenacity of purpose, high patriotism, and an immovable faith in the predestined triumph of good over evil.

That the principles of public morality which Cobden devoted his life to enforce, will ultimately prevail in the government of the world, we think that no one who believes in God or man can doubt. Whether it be in store for our country first to achieve, by their adoption, the last triumphs of civilisation, and to hold her place in the van of human progress, or whether to other races, and to other communities, will be confided this great mission, it is not for us to determine.

But those who trust that this may yet be England's destiny, who, in spite of much which they deplore, delight to look upon her past with pride and her future with hope, will ever revere the memory of Cobden, as of one whose life-long aim it was to lay the foundations of her empire in her moral greatness, in the supremacy of reason, and in the majesty of law,—and will feel with us that the 'international man' was also, and still more, an Englishman.

ART. IV.—*On the Character of the Old Northern Poetry.*

‘Omnibus Barbaris Gothi sapientiores semper exstiterunt, Græcisque pæne consimiles.’—JORNANDES, *De rebus Geticis*.

I.

It is remarkable that Hegel, who said that the idea of a philosopher required that he should know everything, and who pretended himself ‘to know almost everything,’ neither makes any mention of the Northern mythology in his *Philosophy of Religion*, nor of Northern poetry in his *Æsthetics*. Northern mythology and Northern poetry have hitherto been considered chiefly from the antiquarian’s point of view, and the attention which is justly bestowed on classical literature has hitherto never fallen to the lot of the Eddas or the Skalds. But though the German philosopher has not given to the poetry of the North a place in his scientific classification of poetry, he, perhaps without knowing it, has described all its properties in his essay upon the so-called ‘romantic’ poetry. In describing the elements of the romantic poetry, he exactly points out the distinguishing features of the Northern poetry, the energetic overbearing will, the deep reserved mind, that cannot utter itself, but in its struggle against itself either goes to destruction unobserved, like Ophelia, or brings ruin on itself and others, like Hamlet. Now those elements the German philosopher deduces from Christianity; but they certainly are less due to the softening influence of our mild and blessed creed, than to the hardening and bracing air of the North; and Shakspeare, when conceiving such characters as Macbeth and Richard III., undoubtedly was rather a Northern than a Christian poet. Even Hamlet is much more a type of Northern reserve, with all its passion, and of Northern taciturnity, with all its eloquence, than of a Christian’s struggling self-reflection. Hamlet speaks only in monologues.

The historical and national elements have never been perfectly abolished, but only modified by religious and political crises. The Wandering Jew might inform us that the modern Greek still preserves some of the qualities of the heroes of Salamis and Thermopylæ; that in the modern Roman there still are to be found traces of the enemies of Hannibal; and that there still lingers a sound from King Harold Fairhair’s time in the voice of the modern inhabitant of the Gudbrandsdale. The outward features are preserved, though the spirit may evaporate. The language keeps the old sound, though the mind may vanish.

Country and climate are the same, though the temper of the people may be altered to a certain extent.

The Northern spirit which existed previous to Christianity, the Northern poetry which was the product of this spirit, has a greater interest than that of mere antiquity; it may still be traced down to Christian times; it is echoed forth in the best productions of the romantic poetry, and consequently deserves a place in the history of literature.

A proof of this may be found in the 'Song of the Sun' (*Sólarljóð*) in the elder or Sæmund's Edda. The whole poem undoubtedly belongs to Christian times; the old gods have fled, and 'White Christ' has taken their place, but the mixture of energy and resignation which belongs to the Northern mind breathes forth from every line. Like all compositions belonging to two different historical epochs, and grown on the border between the two, the 'Song of the Sun' has the double character which always arises from the conflict, and at the same time, from the blending of dissimilar elements. We thus find in this poem the gloomy mysticism of the heathen coupled with the humility of the Christian, the crafty cunning of Odin as we know it from *Hávamál*, the Northern worldly wisdom side by side with the purity of Christian morals. But what is especially striking in this song is the fusion of Christianity and Paganism where the Northern and the Catholic mysticism are identified with each other, and when Christian sorrow softens down heathen gloom. We might believe we were reading a translation of Dante's *Inferno* in strophe 53-75 of *Sólarljóð*, were we not suddenly awakened by reminiscence from *Völuspá* and the mythic Edda-songs, in strophe 55, 56:—

' From the north I saw ride
The sons of the men;
They were seven together,
From full horns they drank
The pure mead
From the well of the god of the ring.'¹

Strophes 58-75 again recall Dante. The heathen strain is resumed from strophe 76 to 81, and the concluding strophes 82, 83, are Christian, and even so modern that funeral speeches in the North at the present day frequently are concluded with the three last lines—

' God grant rest to the dead
And grace to the living.'

The little episode in strophes 10-14, touching the controversy of two friends about a woman, is neither specifically Christian

¹ *Mímir*; i.e., from the well of poetry.

nor Northern. Upon the whole, the song is a poetical expression of two historical phases, which, though conflicting, have many points of contact.

Its relationship to Christianity is the great charm of Northern poetry, and distinguishes it eminently from the classic literature. This relationship makes the Northern heathen literature a singular phenomenon in Paganism, without anything analogous to it, save some few instances of Oriental and Indian mysticism. But the religion of nature is all that Northern poetry has in common with Indian and Persian poetry. Oriental lust and luxury, Indian softness and fragrance of roses, must freeze to death in the winter of the North; the prurient polygamy of the Eastern nations cannot find its way to the deep starry heaven and the pure snow of the North, which, on the contrary, especially in the relations between the sexes, develops naturally a chastity and purity, which the Catholicism and chivalry of the middle ages brought forth through the influence of religion.

The relation between the sexes, and the manner in which woman is treated by man, are on the whole a good test of real culture in different ages and nations. In the East, the wife was in very truth a slave, had to share the burden of despotic treatment with a number of rivals; the division of the burden in this case being a multiplication. In Greece, we find a similar humiliation of woman; an intimate and dignified connexion between the sexes is an exception, save, perhaps, in the intellectual intercourse between lover and hetæra. Even the son is hardly grown before he makes his mother feel something like a husband's authority. Telemachus threatens to send Penelope away from Ithaca to her parents, that her suitors may there compete for her hand; he orders her to go to her attendants, etc. In the Greek world, woman is not subjected to all the evils of polygamy, but the connexion between one man and one woman is loose. In the Trojan war, we find female slaves who are also paramours, and in the fullest development of Athenian civilisation we find the institution of the hetærae. But however accomplished Diotima may be, her lover injures his legitimate wife, and consequently violates the sanctity of matrimony by his relations to Diotima. In Rome, the wife is both bought and sold, her education neglected, her social position subordinate; the husband may divorce her at his pleasure and take another wife; he loves other women, she other men; the difference is, that what he does openly she does secretly. The Roman marriage is a formal, a political institution; nothing more. Such is married life in the heathen world.

In the North, we find an exception to this rule. The Northern

heathen treats woman with esteem. He is chaste, and he therefore, as Tacitus writes of the Germans, begets strong and healthy, free and daring sons, a terror to the Romans and other luxurious Southerners. The Northern wife has a social position, firm and sure; she brings up the children, manages the house, stands by her husband with good advice and cheerfulness, dresses the wounds of the warriors, refreshes the returning champion with mead and mirth, and prepares him an invigorating rest in a marriage-bed undefiled. Her courage and cleverness equal his own, and frequently the Northern warrior owes life and victory to his mate.¹ In the North, a woman must be legally and regularly wooed, and her parents consulted; if she afterwards has reason to complain of her husband's treatment, or if she is otherwise dissatisfied with her lot, she may return to her parents and wed another man (*Laxdæla-saga*). This is the reason why there are to be found in Northern Paganism so many instances of highmindedness and nobility in woman; she is possessed of a touching faithfulness and firmness which is fitly matched with the unflinching valour and undaunted energy of the Northern man.

The poetry of the North, consequently, has very little in common with classical literature. Greek and Roman poetry is regular and harmonious; Northern poetry is elevated and dissonant. In the former, spirit and form keep pace with one another; in the latter, the spirit constantly outruns and over-rides the form. In the former, the tragic as well as the comic element keeps within the limits of beauty; in the latter, sorrow is deepened into humour, and the comic becomes grotesque. The Greek utters his passion in its fulness, he does not even fear to express himself by inarticulate interjections; the Northern character grows more silent as his passion increases; being too well aware of the insufficiency of speech to exhaust his passion, of the inadequateness of the form to express the spirit, he disdains to give vent to it. There the tragic borders on humour, because at its highest pitch the passion of the Northerner voluntarily disguises itself in a counterfeit appearance. Foolishness, ignorance, stupidity, simplicity, joy, and mirth, are the masks of the embittered and sorrowful Northern warrior thirsting after revenge; he lies down in the kitchen and plays the fool, while he broods over revenge and ambition. It was the custom of Viga-Glum² and his kin to smile when they were insulted, and in the Northern Sagas self-possession is always regarded as a manly quality (*at vera stilltr vel*). The true Northern hero never

¹ Gisli the Outlaw, Burnt Njal, Grettis Saga, Earl Hakon, etc.

² See Viga-Glum's Saga, translated by Sir Edmund Head, Bart., K.C.B., London. 1866.

gives us to understand whether he is well pleased or not at another man's sayings or doings,—colouring, perhaps, is the only mark of the inward struggle; the play of feature, the ambiguous answer, is the only warning to an enemy to beware. Words are seldom the medium between the thoughts and the acts. Passion is parsimoniously kept in store for action. Not a drop of its precious energy is spilt in words; the Northern hero allows it to ferment until it is ripe for deeds. As plastic and dramatic as the Northern pathos therefore is in action, so great is also its mimical and lyrical power in its first awaking; when instantly quenched it only appears in the glance of the eye, in the quivering of the lip, in the trembling of the voice, in the sudden paleness.

‘Slight are the outward signs of evil thought;
Within, within,—’twas there the spirit wrought.’

Even at this stage of passion it is sometimes also dramatic,—when it utters itself through an ambiguous and obscure answer. This is the pathos of calmness, when the individual masters his passion, and pours it out in drops. The Greeks knew nothing of this sort of passion. With them the passion and its expression were identical; their pathos was eloquent, and as such imposing by the vehement current of words. It is what one might call the expansivity of passion, in opposition to the intensity of the Northern pathos.

In Christian poetry, again, we find this intensity. Many instances of it might be quoted from Shakespeare,—as, for example, the second scene in *Richard III.* Act iv., between Richard and Buckingham,—from Byron, and many others. But one of the most striking proofs of dramatic intensity is given by Alfieri in his *Don Filippo*. The Duke of Alba conducts the king to a garden-door of glass, in order to prove to him the intimate relations existing between Don Carlos and the queen. They are seen by the audience sitting on the same bench.

Alba. Vedisti?

Philip. Vedi.

Alba. Udisti?

Philip. Udi.

Nothing more is said, nor are more words required to prepare the audience for the consequences to the ill-fated Infante.

No doubt there are some points of resemblance between the Northern and the Oriental poetry. The former does not quite abnegate her origin. The spirit of the East is elevated, too, and not harmonious; the tragic is gloomy, the comic is grotesque: both border on humour. But as a logical conse-

quence of the religion of nature, to which it belongs, the Oriental poetry brings forth images which, although pompous, are often hideous, and at the same time unintentionally ridiculous.

In Indian mythology the images are monstrous, and even exceed the limits of the grotesque. The sensual element, the mysteries of generation, are so absurdly intermingled with the abstract, that not poetical effect, but a hideous caricature is the result. Take as an instance the famous episode of the Râmâyana—*the Descent of Gangâ*. Indian fancy outruns the limits both of decency and common sense, and thereby, in the midst of her pomp and profusion of gorgeous images, suddenly becomes poor and unpoetical. Sometimes she is comically strange,—as, for instance, when she paints the god of Love, Rama, riding in moonshine on a parrot. It is not easy to make out what is meant by this symbol. One is inclined to suppose a hidden sense, but then the juxtaposition of parrots and moonshine provokes a smile. Still more absurd is the Indian myth about the manner in which even a Paria may become Brahm; he is only required to stand some thousand years on one leg and look at his nose. By doing this he may become Brahm or the Absolute, which is neither more nor less than the Abstract Nothing. How difficult, is it not, even for a Paria to be reduced to Nothing? The grand and pompous nature of India has thus imbued its poetry with a luxuriant fancy at the cost of taste and good sense. In the North, the fancy is still grand, but at the same time chaste; a warm climate and a fertile soil have not coloured it with their splendour, nor tempted it to spend on matter what is due to spirit. There the human mind has soon learnt to harden itself by constant toil,—to wrestle with a penurious, though sublime nature, and thereby gain the consciousness of her own superiority over matter. There is nothing analogous to Indian lore to be found in Northern mythology, save perhaps the myth of Ymir, which also belongs to the primary products of the people's mind, at the stage where the impression of the influence of nature on man is still overpowering. The myth of Ymir is analogous to the Orphic and Eleusinian theogonies in Greece, which manifestly sprang up in the very first days of classicism, and most likely are rather to be considered as remnants of Egyptian symbolism than as originating in Hellas.

The want of the drama is a feature that ancient Northern and Persian poetry have in common. But while the epic types of character in Northern poetry are various, and individually different from each other, the lyrics of Persian poetry are monotonous, and though not quite as *glebæ adscriptæ* as the

Indian epopees, still sigh under the tyrant's yoke. The Persian poet is nothing but the bard of a despot; and though Mahmūd of Gazneh has four hundred poets at his court, with a poet-laureate at their head, those four hundred poets only exist to praise him, the absolute, the master, and the god; not to sound the depths of a rich national life, and work out the wealthy mines of conflicting passions and stirring actions. Thus Firdusi's national epic, 'Shah Nameh,' is rather a series of mythic traditions than a historical poem. Thus Anwari is nothing but the encomiast of the king, the viziers, the poets, and the ladies at court; Nisami sings of nothing but love; Dchelal-eddin Rumi of religion; Sâdi is a didactic; and Dschami a mystic poet.

Greater is the likeness between the Northern and the Arabian poetry. The fatalistic energy of Islam has many points of resemblance to the personal daring of the North. The thirst for revenge, the patient endurance, the spirit which never forgets, but always bides its time, of the Arabian, are frequently akin to the descriptions of character found in the Eddas and the Sagas. The same pride, the same daring, and the same carelessness of means to compass an end, are the distinguishing features of both. In the form also there is the same simplicity, heightening the pathos, and pointing out the strength of feelings which in their intensity disdain pomp.

But at the bottom there lies a radical difference, due to the religious creed professed by each. The Arabian poetry, originating in Mahometanism, is fatalistic; the Northern poetry springs from the belief in the might and power of man (*trú á mætt sinn ok megin*), and consequently is the poetry of freedom; because, though it may sometimes appear as if the belief in our own power borders on fatalism, and although blind necessity and boundless liberty are akin, still this difference always remains, that the former keeps necessity within the individual, while fatalism transports it beyond the reach of the individual; that is to say, the believer in his own might acts in virtue of his own, the fatalist in virtue of an alien, liberty. The actions of the fatalist are necessary, because he only acts as the instrument of fate; the actions of the believer in his own power are eminently free, inasmuch as he acknowledges no necessity except the principles upon which he acts. The only limits to his freedom are the horns of the dilemma. Of two opposite things, he can only do one; even more, at the time he only can *be willing* to do one; and he thus undergoes the necessity arising from his limited power of acting as well as of intending. In other words, he does as he likes, but he cannot but like to do what he does; the fatalist does what fate likes,

but fate must like him to do it, otherwise he could not do it. This difference does not prevent the passion of the Arabian and the Northern warrior from being equally impetuous, equally careless of all consequences; only they are not equally free. When the conviction has been once arrived at that the intended deed is not contrary to the rules of honour, it is done without looking to the right or to the left. If crowned by success, well and good; if not, it is good too, only the fatalist is consoled by the satisfaction of a higher verdict, the verdict of fate, and then gives up; the believer in his own might, by the hope of succeeding at another time, and he goes on. Hence it follows that the Northern Nornas have a double character: they are not blind Necessity, as the Greek *πενώμενον*, the *Μοίραι*, or as the Roman *fatum*; they are not asked beforehand; no balance is taken, no oracle consulted; they consequently are no masters of the future. The *future* meets with its verdict at the hand of the individual prepared for action. The will of the individual is the Norna previously to the accomplished fact: let my action reveal what the Nornas have decided. *Afterwards* the Nornas appear when the individual will has made itself good, and confirm the deed by their approbation. They thus are only masters of the past, of the 'fait accompli:' *it happened, ergo, it was so determined by the Nornas.*

Though the Arabian poetry may thus have some points of resemblance to the Northern, as far as Oriental fatalism *in action* is concerned, every analogy is at an end as soon as the Islamitic fatalism is at rest. The North knows nothing of Mahometan quietism, nothing of sensual eudaimonism; the North holds houris, opium, amber, and lust in aversion. Even when at rest, the child of the North thinks of new toil; he either acts or prepares for action. And even when fully aware of his ruin, he struggles on. Gunnar of Lithend knows that his enemies will never be able to overcome him as long as he can use his bow, and is aware of impending death when his wife has refused to him the lock of her hair for a bowstring. A Mahometan would at that moment either have wrested the lock from her against her will, or given up fighting. Not so Gunnar; he disdains equally to use force against woman, or passively to offer his head to the enemy. He seizes his bill and fights on against the odds until he is slain. The Northern warrior has not learnt to resign himself, as the Orientalist; his calm is not apathy, but a new form of pathos; he gathers himself together for a new struggle. Therefore, it is only the Saracen *in action* who resembles the Northern warrior, as he also resembles mediæval chivalry, with its trinity of honour, valour, and love.

Now, though we contend that the distinguishing feature of Northern as well as of Christian poetry is the sublime, that in them more than anywhere else, mind overcomes matter, substance form, it must still be well understood that sparks of the sublime appear at intervals in all creeds and all literatures, some having, after interrupted efforts at sublimity, fallen back to the religion of Nature, others having passed into the identity of spirit and matter, of substance and form. At the same time, even classicism, to which we principally allude, possesses sparks of the sublime. The first theogonies, the myth of Erebus and Nox, of Demeter and Kore, of the Orphic Dionysia, as well as the cycle of legends, connected with the Eleusinian mysteries, where, according to Clemens Alexandrinus, reminiscences of the Egyptian, Phœnician, and Chaldean creeds were made objects of mystic dramas, the myth of Herakles as a personification of the mastery of mind over matter, and some other instances of classical heroism,—all belong to the province of the sublime. Is not Apollo sublime when, in his anxiety about his son Phaëton, who, with an inexperienced and mortal hand, holds the reins of the Sun's immortal horses, he follows after him 'on the back of Sirius' (*Σείριον νῆρα βεβῶς*)? But still the sublime of Hellenism never rises above the sublime of nature. In the description of human passion Greece produces much which is strong and striking in the immediate form of violent and sudden passion, but she never reaches the sublime of the free and liberated mind, which in the Northern, as well as in Christian poetry, shows its true elevation by mastering and conquering the strongest of all natural forces—passion itself. The Greek gives vent to his feelings, but however he may astonish us by his fresh and fiery passionateness, and by its eloquent expression, we still sympathize much more with the broad-shouldered Northern, who trembles in anger, but is self-possessed. The emotions of the latter are perhaps more violent than those of the former,—who knows? But his pride, his consciousness of the supremacy of the spirit over matter, get the better of them and thus form the pathos of calmness. The man of the North, moreover, has one stimulus still, he has to maintain the power of mind against a barren soil and a treacherous climate, from which he must daily wring its spare gifts. The Greek on the contrary may, like a child, cling to Nature's motherly bosom, and childlike enjoy the gifts which she freely and fondly lavishes on him. He is therefore in harmony with Nature, and through her with himself, while the man of the North is only through pain and struggle enabled to maintain himself against her.

Longinus has observed the elevated character of the Jewish religion, and quotes from the Old Testament several striking instances of the four principal properties of the sublime, *ῥώμη*, *δεινότης*, *ἔκστασις*, and *ἐκπληξίς*. He justly lays stress on the 'Let there be light, and there was light' of Jehovah, as something truly sublime; and the relations of divinity to the Jewish nation contain many touches of this character. Now the literature of the Hebrews certainly possesses the sublime of the spirit, of the mind, while the pantheistical creeds know only the sublime of Nature, which being in them the Most High, is consequently above man and the human spirit. Again, when divinity, as in the polytheism of the Greeks and Romans, enters the ranks of humanity, the harmonious beauty is brought forth; the powers of Nature are personified, incarnate, and clad in human form. The sublime of the spirit, on the contrary, only exists either in monotheism, where God stands both above nature and mankind,—whether He, as among the Hebrews, governs according to His own pleasure, or, as in the creed of Islam, is known as dire necessity; or in a polytheism which, containing within itself the promise of its own destruction,¹ opens the prospect to a new heaven,² and a new divinity,³ and thus through a religious suicide terminates in monotheism.

Nothing can be more striking than this self-destruction of the Northern mythology, which in a higher sense creates a new religious life,—this redeeming mysticism, which consecrates all the old gods to an inevitable fate, which in its turn must make way for the new free All-father. Is there a more painful anxiety, a deeper grief, than that of Odin and the other *Æsir*, conscious as they are of their own decay, their impending fall,—the evening twilight of the gods? And still they shun no sacrifice in order to delay the fatal hour as long as possible. Týr devotes his hand, Odin his eye; but alas! without avail; the Fenris-wolf gathers strength, and the Midgard-serpent grows fearfully. Loki and his kin live on; but Baldr dies and cannot come to life again in the old era; his resurrection is contemporary with All-father's appearance. But nevertheless Odin rejoices at every successful scheme,—Thor at his victories over the giants, and the *Einherjar* at their daily battles. The *Æsir* still exult at their having bound the Fenris-wolf with the slender cord, and Thor's chest expands when he has expelled Loki, driven back the sea by a mighty draught, and dragged the Midgard-serpent up to the edge of his boat. But what is humour, if not Ragnarok's swallowing up of the gods,

¹ *Ragnarökkr* (the twilight of the gods).

² *Gimli*.

³ *Alfadir* (the Father of all).

themselves knowing that they are no true gods, and in the midst of their daily strife and toil aware of their decay? And what is sublime, if not the assurance that this evening twilight of the gods, which threatens them with the gloom of a northern winter night, while the storm howls in the branches of the world's tree,¹ and the serpent² gnaws at its root,—is to make way for a better world and one almighty All-father? The myth of the Ragnarökr has, therefore, by some authors, been considered as belonging to the Christian era, and influenced by Christian lore; but it is so intimately interwoven with the whole mythology of the North, that the same might in that case be asserted of all the myths contained in the Eddas. At all events it must be admitted that the finest, the most poetical feature of the creed of Odin, is this very circumstance, that it is weighed down by a mystery involving the victory of Christianity. What did Odin whisper in the ear of Baldur on the funeral pile? This was the great question nobody could answer in the heathen times, except Odin himself, and he never told it to any one,—a question in its way co-ordinate with the myth of the Ragnarökr.

The natural consequence of this state of the Northern gods, Valhalla being a beleaguered Olympus, and the gods devoted to destruction, is loss of confidence in this Valhalla and in these divinities. The Northern hero, therefore, though never doubting their existence, abandons them, and transfers his faith from them to himself; henceforward he *believes in his own might and valour* (*hann trúir á mátt sinn ok megin*). But still he will not offend the gods, and by courtesy, especially to Thor, with whom he has peculiar sympathy, he makes the sign of Thor's hammer when drinking. Earl Sigurd, therefore, unconsciously uttered a profound truth, when, under the reign of Hakon the Good, or Athelstane's Fosterling, he soothed the wrath of the Norwegians, on their complaining that their king made the sign of the cross over his drinking-horn, by the explanation that it was the sign of Thor's hammer. It must be borne in mind that King Hakon was secretly a Christian, but Earl Sigurd made him out to be a believer in his own might. This belief in his own might is the source of that self-reliance, that undaunted valour, which never fails or forsakes him; this is the byrnie, which cannot be iron-bitten (*sem engin járn bita*), this the sword which cuts through everything. The believer in his own might is dipped into Styx, and not even his heel is left vulnerable. But at the same time it is clear that, however indistinctly or unconsciously, he leans already to the belief in one true God, and is on the road to Christianity. The belief in his own

¹ Yggdrasill.

² Nidhüggur.

power is not so much the trust in the strength of his muscles or in the bigness of his bones, as in the energy of his will, in the firmness of his heart, in the resources of his intellect, and consequently in the divine and immortal part of his own nature.

II.

The truth of the foregoing remarks will, we trust, be proved by a rapid glance at the Eddas, the dirges and ditties of the Northern skalds, and last, not least, at the Sagas.

A. *The Eddas*.—In the Eddas, especially the elder or Sæmund's Edda, to which the younger or Snorri's Edda only forms a supplement, a distinction must be drawn between the mythic-religious songs, the Northern theogonies, as they might be called, and the mythic-historical or mythic-heroic poems, founded evidently on later traditions, from the great migration of the nations of Northern and Central Europe (Goths and Huns).

1. *The Mythic-Religious Songs*.

These are,—*Völuspá*, *Hávamál*, and *Rúnatalspátr-Oðins*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Grímnismál*, *Alvísmál*, *Hýmiskviða*, *Lokaglepsa*, *Hamarsheimt*, *Harbarðsljóð*, *Skírnisför*, *Hrafnagaldur-Oðins*, *Vegtamskviða*, *Gróugaldur*, *Rígs-mál* and *Fjölsvinns-mál*. *Hyndluljóð* forms the transition between the religious and the historical poems, inasmuch as the gods here descend into human life, religious myths and historical genealogies of Northern kings being ingeniously interwoven in this song. *Sólarljóð* again, as we have said, stands apart, and forms the transition from Northern Paganism to Christianity.

Völuspá and *Grímnismál* together contain, *in nuce*, the northern cosmogony and theogony, the latter even the mythical geography of the world of the Æsir. We are made acquainted with a host of celestial, earthly, and subterranean beings,—Æsir and Vanes, Giants and Dwarfs, Valkyries and Nornas; beneath this world a Fate destined to blow it up, which from the beginning of things has been hidden in Urda's well; and, finally, above and behind this world, a new and superior state of things, from which Fate is exiled, and where Baldur appears new-born (*endrborinn*):—

'*Böls man alls batna,* i.e. '*all evil will be healed,*
'*Baldur man koma.*' Baldur is coming.'

The gods are restless and uneasy, conscious themselves of the

impending evil, and still more depressed by the certainty that their adversaries also know of the fate which awaits them. Thus they are not only aware of the ruin which threatens them, but also how it will be brought about, and the whole world shares this knowledge with them; but still, and this is the sublimity of their existence, they do not give themselves up to quietism, but struggle on against fate, with Odin's craft and Thor's strength. The consciousness of their imminent fate is graphically manifested by the circumstance that through all ages (*um allan aldur*) gods and men contribute to the shoe which the god Vidar is to put on, when in Ragnarökr he steps on the jaw of the Fenris-wolf. This tragic end of the gods is in *Völuspá* rendered still more pathetic by the whispering mystery which pervades everything, and the highly-wrought suspense in which gods and men expect and prepare for the twilight of the gods. The dark-red cock crows in the hall of Hela (the Persephone of the North); the dog Garmr barks before the cave of Gnypa; the branches of Yggdrasil, the world's tree, tremble; Heimdal blows the Gjallarhorn; and Odin mutters to Mimir's-head. A general awe precedes the battle, but vanishes when it is over, because a new heaven, Gimli, appears, high and pure, above the ruins of the old world. This is the expiation which, taking place outside, not within the existence of the old gods, belongs to the province of humour.

Hávamál and *Hamarsheimt* are a supplement to *Völuspá* and *Grímnismál*. The former teaches the wisdom with which Odin grapples with fate; the latter gives us a proof of Thor's valour, in his struggles against the giants. The Northern gods are not as the gods of Greece, *μάκαρες θεοί*; on the contrary, they represent a declining race, which, it must be borne in mind, is not to be replaced by their adversaries, but by new Powers, arising from the ruins of both contending parties. Still the *Æsir* are not altogether swallowed up by Ragnarökr; two gods survive, and a third comes again to life; all three are transferred to the new state of things. Odin reappears in the more perfect shape of All-father; the resurrection of Baldur takes place; and the second son and avenger of the old Odin, the slayer of the Fenris-wolf, Vidar, the 'silent god,' lives henceforth in the new heaven; while Surtur—the race of Muspel—the Giants, and the rest of the enemies of the gods, are all destroyed, without a single exception. In one place (*Fáfnismál*, 14) the Edda speaks of Surtur and the *Æsir* 'mixing their blood together,' a phrase generally used as pointing to a reconciliation; but the use of the word '*hjörölögr*' (i.e., 'liquor of swords,') instead of blood, very likely hints at the mingling of blood in battle, not at any reconciliation. Thus Ismene, in the *ΕΠΙΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ* of *Æschylus*,

vers. 920-923, speaks in a like manner of the combat of the brethren Eteocles and Polynices—

Ἐν δὲ γαίᾳ ζῶα
φονορῦτῳ μέμικται
κάρτα δ' εἶσ' ὁμαιοι.

In any case this is no geogonical, but much rather a historical allusion. In the great revolutions of Nature, the old, the decaying matter, with all its contending elements, is fused into a new state of things, in which the conflicting elements altogether disappear. In the historical crisis, on the contrary, eternal truth survives its decaying framework, which makes way for new and more adequate forms, and only the contradictions to truth vanish entirely. Thus the Northern mythology allows some of its gods to survive Ragnarökr, even personally, and live in the new era. This promise of a better life, of a higher existence, and even of personal immortality, this reconciliation in the *Völuspá*, is still more expressly asserted in the younger Edda (*Gylfaginníng*, c. 3), where it is said that 'All-father (Odin) gave to man the soul, which shall live and never be lost, even though the body becomes dust or ashes; and all honest men shall live in his company on Gimli or Vingolf.'

In *Vafþrúðnismál*, which otherwise is closely connected with *Völuspá*, the reconciliation is weaker; the giant Vafthrudnir and his lore are thwarted by the great riddle concerning the words which Odin whispered in the ear of Baldur on his funeral pile. The giant not being able to solve this problem, no explanation is given, no prospect opened of a new existence after the destruction of the old gods, only it is related that Vidar shall survive and avenge Odin. With composure Odin asks the giant questions about things which he himself knows better, about his own decease, and with the same coolness he replies to the giant, when the first question had been truly answered, by proposing to him the great problem, which Odin alone is able to solve. He makes the giant feel that there is one question, a vital question, known only to himself, which to him, Odin, is still more momentous than the question of life and death. This problem therefore cannot well contain anything else but the promise of a higher existence, of Odin's and Baldur's new life on Gimli, and of a new world without giants and other evil beings. This supposition is confirmed by the conclusion of the poem. The giant not being able to answer the question, forfeits his life:—

<p>‘feigum munni mælltak, mína forna stafi ok um ragna rök.’</p>	<p>i.e.</p>	<p>‘with a fey tongue I spoke out my old lore, and of Ragnarök.’</p>
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In *Vegtamskviða* Odin likewise, in the disguise of Vegtam, questions a prophetess about the death of Baldur, the manner

of his being avenged, etc., all questions he knows full well himself; but, as in *Vafþrúðnismál*, he concludes by one of those obscure problems which, bearing his stamp, lead to his discovery, and which the prophetess, as well as the giant Vafthrudnir, cannot solve. This question, as the former, has the effect of crushing the evil genius with whom Odin copes; it is about the bitter weeping of the Nornas. The goddesses, in whom fate is incarnate, weeping, and weeping bitterly (*at muni gráta*)! as soon as they begin to feel, they must cease to be the rulers of Destiny; their reign must be at an end, and their existence too. This, like the preceding question, points beyond Ragnarok to the new life, from which Fate is banished. Odin thus conjures the conjuror with a glance into the new state of things, where fate and its retinue of conjurors and soothsayers must make way before a higher necessity, the golden age of the North, as *Völuspá* names it, from which sorcery and witchcraft are shut out. The *ultimata* of Odin always have the same effect upon his adversaries as the crow of the cock upon a ghost. In the middle of the night they are a match for him, but the dawn of Gimli overpowers them. Odin questions them till they have spoken out their hidden wisdom; because the only thing of which he is ignorant is how far their knowledge goes; but once aware of the limits of their lore, and at the same time delivered from the anxiety which his uncertainty as to the amount of their knowledge produced upon his mind, he turns the tables upon them, by making them feel that his knowledge of the future is greater than theirs. Still he is careful not to impart his secrets to them; he lets them become aware of his knowing more than they, not of what it is he knows. Delivered himself from his first anxiety, he overpowers his interlocutors, and while to a certain extent he does acknowledge the same destiny as theirs, he rejoices in the consciousness of his resurrection, when they shall have perished irrevocably.

Hence it follows that Odin is the special representative of the Northern mind. His moral nature outruns the existing state of things to which he belongs, as the foremost of the Æsir.¹ But his double nature, both to partake of the destiny of the gods, and to see beyond the common ruin, makes him mysterious and given to musing, or, as the Edda graphically describes him, *listening*² and *staring*.³ Therefore, during the anguish and sadness of the gods at Baldur's death, he always is called *Yggr*, i.e., the Thoughtful, it being his duty and care

¹ *Odinn æðstr' Asa*, i.e., Odin the highest of the Æsir.—*Grímnismál*, 44.

² *Hlustar Odinn Hlidskjálfu* i, i.e., Odin is listening in Lidskjalf.—*Hrafnagaldur Odins*, 10.

³ *Nísta ek nidr*, i.e., I stared down.—*Hávamál*, 140.

to heal the wounds which Destiny inflicts on the existence and power of the Æsir. He it is, also, who unrestingly provides for the well-being of gods and men. He pledges one of his eyes for the draught of wisdom; the eye which is left to him gains so much more in brightness. For this reason he is named *Báleygr*, i.e., the Fire-eyed. He goes about in the interest of gods and men, questioning the giants and the dwellers in the lower world; he visits the kings of the earth to teach them his hidden lore, as Geirröd and Heidrek; he recruits heroes for Valhalla, as when he fetches Gnodar-Asmund, kindles war between the Volsungs and the Gjukungs, and brings about the bloody battles on Dynheath and Bravalla. Alas! Odin is too well aware that the number of the Einherjar (the warriors of Valhalla, levied from men slain in battle) will never be sufficient, inasmuch as Ragnarok is impending, and 'the gray wolf constantly staring at the band of the gods;' and the giants they know him. However great the havoc is which Thor makes amongst them, still it is not he, but Odin, whom they call *Bölverkr*, i.e., the Doer of Mischief. But the character of Odin excludes joy. In his quality of the wise god (*fimbulpúlr*) and the counsellor, the adviser of the gods (*hróptr rōgna*), he spurns mirth.

'The heart of the wise
Is seldom glad.'

Hávamál, 53.

The musing, pensive character of Odin is tersely delineated in many places of the Edda, but nowhere so strikingly as in *Hávamál*, 164:—

'Veit ek at ek hékk	i.e. 'I know that I did hang
Vindga meidi á	On the weather-beaten oak
Nætr allar níu	During nine nights,
Geiri undadr	Marked with the spear's-point,
Ok gefinn Odin	And given to Odin
Sjalfr sjálfum mér.'	Myself to myself.'

Devoted to himself, he sifts and sounds the problems of existence, and looks into the depths situated beyond the weather-beaten oak, 'the ash of Yggdrasil' (literally the horse of Odin), the world of the Æsir. In the following lines he relates that he fell from the tree as a fruit ripe for a higher existence. Through thinking he acquires the knowledge of the Runes, and sees over all worlds (*alla heima*). In *Rúnatalspáttir-Oðins* he gives a survey of his Runes, his lore, but still there is a reserve:—

'That I know the eighteenth,
Which I never tell
To wife or virgin—
Best is what but one knows.'

He does not taste the nourishing food of the other gods :—

‘ On wine alone,
The weaponglorious,
Odin always feeds.’

Grímnismál, 19.

He thus stands prominent amidst the Æsir, greater by his wisdom than by his majesty or a commanding will, in which respect he is inferior to the representative of strength, Thor. Again, the calmness of Odin is not the high serene calmness of Zeus; it is a deeper calmness—the listening stillness of thought, the ominous silence of night. The Eddaic songs, therefore, of which Odin is the subject, are without exception grave and solemn.

Those, on the contrary, of which Thor is the principal person, as *Hamarsheimt*, *Hýmiskvida*, *Lokaglepsa*, *Harbardsljód*; and the myths concerning Thor in the younger Edda resound with boisterous laughter and merriment, tinged at the bottom with humour; whether Asathor sits amongst the giants as a broad-shouldered bride, or angles for the Midgard-snake, or imposes silence upon Loki, or has his strength tried by Utgarda-loki, or good-naturedly suffers himself to be insulted by the boatman, Harbard (Odin in disguise). The bulk of Thor everywhere exceeds the line of beauty. Good-natured but fiery, brave but rash, he is a type of the Northern hero in action. His belt of strength, his ‘might-girdle’ (*megingjardir*), indicates the unconscious power which grows against every hindrance, and always keeps a fund of valour in reserve for the last and hardest need. Thor, therefore, addresses the river Vimur, which is swelling while he fords it :—

‘ *Vaxattu nú Vimur,
Alls mik þik vada tíðir
Jötna garda í,
Veistu ef þú vex,
At þá vex mér ámegin
Jafnhátt upp sem himin.*’

i.e. ‘ Do not swell, Vimur,
I want to ford thee
On my way to the giants.
KNOW, THAT AS THOU GROWEST
MY DIVINE STRENGTH INCREASES
QUITE AS HIGH AS HEAVEN.’

Snorra Edda, Skáldskaparmál, 18.

He very seldom makes use of his whole strength, only once at the giant Geirröd, whose two daughters had placed themselves under the high seat of Thor, with the intention of lifting him up.

‘ *Einusinni
Neyttak ámegins
Jötnagördum í,
þá er Gjálp og Greip
Geirradar dætr
Vildu hefja mig til himins.*’

i.e. ‘ Once I did avail me
Of the Asa strength
In the giants’ country,
When Gjálp and Greip,
Geirröd’s daughters,
Strove to lift me up to heaven.’

He then strained the belt of strength so tightly, that the chair

resumed its place, and the spines of the giant-maidens cracked. Always good-natured unless provoked, Thor even makes himself respected by Loki, who respects nothing else, whether above or beneath the earth,—‘because,’ says Loki, ‘I know thou doest slay (*því ek veit þú vegr*)’ Lokaglepsa. Loki is aware that the threats of Thor are never empty. So also the ferryman Harbard (Odin in disguise), after having insulted Thor and tried his patience by refusing to ferry him over, holds his peace when he sees that Thor is going to ford the river.

At the same time there is a kinship between Thor and Odin. Strength sometimes is joined with cunning, as in *Hamarsheimt*, where Thor, in female guise, mocks the giants, and gets back his lost hammer; and especially in *Alvismál*, where, with a craftiness worthy of Odin, he deceives the dwarf by delaying him with a host of questions, until the dwarf is surprised by dawn, and cannot slip back inside his rock. Nor does Thor lack public spirit. He has not, as Odin, sacrificed his eye, or, as Týr, his hand, for the good of gods and mankind, but he, too, carries the marks of his fight with the giants. A piece of Hrungnir’s flint remains in his skull to the end of the world; and, finally, in Ragnarok, his end is more tragic than that of all the Æsir: ‘In divine strength he crushes the venomous serpent (the Midgard-snake), goes nine steps and dies’ (*Völuspá*, 56, 57). But, compared with Odin, he is of a cheerful mind. Wherever Thor is there is mirth, sometimes at his own expense. There is in him an ardour and a vitality which communicates itself to others; in the presence of Odin silence and obscure utterings alternate; even the gladness of the gods is excluded. There everything is listening and musing; in the presence of Thor all is life and action. Even his sadness is not as Odin’s, silent, but he gives it vent in words, or, as at the death of Baldur, in acts:—‘Thor then went to the funeral pile and consecrated it with Mjölner’ (his hammer). The dwarf, Lit, played ‘at the feet of Thor, but Thor gave him a kick and hurled him into the fire, where the dwarf was burnt to death’ (*Gylfaginning*, 49). Thor’s sorrow is here expressed, not by words, but by action. The two gods, Thor and Odin, thus truly represent two sides of the Northern character, which perhaps are more closely connected in the Northern and the Anglo-Saxon mind than elsewhere,—cheerfulness and stern gravity.

The rest of the mythic Eddaic songs are poetically inferior to the preceding. Some of them, as *Hrafnagaldur Odins* and *Fjölsvinnsmál* are so obscure, that they have hitherto baffled the skill of all interpreters. Very likely they are only fragments of greater poems which have been lost. The former by its second title, *Forspjallsljóð*, even indicates that it is an introduc-

tion to a mythic song, which we no longer possess. In *Rígsmaðl* we are made acquainted with an ingenious explanation of the origin of the three classes of men in the old heathen times : earls (nobles), peasants, and thralls. All three are derived from the one god, Heimdal, but from different mothers ; Heimdal himself being the son of *nine* mothers. Goethe, in the second part of *Faust*, may have appropriated the celebrated '*mütter*' that have given rise to so much conjecture, and called forth so many commentaries, from the myth of Heimdal. *Gróugaldur* is a chant on heathen sorcery. Groa, a Northern witch of Endor, is awakened from the grave by a son, who stands in need of her advice.

Skírnisförr is unique in its way, being the only erotic poem contained in the Edda. The god Frey has fallen in love with the giant-maiden Gerda. From Hlidskjalf he has observed the beautiful woman, and from that moment he sits musing in the high halls,—

'The sun shines
Day after day,
But not to my mind.'

Only Frey's page and friend, Skirnir, succeeds in wresting his secret from him :—

'Young we lived together
From old times ;
Well may we believe each other.'

Frey sends Skirnir to woo the maiden ; he lends him his horse, which may carry him through 'dark fires,' and his sword, which cuts of itself,—'if he is brave who wields it.' Skirnir arrives at Gymislodge, where Gerda's hall is situated. He acquaints her with his errand, and offers her precious gifts,—eleven golden apples and a ring which every night produces eight heavy gold rings. Gerda declines his suit. Skirnir then passes to threats, and concludes thus :—

'Three strong runes
I shall carve for thee :
Vexation, trouble,
And restlessness.'

Now Gerda gives in, and promises to wed Frey nine nights hence. When Skirnir, who is not allowed to dismount, before he has told Frey the result of his wooing, has reported Gerda's answer to him, Frey exclaims :—

'Long is one night
Long are two,
When will three be past !

A month often
Is felt to be shorter,
Than half a night at present.'

Hyndluljóð forms the transition from the mythic to the historical poems. In this song the gods descend into human life, and the old generations of Northern kings, the Skjoldungs, Skilfings, Ædlings, Ylfings, Ynglings, and Volsungs, all follow upon the pedigree of the Æsir. To these poems of transition also belong the song of Grotta in the younger Edda, about the grinding of gold to King Fródi, the songs in *Hervarar-saga*, Odin's visit to King Heidrek, the song of Half and his heroes, of which two, Utstein and Innstein, have already been mentioned in *Hyndluljóð*, the myths of Nornagest and Ærvarodd, Angantýr's dialogue with Hervara, and some others of less importance.

This entrance of the gods into human life, this moving in human society, has something analogous in the Greek mythology; but in the North, as in Greece and in Rome, familiarity breeds contempt; the gods henceforth lose their authority, and themselves pave the way to man's belief in his own power.

2. The Mythic-Heroic Songs.

These poems, the epics of Northern prehistorical heroism, treat exclusively of the tales about the great migration of nations, Goths and Huns,¹ Volsungs, Gjukungs and Niflunga ('Niebelungen').² They consist of *Völundar-Qvida*, *Helga-Qvida Hatínga-Skada*, *Helga-Qvida Hundingsbana* I.-II., *Volsunga-Qvida hin forna* (the ancient), *Sinfjötllalok*, *Sigurdar-Qvida Fáfnisbana* I.-II., *Fáfnismál*, *Brynhildar-Qvida* I.-III., *Helreid Brynhildar*, *Godrúnar-Qvida*, *Godrúnarharmr*, *Godrúnargrátr*, *Godrunarhefna*, *Godrunarhvata*, *Oddrúnargrátr*, *Atlamál hin Grænlensku*, and *Hampismál*. According to the free manner in which the tale always disposes of space as well

¹ 'þá frá Grímhildr
Gotnesk kona.'
Godrúnarharmr, 17.

'Frágu fræknan,
ef fjör vildi
Gotna þjóðan
(Högni son of Greek)
gulli Kaupa.'
Godrúnarhefna, 22.

'geirnjörð híginn
á Godþjóðu.'
Godrúnarhvata, 8.

'ádr'ek gæfak
Godþjóðar til.'—Ibid. 16.

'Godþjóð (the country of the
Goths here is the land ruled
by Jormunrek)
þá mælti Herborg
Húnalands drottning.'
Godrúnarkvida 1. 6.

And in many other places. Once
for all, it may be here mentioned,
that the Atli of the Edda is Attila,
king of the Huns.

² 'Hvæt er hermpar litr
á Hniflungum.'
Helga Kviða Hundingsbana, 1. 47.

as of time, and the broad margin which it allows both in history and geography, the scene of action alternates freely between the North, France, and Germany; and the same persons—for example, Helgi and Svava—reappear new born for a second time in different countries.

Some Northern authors deny that those poems relate to the migration of nations, and endeavour to localize them in a single Northern country, Norway; but the contents of the poems themselves, as well as their analogy with a celebrated German song, the *Nibelungen Lied*, too clearly point out their relationship to the great historical event mentioned above, to allow of any serious doubt in the matter. Why should there be the frequent question of Southern (*suðrænn*) men and women, of southern lands and climes, of the Sun-mountains, the *Sefamountains*, etc., if the scene were exclusively in Norway? The poems in question may have been composed in Norway or elsewhere long after the events described, but that the tales and traditions on which they are founded belong to the migration is beyond doubt. At all events, it is universally admitted, that these traditions sprang up in a time anterior to the formation of three separate kingdoms in the North, and consequently they cannot be very distant in time from the event to which we believe they refer.

The first of these songs, the *Völundar-Qvida*, is merely an introduction to the following epic trilogies of the North, in which the connexions and dissensions of Goths and Huns are described with a pathos worthy of the prophet Hosea or of Æschylus, and in a corresponding diction. Humour there is not in these poems, because the events on which they turn never reached a final reconciliation. The wild current of passion rushes on without interruption through all the songs, until it vanishes in the ruin and extinction of all who bore a part in it. Love and jealousy, avarice and envy, hatred between relatives, and bloody revenge, urge those Gothic and Hunnic heroes on to their ruin, and like a mortal disease, the passions only abate with the destruction of the victims. These epics therefore, have nothing in common with the Homeric or Hesiodic poems, but rather with the Greek tragedy, especially the cycles of traditions connected with Pelops from Thyestes to Agamemnon. A fatal destiny controls the actions of the contending parties, and a vigilant Nemesis keeps her account, and demands her due, with bloody interest, through the life, not only of individuals, but also of families. A curse is stamped upon the whole state of things; and the purest chords of the human heart grow dissonant from the fatal influence of disorderly passions.

But the background being imposing, and the characters grand, a wide field is open for the sublime. The men—the invincible Helgi, the noble Sigurd Fâfnisbane, or as the latter popular songs call him, ‘Snarfari’ (Dan. ‘*Snarensvena*’), the cruel and crafty Atli (Attila), the brave Högni, the bold sons of Gudrun Gjuki’s daughter, Hamdir and Sörli, all spend a short life of strife and of action, as Achilles, and the women exhibit all the gradations of female passion, from the loving submission of Svava to the burning jealousy of Brynhilda, and Gudrun’s insatiable thirst for revenge. They are, like Medea, the genii, the Valkyries of the men; or as Svava, they give name in virtue of love, to ‘the silent youth, on whom no name could fasten’ before he learnt to love (*Helga-Qvida Hatingaskapa*) or as Gudrun, they kindle war between whole nations. The sublime of passion consists in this, that the hero or the heroine prefers passion to existence. Their love and hate are stronger than life. They are not satisfied with a revenge which only reaches the limit of personal safety and convenience; they bring to passion, whether love or hatred, such heavy sacrifices, that the revenge often strikes as hard at the avenger as at its object. Brynhilda brings about the death of the man she loves most, that another woman may not enjoy his love:—

‘Then Brynhilda
Budli’s daughter
Once laughed
From all her heart,
When on her couch
She listened to
Gjuki’s daughter’s
Moans and weeping.’

Brynhildar-Qvida, II. 30.

And nevertheless she soon died afterwards herself from the same cause. Gudrun goes further. Like Medea, she slays Atli’s and her own infant sons, Erp and Eitil, dresses them for her husband’s table, and finally confesses her guilt, hoping thereby to provoke her own death. She does not know the artful Hun:—

GUDRUN.

‘The cup of evil
Thou hast not yet drained,
Lest I too am slain.

ATLI.

It is not needful;
Milder means
I keep in store.’

Atlamál hin Groenlenzku, 68, 69.

By comparing the different heroic songs with each other, we find that all the principal persons are closely connected by the ties of blood and hatred. The conflict between Völsungs and Niflungs commences in *Helga-Qvida Hundingsbana* I., where the names of Högni and Atli are mentioned for the first time. From *Sigurdar-Qvida Fáfnisbana* I., also called *Grípisspá*, it clearly appears,¹ that the son of King Sigmund, and grandson of King Völsung, Helgi Hundingsbane, is the same person as the son of Sigmund, and grandson of Völsung, Sigurd Fáfnisbane, or, to adopt the phraseology of the tradition, Sigurd was Helgi brought to life a second time, or born again (*endrborinn*). The blood debts contracted by the race of the Völsungs in the persons of the two Helgis—Hátunga Skapi and Hundingsbani—are increased by Sigurd, in virtue of prophecies and sinister forebodings (*Grípisspá*) by the slaughter of Fáfnir and of Regin; and thereby, as well as by the curse attached to the treasures acquired from the former, he is irrevocably involved in the destiny of his race. He falls in love with the daughter of Budli, king of the Huns, and the sister of Atli, the amazon Brynhilda. Huns and Hundings seem to be the same people, and the breach of Sigurd's bridal vow to Brynhilda, brought about by the sorcery of the queen of the Niflungs, Grimhilda, who substitutes her own daughter Gudrun for his first intended bride, as well as the treacherous part he plays in his brother-in-law Gunnar's successful wooing of Brynhilda,—all this augments the old guilt of the Völsungs in their dealings with the Huns. The blows of destiny now fall faster and faster on the three races, Huns, Völsungs, and Niflungs, until they are all swallowed up by the whirlpool of passion, whose centre is Gudrun, who alone is left among the ruins of her race, after having twice courted death in vain, or, as the Eddaic song ingeniously expresses it, 'after having two times died.'² After the slaying of Atli, she tries to drown herself, 'but cannot sink' (*Goðrúnarhvata*). This is her punishment, her curse, that, like Ahasuerus, she is condemned to a bad immortality,—haunted by the remembrance of sorrows and inexpiable crimes which, by the profound justice of the tradition, are brought home to her by Hamdir, her own son by a third marriage with King Jonakur:—

HAMDIR.

' By slaying
Erp and Eitil (Atli's and Gudrun's infant sons),

¹ ' þú munst harða
Hundingssonu
Snjalla fella.'—Str. 9.

² *Atlamál hin Grœnlensku*, 109.

Thou didst aim
 A blow on Atli,
 But didst strike thyself;
 So should a man
 Weapons aim
 At another's life,
 That he hits not himself.'

Hamdismál, 8.

In form and diction these heroic songs are superior to everything which we possess of Northern poetry in verse. They are distinguished by a thorough simplicity and elevation, following the middle course between the sometimes misty and vaporous diction of the mythic Edda songs, and the stiff artificial formalism which frequently renders so difficult the understanding of the Northern poetry of the historical period. The heroic poems are the classical poetry of the North, inasmuch as the diction here exhausts the matter without overloading it. With a true tact, the passion appears in the most fit, though not the most transparent dress, because the reader's mind must be held in suspense by the fermenting depth of passion, which only speaks fully out by starts, and then breaks forth as a mountain-stream when the barriers are withdrawn. The following verbal translations of two fragments of *Völsunga-Qvida hin forna* (Sigruna cursing her brother Dag, who has slain her lover Helgi, and her meeting with the ghost of Helgi in his tomb), and of the revived Sigruna, Gudrun Gjuki's daughter's song, *Godrunar-Qvida* I. will more clearly illustrate the poetical merit of the Northern heroic epics.

FRAGMENTS OF THE ANCIENT VOLSUNGA-QVIDA.

I.—*Sigruna cursing Dag.*

18. Thee shall all
 The oaths bite
 Which thou hadst
 Sworn to Helgi
 At the bright
 Beams of lightning,
 And the ever cold
 Rock of the ocean.
 19. Still stand the ship
 Which thou steerest,
 Though a fair breeze
 Follows its stern;
 Still stand the horse
 Which thou ridest;

- Though from thy foes
 Thou wish to flee!
 20. Never cut the sword,
 Which thou wieldest,
 Lest it clash upon
 Thine own neck!
 Only then the death
 Of Helgi is revenged,
 When as hungry wolf
 In desert forests
 Bereft of goods
 And of joy whatever,
 Thou canst find no food
 But foul carrion.'

II.—*Sigruna's meeting with the ghost of Helgi in his tomb.*

SIGRUNA.

As glad I am
 At our meeting,
 As the hungry

Hawks of Odin
 Waiting on the field
 For warm dishes,
 Or when dew-moistened
 They greet the dawn.

31. I want to embrace
The departed king
Before the bloody
Byrnie he throws off;
In thy hair, Helgi!
Hoar-frost hangs;
Thy breast is wet
With field-dew (blood),
And thy hands are cold.

HELGI.

32. If Helgi is

Wet with sorrow's dew,
It is of thy making,
Sigruna,
From Seva-mountains!
The sunbright
Southern maiden
When she goes to sleep,
Weeps bitter tears,
Which fall bloody,
Chill, and piercing
On her lover's breast.

GODRUNAR-QVIDA I. (THE FIRST SONG OF GUDRUN).

1. In times past, Gudrun,
Sat sorrowful
And sad to death
By Sigurd's corpse;
She did not weep
Nor wring her hands,
Nor did she wail
As women do.
2. Fair earls stepped forth
To console her,
But Gudrun was so
Sorrow-swollen,
She might burst with grief,
But shed no tears.
3. Gold-clad, goodly brides
Of the greatest earls
Sat by Gudrun;
Each told her
The sorest grief
Which they had suffered.
4. Then said Gjaflang
Gjuki's daughter:
'Myself, I trow,
To be the most unhappy.
Five husbands
Have I lost,
Two daughters
And three sisters,
Eight brothers;
I am left alone.'
5. Gudrun was so
Sorrow-swollen
At her husbands' death,
She could shed no tears.
6. Then said Herborg
Hunland's Queen:
'I a greater
Grief may boast.
My seven sons
In southern parts
And husband the eighth
In battle perished.
7. 'My parents both
And brethren four

Wind and wave
Wafted along;
And a billow beat them
At the boat's edge.'
8. 'I sought for them myself,
Myself I found them,
And in the tomb myself
I lodged their remains;
This I endured
In one single year;
No one did comfort me.'
9. 'Next through warfare
Was I kept in bondage.
Every morning
I was bid to dress
And to tie the shoe-strings
Of my master's wife.
10. 'With jealous words
She wrung my heart,
And dealt me blows
In bitter wrath.
Never did I know
A better master,
Nor a worse mistress.'
11. Gudrun was so
Sorrow-swollen,
At her husband's death,
She could shed no tears.
Then said Goldrand
12. Gjuki's daughter:
'Foster-mother!
However skilful
Still thou knowest not
How to soften
Sorrow's pangs
In a youthful heart.'
13. She swept off the pall
From Sigurd's corpse,
And threw it at
The knees of Gudrun:—
'Look at thy darling
Lips to lips press,
As when thou embracedst
The chief alive.'

14. Gudrun looked at him,—
Saw the noble head
Soiled with gore,
The bright eyes
Burst and dim,
And the kingly skull
Cut asunder.
15. Gudrun then sank
Leaning on the couch ;
Her locks were loosened,
Her cheeks coloured,
And a rain of tears
Rushed down on her knees.
16. Gudrun then wept
Gjuki's daughter
A hail of tears,
To her heart's content ;
And the birds all
In her bower
Took to joyous singing.
17. Then quoth Goldrand
Gjuki's daughter :
'Never did I know
A loving couple
Like you and him ;
Thou couldst not abide
Out of doors or in,
But in Sigurd's presence.'
18. Then quoth Gudrun
Gjuki's daughter :
'My Sigurd differed
From the sons of Gjuki,
As a towering tree
From tender herbs,
Or a bright gem
In a necklace,
A precious stone
On a princely breast.
19. 'I too was valued
Above other women,
Now, he is departed,
I am nothing more
Than a leaf in autumn.
20. 'I miss my loving friend
In seat and on the couch ;
Gjuki's sons have wrought,
My brethren own have wrought
All my misery
And my bitter tears.
21. 'May you lose your lands
As you broke the oaths
To Sigurd sworn.
Gunnar! thou shalt not
The gold enjoy.
'The rings shall be thy bane
On which thou swarest him faith.
22. 'There was more mirth
When he mounted Grani,
And you went a-wooing
The luckless dame Brynhilda.'
23. Quoth Brynhilda
Budli's daughter :
'May that woman lack
Mate and issue,
Who taught thee, Gudrun,
Tears to shed
And this morning
Thy tongue has untied.'
24. Then said Goldrand
Gjuki's daughter :
'Loathsome fury !
Utter not such words ;
The fate of chieftains
Thou hast ever been ;
Harm thou hast brewed,
Bitter sorrow
To seven kings,—
And rage to women.'
25. Quoth Brynhilda
Budli's daughter :
'My brother Atli,
Budli's son,
Is the only cause
Of all this harm.
26. 'Since in the hall
Of the Hunnic king
I Sigurd saw
Shining with gold ;
I never have forgotten
That unhappy sight.
27. She leant on the pillar,
And the pillar bent ;
Fire burned
From Brynhilda's eyes,
And she blew venom,
As she looked on
Sigurd's wounded body.

The above translations do little justice to the original, but the lyric beauty of these epic poems will strike most readers. For it must be borne in mind, that the poetry of the North is never, like that of Greece, merely epic, but always strongly imbued with lyric elements, so much so, that it may indeed be called *lyric-epic*.

In the heroic Edda songs it must secondly be observed, that they give more room to fatalism than both the earlier and later

poetry of the North. Founded as they are on tales and traditions from the early middle ages of European history—the migrations of nations—they seem to have assimilated a southern and foreign element, which is not grown in the spiritual soil of the North, where personal strength, freedom, and self-reliance, are always the moving power. This appears more clearly on comparing them with other Northern poems, belonging to the same period of transition from tradition to history, as Starkad the Old's dirges, the *Krákumál* of Ragnar Lodbrok,¹ the *Bjarkamál* of Bödvar Bjarki, the songs in the sagas of Orvar-Odd, Hervör, etc. Here destiny is one element of the event or action described, but personal will and valour the other, while in the cycles of traditions connected with the Volsungs, the actors are entirely subordinate to destiny. Still this destiny is not the destiny of the Greek drama. Œdipus, for instance, commits crimes, slays his own father, and weds his own mother, *unconsciously*; he is not aware of the man he slays being his father, nor of the woman he weds being his mother. From a Christian point of view he is innocent; not so in Greece. His actions, although unconscious, are in virtue of *blind fate* crimes, and the consequences the same as if he had committed them knowingly. Sigurd Fáfnisbane's guilt, on the contrary, is, in the first instance, conscious, and to a certain extent his own work, the result of his own free will; he empties the cup of oblivion presented to him by Grimhilda, and thereby forgets his bride Brynhilda. He might have refused the cup offered; he was warned of the consequences; it was in his power, and he thus far had the full responsibility of his action. But once having tasted of Grimhilda's hospitality, he is in her bondage, and now sinks deeper and deeper into guilt. Of Œdipus we know, that if in the man he met outside Thebes he had recognised his father, or in the Queen of Thebes his mother, he would neither have slain the one nor wedded the other. But the deed once committed, it makes no difference, according to the religious creed of the Greek, whether it has been committed knowingly or not; the same responsibility rests with the doer, and he is stamped by blind fate as a luckless man, and an object of the wrath of the gods, whether the divine hatred is directed against him personally, or against his race. Again, destiny, in the antique drama, always appears directly as the immediate interference of the gods in human affairs; in the heroic songs of the Edda, under the form of sorcery, as a power ruled by the evil skill of men, and consequently acting indirectly through human will. This makes a considerable difference between the Fate of the Greek tragedy and the Fate

¹ See an admirable translation of the *Krákumál* in *Travels by Umbra*, pages 56-58. Edinburgh, 1865.

of the Eddas. But the traces even of sorcery disappear as we approach to the historical era of the North, and make room for the free will, the 'belief in one's own power.'

B. *The Sagas*.—There are epochs of transition in the literature as well as the history of all nations. Thus, the heroic songs of the Edda may be considered to be the popular epics, what the Danes call 'Kjæmpeviser' of Northern Paganism; some of them (for instance, 'Sigurd Svend=Sigurd Fáfnisbani') even have been transmitted, of course in an altered shape, to the popular songs or 'Kjæmpeviser' of the Christian middle age of the North, particularly of Denmark. They thus stand in the same relation to the later heathen poetry of the North, of which we know the authors, as the properly so-called popular songs ('Folkeviser' and 'Kjæmpeviser'), to the modern Christian literature in the Northern kingdoms. An analogous phenomenon may be found among the Greeks, where epic rhapsodies connected with the most ancient Greek traditions, such as the feats of the Heraclids, the expedition of the Argonauts, and even the Trojan War, by unknown authors, but transmitted orally from generation to generation, preceded the elaborate songs of Homer and Hesiod. The same fact we finally meet with in the relation of the Provençal and English minstrelsy to French, German, and English poetry.

In the Sagas we find two different kinds of poetry, namely, the *drapas*, or dirges and ditties inserted in the Sagas, praising in rhyme the historical events, and the glorious exploits of gods, kings, and heroes, and the Saga itself in prose, which sometimes is rather historical romance than real and sober history of men and events.

1. *The Drapas or Skaldic Songs inserted in the Sagas.*

With the important exception that the spell of fate is broken, the drapas, in form and tenor, have much in common with the Eddaic songs. In the first place the Northern skalds or bards never abandoned the lyric epic kind of poetry. They neither made themselves the merely lyric organs of individual feelings, nor did they aim at a dramatic elaboration of human passions and conflicts, but, influenced by the events of some moment, they praised historical facts and historical men with an always moderate intermixture of their own reflections. The burden or staff (*stef*) frequently occurring in the Northern drapas, and of which we have seen an instance in the above translation of *Godrúnar-Qvida* I. ('Gudrun was so sorrow-swollen') points to their decidedly lyric character, because the burden in the poetry

of words, is analogous to the melodious theme in the poetry of sounds, music. It is the fundamental idea of the poem which, through all digressions, remains the same, and thereby preserves the unity of the poem.

The North was in ancient times copiously provided with these skalds or rhapsodists (*pulur* from ' *pylja*, ' i.e., to recite ; plur. *pylir*), and it may even truly be contended that poetry was a branch of liberal education in the North. Earls and kings, as Ragnar Lodbrok, Harold Hardrada, and Rognvald or Ronald, Earl of the Orkneys, held it honourable to compete with their own skalds for the prize in poetry and artificial versification. It would carry us too far to enumerate all the poets of the ancient North, and we shall therefore confine ourselves to the mention of the principal skalds, who may naturally be divided into two classes, those who lived in heathen times, or till the death of Earl Hakon of Hladir or the Bad, and those who belong to Christianity, from King Olaf Tryggvason to King Hakon the Old, Hakon's son.

a. *The Heathen Skalds.*

Of these the principal are Starkad the Old, Bödvar Bjarki, Ragnar Lodbrok, and Bragi the Old,¹ in and immediately after the reign of King Ragnar in Denmark ; Thorolf from Hvin, and Thorbjörn Hornklofi, in the reign of the kings of Norway Halfdan the Black, and Harold Fairhair ; Eývind *skáldaspillir* (i. e., the Spoiler, the eclipser of skalds) in the reign of the Norwegian kings Hakon Athelstane-Fosterling, and Erik Bloodaxe ; Egil Skallagrimsson, Glum Geirason, and Kormak, in the reign of the Kings Erik Bloodaxe and Harold Grayfell ; Thorvald Hjaltason in the reign of Erik the Conqueror of Sweden and Sweyn Forkbeard in Denmark ; Einar Skalaglam, the author of the famous dirge *Vellekla*, Tind Halkelsson, and Eilif Gudrunarson in the reign of Hakon, Earl of Hladir. Of these poets, the seven first named were Danes and Norwegians ; Bragi the Old, though the bard of the Swedish king Björn on the Hill, was a Norwegian ; the remaining seven were Icelanders.

The four first, Starkad, Bödvar Bjarki, Ragnar, and Bragi form the transition from the heroic Edda songs to the later and more artificial skalds. Simplicity of form is combined with a fatalistic tenor of ideas. Starkad, especially, is subject to the absolute sway of an alien will ; his whole life is nothing but a chain of conflicts, brought about by the influence alternately exercised upon his doings and sayings by the two Æsir, Thor and Odin, the latter having given him a blessing for every

¹ His father-in-law, *Erpr Lúlandi*, also was a famous skald in his times, but no fragment of his poetry has come down to us.

curse bestowed upon him by the former. Thor has a natural antipathy to everything connected with the giants, and in the veins of Starkad there flows giant blood:—

‘*Sjá þykjast þeir á sjálfum mér* i. e. ‘They pretend to see on my bulk
Yötunkuml átta handa. The scars of giantlike eight arms.
Vikarsbálkr Starkaðar.

And the Bareserks of Upsala reproached Starkad with being a giant and nidding. Further, Starkad himself tells how Thor or Hlorridi

— ‘*fyrir hamar nordan* i. e. ‘North of the mountains
Hergrímabana Cut off the arms
Höndum ra’nti. Of Hergrím’s slayer (Starkad).
Vikarsbálkr.

Thor cannot suffer this Briareus of the North to walk about with eight arms instead of two, he therefore amputates six of them to render him more like a human creature; but the remaining stumps bespeak Starkad’s giant origin. In Starkad and CErvar-Odd (Odd of the Arrows) fatalism and ‘the belief in one’s own might’ alternate. In the tradition about King Rolf Kraki and his champions, the fatalism of sorcery is prominent. Notwithstanding his valour, Bödvar Bjarki must oppose witchcraft to witchcraft, and when first prevented from using the unfair means of sorcery, the fortune of battle decides against Rolf Kraki. But Bödvar returns to his human nature, recovers the freedom which he had lost through witchcraft, but forfeits his life. The fatal power of sorcery consists in this, that even where it produces success it destroys liberty; this the Northern tradition happily expresses by the remark that the person exercising witchcraft is in a state of exhaustion during the process of sorcery. Thus Bödvar Bjarki lies motionless in the hall of Rolf Kraki, while his bewitched self, in the shape of a bear, fights in the ranks of his master. In other words, during the state of witchcraft, Bödvar has delivered himself to an evil power which enslaves him. The song of *Bjarkamál*, therefore, must have been composed after the spell of sorcery had been broken, and after Bödvar had come to himself. It breathes throughout unbounded thankfulness to his benefactor, and an equally unlimited resolution to fight for the king to the last drop of his blood. In a diction luxuriating in imagery, where gold occurs with all its poetical denominations, each containing a myth, the hero, swanlike, sings his last song, of which a part, the so-called *húskarlahvöt* (i. e., ‘rousing of the house-carles’) was chanted centuries later by the army of King Olaf the saint of Norway, as a war-song in the battle of Sticklestead. Higher praise of the *Bjarkamál* cannot well be given. Simi-

larly, *Krákumál* is the swan-song of King Ragnar, in which the royal Viking surveys his past life, and with a cheerfulness worthy of his prowess looks to its close as a mere transition to a new heroic existence in Valhalla. Of the drapa of Bragi the Old on the shield which he received as a gift from King Ragnar, we possess only fragments. They prove, however, that he was not unworthy of bearing the name of the god of poetry. It is a remarkable coincidence between the North and Greece, that in both places art tried her early hand on the shields of distinguished warriors. The Greek and the Northern sculptor were equally fond of illustrating with the exploits of gods and heroes the weapon destined to ward off the vigorous blows of other heroes. Hesiod and Homer described the shields of Hercules and of Achilles, Bragi the Old and Thjodolf of Hvin their own bucklers, the first a gift of Ragnar Lodbrok, the second that of Thorleif the Wise, the famous adviser of the Norwegian kings, Halfdan the Black, and Harold Fairhair. The fragments left of Bragi's drapa are three in number, and treat three different myths of the Eddaic cycle. The first is the tradition of Thor's fight with the Midgard-snake; the second the myth of the Hjadnings, who, fighting every day until Ragnarok, are slain every evening, but rise fresh for a new battle the next morning; the third has the same object as that of *Hampismál* (*vide supra*) in the elder Edda, namely the tradition of Jormunrekr (Ermenrik), the last link in the trilogy of the Gjukungs. As a specimen of Bragi's diction, we cite the following description of the fighting in Jormunrekr's hall, where he is surprised while feasting by the Gjukungs, and the hall is set on fire:—

‘ Knátti aðr við illan
Jormunrekr at vakna
Meðr dreyrfár dróttir
Draum í sverða flaumi;
Rósta varð í ranni
Randves höfuðniðja,
þá er hrafnbláir hefndu
Harma Erps of barmar.

Flaut of sett, við sveita
Sóknar álfa á gólfi
Hræfa dægg of hæggnar
Hendr sem sætr of kenndu.
Fell í blóði brunninn
Brann ölskakki runna.’

i. e. ‘ Evil dreams awakened
Ermenrik in his revel;
Swords were wildly clashing,
Warriors slain and bloody;
Instead of meat and meadcups
Maiming blows were passed;
Thus Erp's raven-blue brethren (the Gjukungs)
Brimful vengeance quaffed. [kungs]

‘ Banks with blood were streaming
Burning dew of corpses (i. e. blood)
Stained the floor, where floated
Feet and hands well severed;
And the bearer of beakers
Burnt in gore was slipping.’

Bragi already is deviating from the vigorous simplicity of the Edda, of Starkad and of Bödvar Bjarki, and paving the road to the artificial poetry of the later skalds.

Thjodolf of Hvin was the friend and bard of Harold Fairhair. He brought up the son of Harold and of the Finn maiden

Snæfrida, Gudröd the Bright, and conciliated his brethren to Harold, when the king once in his wrath was going to banish them from his presence. He is the author of the dirge on the race of the Ynglings (*Ynglingatal*), of the song on the battle of Hafursfirth, which Snorri Sturluson in his *Heimskringla* erroneously, and in contradiction both to Fagrskinna and the younger Edda, ascribes to Thorbjörn Hornklofi, of *Haustlaung* (i.e., long as autumn), and of the poem on the shield, a gift to the poet from Thorleif the Wise. *Ynglingatal* (i.e., the genealogy of the Ynglings), is in a certain sense the continuation of the Eddaic *Hyndluljóð*, a poetic derivation of Norse and Swedish kings from the gods. In this song occurs a strophe, which throws a light upon the custom of our ancestors to bury their chieftains near the sea. The poet, on mentioning the tumulus of a Swedish king, thus expresses himself:—

'Ok Austmar Jæfri sænskum Gýmis ljóð At gamni kveðr.'	i.e. 'And the Baltic, To amuse The Swedish king, Sings him the song of waves.'
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Something analogous we find in the Anthology about the tomb of Achilles—

Τύμβος 'Αχιλλῆος ῥηξήνορος, ὃν ποτ' 'Αχαιοὶ
 Δώμησαν, Τρώων δειμα καὶ ἐσσομένων.
 Αἰγιαλῷ δὲ νένευκεν, ἵνα στοναχῇσι θάλασσης
 Κυδαίνοιτο παῖς τῆς ἄλιας Θέτιδος.

Of *Haustlaung* only two fragments are left, one about the capture of the goddess of youth, Idunna, by the giants, the other about the combat between Thor and the giant Hrungnir. The description of the manner in which the gods, by the capture of Idunna, suddenly grow old, is very graphic, but the stiff formalism of versification at the expense of poetical thought already begins here to make itself felt. No doubt it must be admitted, that partly the defective form in which these poems exist, partly our want of sufficient familiarity with the old poetical language of the North, frequently as unlike the common language as well can be, may contribute towards making many of those Northern ditties unpalatable. At all events it is certain that the copiousness of expressions and periphrases, proper to the Northern Skalds, is commonly misunderstood by modern interpreters; but, on the other hand, one is at a loss to comprehend why the intricate and often overloaded style of the *dróttkvedis*, the triple trochaic metre, is never met with in the so-called *fornyrðislag* (i.e., the old metre), the double trochaic metre, in which the Eddaic songs are composed. The poems written in the latter metre are uniformly simple and unartificial, those, on

the contrary, in which the former is adopted, are so intersected by parentheses and digressions from the original theme, and by sentences included in the principal sentence, that a laborious analysis of the verse is required before there can be any chance of making out its sense. This, of course, weakens the poetical impression; the bouquet of lyric poetry has vanished before the reader can enjoy the meaning of the verse, and his trouble in making out the sense of a Northern strophe is not always sufficiently rewarded by its poetical merits. Now, though we are no friends of parentheses, it must be admitted that they sometimes, when well applied, strengthen the poetical expression, as, for instance, in the following hemistrophe¹ of Thjodolf's *Haustlaug* :—

<p>‘ Ok at isarnleiki Jarðarsunr, en dunþi —Móðr svall meila blóða— Mánavegr und hánúm.’</p>	<p>i.e. ‘ The son of Earth (<i>Thor</i>) Drove to iron-sport (<i>combat</i>), and dinned —Meilis brother (<i>Thor</i>) was moody— The way of the moon beneath him. (<i>In other words, it thundered.</i>)’</p>
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The variety of names for the same thing, not merely in the province of mythology, but also in common life, as men, women, battles, weapons, the sea, gold and silver, etc., which is a marked feature of the old Northern language, further interferes with the easy comprehension of the Northern poetry, a precise and complete knowledge, not only of the language, but also of the myths and legends connected with the poetical denomination of an object, being a necessary condition of understanding the poet easily and perfectly. Thus, in the *Bjarkamál*, the poet relates how the Danish king, Rolf Kraki, was open-handed to his followers, and this he expresses by saying ‘that he gave them.’

<p>‘ Fenju forverki Fáfnis miðgarði Glasis glóbarri Grana fagrbyrði Draupnis dýrsveita, Dúni Grafvitnis Sifjar svarðfestum</p>	<p><i>Svelli dalnaadar, Tregum Otrsgjöldum, Tárum Mardallar, Eldi órónar, Iðja glysmálum, Þjaza þingskilum, Kínar rauðmálmi Rógi Niflúnga.’</i> —Bjarkamál en forn.</p>
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Every line is a denomination of gold, derived from a myth, some of them eminently poetical, as ‘the tears of Mardöll,’ who wept gold, the ‘envy of Niflungs’—the treasures of Sigurd Fáfnisbane having caused the deadly strife between Niflungs and Volsungs, etc.

The next skald in the order is Thorbjörn Hornklofi, author,

¹ In Northern poetry a strophe generally consists of eight lines, and is divided into two hemistrophes of four lines each.

no doubt, of the song on Harold Fairhair's court, quoted in *Fagrskinna* (*Fornmannasögur*, i. 7, where one of the strophes of that song is expressly ascribed to him); but him we may pass over, as inferior in every respect to his successor, Eyvind *skáldaspillir* (i.e., the spoiler, the eclipser of poets), who is incontestably at the head of Northern poets, as far as vigour and fertility of lyric imagination are concerned. We unhappily possess only some few remains of his songs; many of the most celebrated, as the song of praise on the Icelanders, being lost. But the *Háleygjatal* (the genealogy of the Earls of Halogaland in Norway), the drapa on Earl Sigurd, father of Earl Hakon, and principally the *Hákonarmál*, the funeral hymn on King Hakon Athelstane's-Fosterling, still afford us sufficient means of becoming acquainted with the most striking peculiarities of Northern song. His variations on the tumult of battle are unrivalled even in that warlike age:—

Hákonar-mál.

Göndul ok Skögul
Sendi Gauta týr
At kjósa of Konunga
Hverr Yngva ættar
Skyldi með O'ðni fara
I' Valhöll at vera.

i.e. The God of Goths¹ sent
Göndul and Skögul²
To choose amongst kings
Of Yngvi's kin,
Who should go with Odin
And stay in Valhalla.

Brôður fundu þær Bjarnar
Ur brynju fara
Konung hinn kostsama
Kominn und gunnfána
Drúpðu dólgar
En darrar hristis,
Upp var þá hildr of hafin.

They found Björn's brother³
Of his byrnie stripped,⁴
The costly king
Close to his banner;
Drooping enemies
Draw their swords:
So the battle began.

Hæt á Hólmrýgi,
Sá er her kallar
Jarla einbani,
Fór til orrostu;
Gott hafði hinn gjöfli
Gengi Norðmanna
Ægir Eydana
Stôð und ár hjálmi.

The lord of the army⁵
As the lead he took,
The killer of earls
Called the Holmrygs;⁶
A choice host of Northmen
Had the open-handed
Terror of Isle-Danes (Hakon),
His helm was bright as morning.

Hrauðstúr herváðum
Hratt á völl brynju
Vísi verðungar
áðr til vígs tæki.

Before the fighting
The prince of guards⁷
Undid his armour,
Off threw his mail-coat,

¹ Odin.

² Two of the Valkyries.

³ King Hakon.

⁴ The poet alludes to the fact of the king's throwing off his coat of mail when the battle of Stord began, in which he was slain.

⁵ King Hakon.

⁶ The inhabitants of the Norwegian province Rogaland.

⁷ King Hakon,

Læk við ljóðmögu 'Skyldi land verja,' Gramr hinn glaðværi. Stóð und gullhjálmi.	i.e. The gladsome king Golden-crested, It playfully called 'Protecting the country.' ¹
Svâ beit þá sverd U'r siklings hendi Vâðir vafaðar Sem i vatn brygðar, Bröknðu broddar, Brotnuðu skildir Glumruðu glym-ringar I gotna hausum.	So bit the sword Swung by Hakon's arm, The clothes of Odin ² As if cutting water. Shields were broken, Byrnies clashing, And the lance-points cracking In the cranes of warriors.
Tröddust törgur Fyrir tús ok banga Harðfótum hjallta Hausar Norðmanna. Róma varð i eyju Ruðu konúngar Skirar skjaldborgir I' skatna blóði.	Both shields and skulls Were briskly trodden By the iron foot Of the royal hilt. ³ There was fought on the isle ⁴ The kings ⁵ reddened, Shining forts of shields ⁶ With soldiers' blood.
Brunnu beneldar I blóðgum undum Lutu lángharðar At lýða fjörvi, Svarraði sárgýmir A sverða nesi Féll flóð fleina I fjöru Stordar.	Blow-flames ⁷ blazed In bloody wounds The bills bent On brave men's lives; ⁸ The sea of wounds roared On swords' ness A flood of arrows Flowed on Stord's ⁹ beach.
Blendust við roðnar Und randar himni Sköglar veðr lèku Við skýs um bauga; Umdu oddlár I' Oðins veðri; Hneig margt manna Fyrir mækis straumi.	Under the heaven of red shields Hand to hand they fought, Skögul's storm ¹⁰ did blow To the sky with fury; In Odin's weather ¹¹ Waves of spear-points rose, And the swell of swords Sunk many warriors.
Sátu þá döglingar Með sverð um togin Með skarða skjöldu Ok skotnar brynjur,	The kings ¹² then sat down (took rest) With their swords drawn, Their shields battered, And shot-through byrnies,

¹ By throwing his coat of mail on the ground, the king said jokingly, This was a symbol of protecting the soil.

² Armour.

³ 'Iron foot of the hilt'—blade of the sword.

⁴ The Isle Stord (now Storöen) where the battle was fought.

⁵ King Hakon and the sons of Erik Bloodaxe.

⁶ Bands of soldiers covering themselves with their shields.

⁷ Swords and lances.

⁸ The axes, in the act of hewing, were brought down upon the men at whom the blows were aimed.

⁹ The island where the battle was fought.

¹⁰ Skögul was one of the goddesses of war; her storm—the battle.

¹¹ The fight.

¹² The sons of Erik Bloodaxe.

Vara sá herra í hugum
Er átti til Valhallar vega.

i.e. That army was out of spirits
Which had to fight for Valhalla.¹

Göndul þat mælti,
Studdist geirskapti :
'Vex nú gengi goða,
Er Hákon hafa

Then said Göndul,
Leaning on the spear-staff:
'The train of the gods
Gets a good supply ;
Hakon is invited
To their high abode
With a mighty host.'

Með her mikinn
Heim bönd of boðit.'

(At this moment Hakon is understood to have received the mortal wound.)

Vísir þat heyrði
Hvat valkyrjur mæltu
Mærar af mars baki :
Hyggiliga létu
Ok hjálmaðar sátu
Ok höfðust hlífar fyrir.

The king overheard
The words of the Valkyries,
Sitting on horseback
With their helmets on,
Warily covered
With their bucklers bright.

HAKON.

'Hví þú svá gunni
Skiptir Geirskögul?
Værim þu verðir gagns frá goðum.'

HAKON.

'Why thus, Geirskögul,²
Deal the lots of war?
I deserved good from the gods.'

SKÖGUL.

'Vær þvi voldum
At þú velli hólzt
En þínir fjandr flugu.'

SKÖGUL.

'We are the cause
That the field thou keptest,
But thy foes they fled.'

'Ríða við nú skulum,
Kvað hin ríka Skögul,
'Græna heima góða
Oðni at segja
At nú mun allvaldr koma
Ok hann sjálfan at sjá.'

'Now shall we ride,
Said the mighty Skögul,
'Through green worlds and good,
To apprise Odin
That the king is coming
To call on Æsirs' chief.'

'Hermóðr ok Bragi !'
Kvað hrópta týr,
'Gángit ígögn grami ;
þvíat konúgr ferr
Sá er kappi þykir,
Til hallar hinnig.'

'Hermod and Bragi !'
Said the king of gods (Odin),
'Go to meet the king (Hakon).
A hero of high repute
To our hall approaches.'

Ræsir þat mælti,
Var frá rómu kominn,
Stóð allr í dreyra drifinn :
'I'llúðigr mjök
þykir oss Óðinn vera,
Sjáum vér hans of hugi.'

From battle arrived
In bloody attire
The king spoke thus :
'Grimly looks Odin ;
I can guess his mind.'³

¹ Which was defeated ; the men slain in battle go to Valhalla. It must be borne in mind that King Hakon won the battle, though he was slain himself.

² The same as Skögul.

³ It must be remembered that Hakon was a Christian.

BRAGI.

‘Einherja grið
Skallt þú allra hafa,
þigg þú at Asum öl;
Jarla bægi,
þú átt inni hēr
A’v’tta bræðurquað Bragi.’

‘Gerðar várar,’
Kvað hinn góði konúgr,
‘Viljum vēr sjálfir:
Hjálm ok brynju skal hirða vel,
Gott er til geirs at taka.’

Þá þat sýndist
Hve sá konúgr hafði
Vel of þyrmt veum,
Er Hákon báðu
Heilan koma
Ráð öll ok regin.

Góðu dægri verður
Sá gramr of borinn
Er sēr getr slíkan sefa;
Hans aldar
Æ mun vera
At góðu getit.

Man óbundinn
Of íta sjót
Fenris úlfr of fara
A’ðr jafngóðr
A’ auða tröð
Konúngmaðr komi.

Deyr fē,
Deyja frændr,
Eyðist land ok láð;
Siti Hákon
Með heiðin goð
Mörg er þjóð of þjáð.

BRAGI.

i.e. ‘Peace thou shall have
From all the Einherjar;¹
Drink ale with the Æsir
Earls’ enemy!²
Eight of thy brothers
Have arrived before thee.

‘Our attire,’
The good king³ answered,
‘We will keep ourselves;
Helm and byrnie should be kept with
And the spear at hand.’ [care

It then appeared
How King Hakon had
Ne’er hurt the gods,⁴
As they one and all
To Hakon gave
A hearty welcome.

In a happy hour
Will that king be born
Who resembles him;
His age
Will ever be
In good repute.

Unfettered
Fenris-wolf
On earth will roam
Before in Hakon’s
Empty place
A king like him comes forth.

Wealth dies,
Die kinsmen,
Lands and realms decline.
Let Hakon dwell
With heathen gods;
Many are his mourners.

It can hardly be denied that this is as graphic a description of the tumult of battle as well can be. The reader is almost carried into the middle of the *mêlée*, where the ‘waves of swords, axes, and lances are roaring and rising against the bright castle of bucklers,’ and ‘the flames of glittering weapons blazing’ on the bloody soil. Then the description of King Hakon’s fall does not convey an impression of gloom; he has won the day, and is invited to the banquet of gods in Valhalla, where, although a Christian, he receives ‘hearty wel-

¹ The warriors of Odin will all receive thee in a friendly way.

² i.e., King.

³ Hakon Athelstane’s-Fosterling also was called ‘Hakon the Good.’

⁴ Though himself professing Christianity, Hakon never had shown the Northern gods disrespect.

come from all the Æsir, because he never showed them contempt.' Odin, it must be admitted, 'looks somewhat grimly,' but still Hakon 'is at peace with the heathen gods.' And then how touching the conclusion of the poem, especially if we remember that it was composed under Hakon's successor and fiercest adversary. Again, how happy and harmonious is each image in itself,—'The sea of wounds roared on swords'ness.' Last, not least, the poet paints with one happy stroke the character of his hero, the cheerful king, who, at the beginning of the battle, throws his coat of mail on the ground, adding playfully, 'The soil must be defended;' *animique magni prodigus*, he rushes himself unprotected into the thickest of the fight.

Egil Skallagrimsson is next to Eyvind both in time and merit. His *Höfuðlausn* (ransom for his head), the song composed to save his life, the drapa on his friend Arinbjörn, and especially *Sonartorrek*, the lament on his lost son Bödvar, are stamped by the same vigorous imagery as Eyvind's poems. He concludes *Höfuðlausn*, which in fact was an encomium upon King Erik Bloodaxe, with the following lines:—

'Hlǫð ek lofköst
þann er lengi stendr
O'brotgiarn
I' bragar túni.'

i.e.

'On the lawn of song
I built a knoll of praise,
Which will last long
Without crumbling.'

This sort of diction may not be relished by modern taste, but it must be borne in mind that this was the style of those bygone times, as the Homeric epithets are of Greek heroism, or quaintness of the age of Elizabeth; and such allowance made, all depends upon the felicity and correctness of the imagery. When Egil in the same drapa uses the following expression:—

'þá er oddbreki
Gnúði hrafni
A' höfuðstafni.'

i.e.

'When the sword-breaker (blood)
Dashed against the raven's
Head-poop (beak);'

the image may seem in bad taste from a modern point of view, but it is correctly and harmoniously carried out, and at all events throws a poetical veil over the bloody harvest for wolves and ravens, which too frequently figures in Northern poetry. But the most original of Egil's drapas is the *Sonartorrek*. The old Viking bard there admits that the real reason of his regret for his lost son, Bödvar, is the son's resemblance to the father, whose faults as well as virtues the son had inherited. He acknowledges that the character of Bödvar was a mixture of good and evil, and that he might have turned to either side; but nevertheless he wishes he could take revenge

on the sea which had swallowed his darling, and then turns himself towards Odin in the following original strain :—

' A'ttak gott Við geira drottinn Gjörðumst trygg At trúa hânun. Aðr vinat Vagna rúni Sigr-höfundr Of sleit við mik. Blótkat því Bróðr Vila Goðs Jaðar At gjarn sæk. þó hefir misvinr Mér of fengnar Bölva bætr Ef it betra taldi.'	i.e.	' I was on good terms With the god of spears (Odin), And with true faith I trusted him. Till the chariot god, } (Odin) Chief of victory, } Tore asunder The ties of friendship. Thus not willingly To Vilis' brother } (Odin) The supreme god } I sacrifice. Still doubtful friend (Odin) Has made amends For his evil doings, If I cared to mind it.'
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He argues with Odin on terms of equality, and it is evident that he relies as much upon himself as upon Odin. At the bottom of his heart he believes in his own might ; if he sacrifices to Odin, it is from habit. Still his self-reliance is not the belief in his physical strength, but principally in the superiority of his intellect. Egil is deeply versed in the runes, in the heathen lore :—

' Skalat maðr rúnar rista Nema ráða vel kunni ; þat verðr mörgum manni At um myrkvan staf villist.'	i.e.	' With runes no man should meddle Their meaning lest he riddles ; An evil fate awaits thee If in dark signs entangled.'
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Of Kormak little more can be said than that he is the only erotic poet of the North. Certainly many other Northern bards have addressed ditties and verses to their lady-loves, but Kormak is the only one of whom nothing is left but his numerous odes to his sweetheart Steingerda, except some very imperfect fragments of a drapa on Sigurd Earl of Ladir, the father of Earl Hakon. Kormak thus, at all events, has the merit of proving to posterity that the old Northmen were not insensible to the softer feelings.

Nor need we be detained by Thorvald Hjaltason, Tind Hallkelsson, and Glum Geirason, the last a contemporary of Eyvind Skaldspoiler, and inferior to him, even should he prove to be the author of the *Eiríks-drápa*, the celebrated ode on Erik Bloodaxe.

Eilif Gudrunarson and Einar *Skálaglam* (Bowl-clasher) are more remarkable, the former as the author of *Thors-drapa*, the swan-song of Northern Paganism, the latter as the glorifier of the last representative of the heathen North, Earl Hakon. The subject of *Thors-drapa* is Thor's visit to the giant Geirroð, and his combat with the giant as before mentioned. Thor is intro-

duced fording ice-cold poisoned rivers.¹ When arrived at the giant's dwelling, his reception corresponds with his journey. He is obliged to crack the spines of his host's daughters, the girls having placed themselves under Thor's chair, and trying to lift the god higher than he cares; 'the ruler of the chariot of thunder,' as the poet expresses himself, 'broke the old keel of the laughter-ship of both the girls of the mountain cave.'² The giant then hurls a red-hot iron bar at Thor, who having his iron gloves on, seizes the bar in the air and throws it back at Geirrod. The giant seeks shelter behind an iron pillar, but the bar went through the column, pierced the giant through and through, and emerged outside the stone wall of the cave. It is easy to imagine the delight with which Earl Hakon, the last true adherent of Paganism in the North, listened to this glorification of his favourite god.

The song of Einar Bowl-clasher to the honour of Earl Hakon himself, can hardly have pleased him better than Thors-drapa. For melancholy always sheds her sunset light on a vanishing era, however inferior it may be in intrinsic value to the succeeding age, and a feeling of sadness takes possession of the mind, as we picture the last poets of Paganism sitting in the oaken hall of the last heathen Earl, they reciting and he listening to heathen tales, in which he and they are the last believers. Earl Hakon, therefore, deserved the praise bestowed upon him in Einar's drapa, *Vellekla*, for the zeal with which he had protected the old creed, and the comparison drawn in this respect between him and King Frodi of Denmark. Still there lingers in the poet's mind a doubt about the prospects of his gods. He especially dwells upon the circumstance of Hakon's having reinstated them in their lost rights, and thus admits that they are subject to the vicissitudes of human fortune. The fact was, that like the gods themselves, so their believers had a more or less distinct impression of their impending fate; they too were conscious of Ragnarok being close at hand, and had a presentiment of the approach of a new era, with a new heaven and a new God, as the Edda taught them.³ Some of them died in heathen defiance, while others adopted the new creed. Among the latter was this very poet, who now

¹ 'Hagli olnar hlaupár, and
þar er eitri þjóðár fnæstu.'—Str. 5.

² 'Húfstjóri braut hvoru
Hreggs nafrenða tveggja
Flátr-elliða hellis
Hundforman kjöl sprundi.'

³ Some, as one of the first settlers in Iceland, Helgi the Lean, professed two creeds. Helgi was a Christian, but 'he always prayed to Thor, when he was going on a sea-roving expedition, or taking hard resolutions' (*hét á þór til sæfara ok harðræða*).

sang of Christ as living 'on the south of Urdas-well,'¹ south of the well of the goddess of Fate, not badly for a new convert, who thus hinted at Fate's being out of power. This is quite as pregnant an expression of the transition from Paganism to Christianity, as the whole Song of the Sun in the elder Edda. The conflict between, and at the same time the fusion of, the two creeds, is henceforth perceptible in Northern poetry during nearly three centuries, or till the conclusion of the old literary era in the thirteenth century. The Ragnarok of literature takes place slowly and gradually, till finally, saints, legends, and monks succeed in banishing every trace of gods and heroes.

β. *The Skalds of Christian times.*

The foremost are King Harold Hardrada, Rognvald Earl of the Orkneys; Hallfred *vandraesaskald* (i.e., the skald in difficulties), under King Olaf Tryggvason of Norway; Sighvat, Thor-mod Kolbrunsskald, and Arnor Earlskald under the Kings Olaf the Saint, Magnus the Good, and Harold Hardrada; Gunlaug Snake-tongue under Olaf the Swede; Thorarin Praise-tongue under Canute the Old or Powerful; Snorri Sturluson under King Hakon the Old Hakonsson, and Earl Skuli; Olaf the White Skald under Valdemar II., or the Victorious of Denmark; Sturla Thordsson under King Magnus Law-reviser of Norway, and Earl Birger of Sweden. Besides there are many others of less note, such as Thjodolf, Stuf Skald, Steinn of the Hall (*Hallarsteinn*), Thord Kolbeinsson, Haldor the Not-Christian (*úkristni*), Ulf Uggason, Ottar the Black, Bersi Skaldtorfuson, Gissur Goldbrowskald, Ref of Hofgard (Hofgarda Refr), Bjarni Goldbrowskald, Stein Herdisarson, Valgard on the Lawn (Valgardr á Velli), Odd Kikinaskald, Gisl Ielugason, Björn of the Crooked-hand (*hinn krepphendi*), Thorkel Hamarskald, Thorarin of the Short-cloak, Haldor the Noisy, Markus Skeggjason the poet-laureate of King Ingi Steinkelson of Sweden, the Icelandic priest Einar Skulason under the Norwegian Kings Eystein, Sigurd, and Ingi, Arnald Thorvaldsson, or, as Saxo calls him, Arnaldus Thylensis, the friend of Archbishop Absalon, under Valdemar Knutsson, King of Denmark, etc. etc. With the exception of King Harold and Earl Rognvald or Ronald, all are Icelanders.

In the poems of the above-named skalds we constantly find two currents,—a superficial profession of Christianity and an under-current of Pagan lore. While the poet confesses the new creed, he still preserves the diction, the form, and the metre of the heathen poetry; the imagery, the periphrases, so intimately

¹ 'Setbergs kveða sitja suðr at urðarbarunni.'

Snorra Edda, Skáldskaparmál, 52.

connected with the Pagan myths, are still drawn from the source of the Eddas. The poets of Northern Christendom still cling to the past with faithful remembrance and regret, and although Christians, because Christianity is the court religion, they nevertheless turn a longing eye to Odin. Thus Hallfred:—

‘Öll hefir átt til hylli
O þíns skipat ljóðum
Algillda mank alldar
Iðju vorra niðja;
Emk traudr, því vel viðris
Vald hugnaðist skáldi,
Legg ek á frumver Friggjar
Fjón, er Kristi þjónum.’

i.e.

‘The race of Odin always
Owned the palm of verses,
The lays of our ancestors
Ever shall be remembered;
Unwilling—Odin’s rule did
Agree with the poet—
My allegiance from Odin
I have transferred to Christus.’¹

But this inward contradiction both prevents the later drapas from being as adequate expressions of Paganism as the former were, and from reaching the standard of a new, a Christian poetry. Although a strong proof of the vitality of Odin’s lore, this fact at the same time points to the defects of the poetry of the period, since even poetry cannot serve two masters. Some of these later poets, as Sighvat, Arnor Earlskald, Snorri Sturluson, and Sturla Thordson may have acquired a still greater skill in versification than the old skalds; they may be able to turn and twist the supple idiom in all sorts of periphrases; but the soul of these periphrases is gone. The poetical diction may be smoother, the rhythms richer and softer, as for instance, Snorri Sturluson’s lay to the honour of King Hakon Hakonsson, *Háttalykill* (the key of metres), or the *Háttalykill* of Earl Rögnvald of Orkney, where the following variations on the *mélée* of battle occur:—

¹ Johannes Olavius in his *Syntagma de Baptismo*, xiii. sec. 14, quotes some more instances of the same regret of the gods; as the following, by the same poet:—

‘Fyrr var hitt er harra
Hliðskjálf gat ek sjálfan
Skipt er á gumna giptu
Geðskjótan vel blóta.’

And further:—

‘Sás með Sygna ræsi
Siðr at blót eru qviðjut;
Verðum flest at forðast
Fornbaldin sköp norna,
Láta allir itar
O’ðins sætt fyrri róða,
Verð ek neyddr frá Njarðar
Niðjum Krist at biðja.’

The poet here complains that he cannot sacrifice to Odin any more; if he does, he is denounced. Now, he says, everybody exchanges the race of Odin (the gods) for the cross, and I am compelled to turn away from Frey, and to pray to Christ.

The same conflict is ingeniously indicated in the Sagas themselves by the temptations to which Thor and Odin, always in disguise, subject Christian kings and warriors, such as Olaf Tryggvason, Olaf the Saint, etc. (Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*.)

‘Hríngi brast, hjuggust drengir
Hjálmr gnast, bitu málmar
Rönd skarst, rekkar týndust
Ruðust sverð, hnigú ferðir;
Brandr reið, blæddu undir,
Ben sullu, spjör gullu
Brast hjörr, brynjur lestust
Beit skjórmi, dreif sveita.’

Sverð ruðust, sæfðust ferðir,
Svall ben, valr lá fallinn,
Und raut, álmur bendust
Ör flaug, beitt var hjörvi;
Her féll, geirar gullu,
Gnast lífð, rafn brá fastu,
Oddr beit, ernir söddust
U’lfr fylltist, vð skulfu;’

which certainly defy translation into any modern language, every line being a fresh description of swords clashing, helmets cracking, wounds bleeding, ravens breakfasting, arrows flying, etc., and fully bring out the matchless vigour and richness of the language;—but the background of heathen heroism has for ever vanished. Sturla Thordsson’s drapas on King Hakon Hakonsson likewise abound in the old metaphors, as the following description of a fire:—

‘Svalg hvert hús
Heitum munni
Viðar hundr
Verma bygðar;
Ok svipgarr
Selju rakki
Um garðshlið
Grenjandi fór.’

i.e.

‘With his hot mouth
The hound of fire
Gulped the villages
Of Vermaland.
And the grim dog
Of ghastly flame
Howling climbed
The houses’ gates.’

But the spirit of the Eddas, of Eyvind and Egil, is gone. The new creed does not penetrate the poet’s mind before the middle of the twelfth century, when Einar Skulason wrote his *Geisli* (Ray), an ode upon Olaf the Saint, and even this song is an exception to contemporaneous poetry. The skalds go on in the old artificial strain, until the middle of the fourteenth century, when Catholicism at last succeeds in inspiring the Icelandic monk, Eystein Asgrimsson, with the beautiful religious poem *Lilja* (the Lily), which, in a pure and easy style, and with a pious elevation of mind, praises the Holy Virgin, and which became a household word in the North, it being an old saying, that everybody wished to have composed the Lily (*allir vildu Lilju kveit hafa*). This poet at last believes that simplicity is superior to artificial writing. He contends that—

‘Sjá, er óðinn vill vandan velja
Velr svá mörg í kvæði at selja
Hulin fornryðin, at trautt má telja
Tel ek, at þat má skilning dvelja,
Vel sví at hær má skír orð skilja
Skili þjóðir minn ljósan vilja
Tal óbreytt ok veitt af vilja,
Vil ek drápan heiti Lilja.’

Lilja, Str. 38.

Thus translated by Paul Haller in
Latin verse:—

*Non decet obscuris involvere talia metris,
Culta sed e medio verba petita decent:
Omnibus apparent in aperto lilia campo;
Liliaque hinc dici carmina nostra volunt.*

But then he was not the encomiast of kings and princes, who themselves most likely preferred artificial to simple poetry. At least King Harold Hardrada having, previously to the beginning

of the battle of Stamfordbridge, composed a war-song in the simple Eddaic style, corrected himself by the remark: 'that this was bad poetry,' and composed another song in a more elaborate style, to which a modern reader most likely would prefer the former. It would, however, be a mistake to draw from this fact the conclusion, that the old skalds were mere fawning panegyrists of kings and great men. They adopted the fashion of the day as to their style of writing, but they did not degrade themselves by base flattery. They were too sound for such work, and therefore the great historian Snorri Sturluson, himself a skald, truly remarks, that he has based his history upon the old drapas, because no contemporary poet would have praised a king for virtues he was not possessed of, and daring deeds which he had not performed, 'this being rather mockery than praise.' Besides, we have the proofs in existing drapas. Sighvat, in his *Bersöglis-vísur* (verses of sincerity, outspoken verses), openly taunts King Magnus the Good with his blunders of administration and the faithlessness of his promises. In the following verse:—

'Hverr eggjar þik harri
Heiptarstrágr at gánga,
Opt reynir þú þínum
þunn stál á bak málum?
Fastorðr skyli fyrða
Fengsæll vera pengill,
Hæfir heit at rjúfa
Hjalldrmagnuðr þær alldri.'

i. e. 'Who causes thee, hasty
Handler of keen edges,
King! to be so careless
Of keeping thy promise?
A king, to win him warriors,
Of word should be steady;
It beseems not blood royal
To break his faith plighted'—

the poet certainly is more outspoken to his king and master than royalty is accustomed to. Sighvat, on the whole, is a fine instance of the faithful skald, who, at the same time, is jealous of the poet's dignity. Nothing can be more touching or more dignified than his elegy on the death of King Olaf the Saint. The poet had gone to Rome as a pilgrim, before the battle of Sticklestead, and could not stand by his master, when he was slain by the riotous Norse freemen. When, under the reign of Olaf's enemies, he received the tidings of the king's defeat and death, he composed this elegy, of which the following strophe is the climax:—

3. 'Fúss læzt maðr er missir
Meyjarfaðm at deyja
Keypt er ást ef eptir
Ofátinn skal gráta;
En fullhuginn fellir
Flóttstyggur sá er ann dróttni,
Vart torrek lítzt verri
Víg tár konungs árum.'

i. e. 'Rather than miss his maiden
A man fain would perish;
Still love is oft exhausted
In the wail for the dying;
But the brave king-lover
Bloody tears unflinching
Sheds in the swell of battle—
So he bewails his master.'

Of this manly uprightness of Sighvat we have one more proof in his drapa on Erling Skjalgsson, a mighty chief slain by the poet's own king and lord, Olaf the Saint. This dirge was

composed at the very court of Olaf, and undoubtedly recited in his hearing; nevertheless the poet is neither sparing in praise of the slain man, nor in regret at his death; 'he did not taste his cup of beer that Christmas-eve, when they told him of Erling's fall,'—a hard thing for a poet.

Though from an æsthetical point of view we must consider this later period of Northern poetry as inferior to the former, inasmuch as there lay at the very bottom of the inspiration of the Christian skalds a radical contradiction, which interfered with the free flight of imagination, it must be admitted, on the other hand, that their drapas are invaluable as a source of Northern history. They described truthfully and graphically the events which passed in their time, and of which they, as belonging to the court or retinue of kings and chieftains, commonly were eye-witnesses. We have seen that they were not afraid of speaking their mind, even at the risk of displeasing their masters for the time being. They knew, that if one king should take offence at their boldness, they would find a ready home at the court of another. Sighvat tells Magnus the Good, in *Bersöglisvísur*, that if the king takes his advice amiss, he will be welcome at the court of the Danish king, but he admits that he prefers staying in Norway. Further, the poets of those ages, being the only existing organs of public opinion, had a power analogous to that of the press at the present day. It was dangerous to offend them; and though they might, of course, sometimes be influenced by gold or flattery, they on the whole conscientiously fulfilled their task of truthfully chronicling the events and describing the remarkable men of the time, in the manner most fitted to impress them upon the memory of posterity. Thus it came to pass that their drapas formed the essential source of history; the skalds were the forerunners of the Saga-writers; and while the former were historiographers in verse, the latter were often poets in prose.

2. The Sagas in Prose.

It must be borne in mind that the Northern Sagas, though always based upon a historical foundation, are not history, in the strictest sense of the word, if we except Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*. The rest generally waver between history and romance; they are what Goethe calls *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. The heroes and the other characters of the Sagas existed, but their valour and their deeds were frequently no doubt magnified by poetical and popular fiction. Perhaps even the distinguishing features of the events, and of the men connected with them, were historically true; the detail of the story very often was fiction.

In the Sagas, the belief in man's own might is most conspicuous. The immediate rule of destiny, and the direct interference of the gods in human concerns, here disappear. The characters stand or fall by their own worth and valour, and according to their conformity to the general state of affairs, religious and political, to which they belong. Personal worth here holds its own, and makes itself thoroughly respected. The Northern gods are not, as the Greek divinities, mortified at this defection from their sway. They take no revenge for this blasphemous foolhardiness of human kind. There is no instance of Odin or Thor inflicting torture on a Northern hero for his relying rather upon his own energies than upon their assistance, as Zeus did on Prometheus, or Apollo on Marsyas. Odin confines himself to sending King Hakon Athelstane's-Fosterling a savage look for his having professed the Christian religion; and Thor is satisfied if the believer in his own power uses the sign of the hammer as the symbol of strength. The belief in man's own valour, which from the Christian point of view is blasphemy, is a natural supplement to the Asa creed, and the gods consider the professors of that belief as nothing worse than sectarians or dissenters.

Again, the characters are drawn with Homeric minuteness. They stand palpably before us with their inward as well as outward physiognomy. Historical and poetical truth are both preserved, because the characters are throughout in conformity with themselves, and with the historical background against which they are seen. It has already been observed, that the essential feature of the Northman was a highly-developed feeling of freedom and independence. Even power, as such, was comparatively indifferent to him, save as far as it might help him to independence. Despotic, tyrannical power, he abhorred, because it involved slavery both to ruler and subject;—to the one in the form of anguish, to the other as bondage. In the best period of the Saga age, the hero, the viking, the peasant, did not aspire to anything more than to be master in his own particular sphere of action—in his circuit or district, on board his vessel, in his house; nor was he satisfied with less. Such was Thorgnyr Lawman, and still he could, when he chose, compel the Swedish king to do his pleasure. Högni Langbjörnsson contemptuously declined the offer of nobility tendered to him by King Harold Hardrada. Thus the royal power in the North never became absolute, and partly without knowing it, the Northern nations all possessed a rational self-government. King Magnus the Good even complied with a poet's advice; Olaf Skotking was compelled to give way when the peasants differed from him,—‘so the Swedish kings had ever done;’ and

on the bloody field of Sticklestead, Olaf the Saint expiated his contempt of this spirit of freedom.

When we turn to the individual characters, we find, as remarked above, that their passion is calm, their pathos silent,—no noise but that of action, no tumult but that of battle. The feelings do not expand, but concentrate themselves; they retreat, they do not advance. Thus they either harden or destroy the individual. The boy, whose father has been slain, ‘does not weep, but remember’ (Sigmund Brestisson in the Saga of the *Feroeings*); the old man who lies lame in his bed, when he loses his son, feeds on his grief till he throws down his crutches (*Hávarðas Saga Isfirðings*); Hrefna ‘bursts from sorrow’ (*Laxdæla-saga*). The speech of our forefathers seldom flowed easily; their feelings rather froze into action.

This sort of reserve may be judged differently; of the fact that it was thus embodied in the North there can be no dispute. A sound and strong man needs fuller utterance than words can give. The Northern character, therefore, was faithful in love as well as in hatred, and both frequently ended with life. For the same reason we seldom meet in the Sagas with a protracted mourning; when the subject of love or of hatred had departed there was an end of it; and the revenge of the Northman was not transferred to the children or family of the offender, as in the Jewish and Italian *vendetta*. Hvam-Sturla took to his bed sick, when his mortal enemy Thorun died. When asked what ailed him, he replied, ‘While she was alive I had some hope of revenge; now she is dead, that hope is gone; it is not be-seeming to take revenge on orphans’ (*Sturlunga-saga*). Then the passion of the Northman was both subdued and calculating; words and features could not truly interpret it, but only action. We certainly in the Sagas sometimes meet with a bitter and cutting interchange of words, but in that case we may be sure that there is no question of serious wrath. Disputes at a public assembly were, as well as cutting epigrams (*níðvísur*), a mixture of joke and of earnest, but belong always to the province of the comic, except when they, as sometimes happened, lead to fatal consequences. This constraint on passion, this discipline of the feelings, was in the Northern blood, and formed a part of Northern education. Complaints and bursts of passion were considered as unworthy of a man, and as proofs of an unfree mind.

It is this earnestness of will, this dignity of passion, which imparts a dramatic interest to the Sagas, such as Njal’s or *Laxdæla-saga*. In his struggle to throw off the chains of passion, the individual seldom during life succeeds in reaching conciliation, without falling the other way into guilt. Revenge

generally levies too high a tax, and through the course of generations the debtor becomes creditor. Thus the same family, which began by being the avenger, ends by becoming the object of revenge. On this imperfect liquidation of the accounts of passion the old trilogies are based, whose unity is a just Nemesis, which rapidly or slowly walks forth through the history of nations, families, and individuals. This circumstance also lends to the Icelandic Sagas their interest; persons and events which, taken singly, may not be entitled to any historical celebrity, whose sphere of action is limited, and, politically speaking, very narrow, acquire through the strength and endurance of passion a poetical, a universal value, which cannot be enhanced either by the mystic hues of tradition or the wide horizon of history. It cannot be denied that the Icelandic Sagas are read with as great pleasure as the history of Snorri Sturluson, not because the Icelandic Vikings had been in contact with Northern kings, but because they, when returned from their travels to their own distant and isolated home, developed there an individual activity, which, in a limited sphere of common life, conveys a faithful and frequently striking picture of the general character of the age, and the race to which they belonged.

Now, a low state of civilisation always lacks the movement and variety of a higher culture. But, singularly enough, the individual characters are richer and more original in the former than in the latter. It is a complaint of the present age, that one man is almost like another of similar education, and in the same class of life and society there is a common complaint of increasing want of originality. In the old times, the reverse was the case. The simplicity and uniformity of the age brought forth a great variety of individual temper and character. We meet in the Sagas with every possible shade of human character, from the overbearing force (Egil Skallagrimsson, Skarphedin) to the meekest reserve (Brand the Open-handed), from the frankest generosity (Hrafnkel Freyspriest, Gissur the White, Hjalti Skeggiason, Hall of Sida, Jon Loptsson of Odda) to the greatest prudence (Njal) or cunning (Snorri the priest, Hvam-Sturla, Earl Gissur) or wily craft (Mörd Valgardsson); and this variety of character is so much the more striking, as the persons that bear upon each other are more dissimilar. Further, the actors appear in their natural dispositions; when they come from Nature's hand frank and open, they do not speculate in tricks, and if stamped by Nature with the lower mark of craft and cunning, they do not wear the lion's hide. But even those Saga characters, whose principal features are alike, differ from each other in minor points. The cunning of Snorri is unlike that of Earl

Gissur. The former is both fiery and prudent; Gissur always cheerful and good-tempered; Hvamsturla plots revenge in his shut bed, as Earl Hakon, and the wisdom of Njal rises to the penetration of the hidden future. The honesty of Jon Loptsson is widely different from that of Hall of Sida. The former is commanding, the latter mild and gentle. The great historical characters also have a place in the Sagas. Who ever was more lavish of his life than King Hakon the Good, or Olaf Tryggvason; who were sterner rulers than Earl Hakon and King Harold Hardrada? Who a better servant than Ulf Ospaksson, of whom King Harold said in his funeral speech: 'Here lies the man, the trustiest and trustworthiest of all.' What country has possessed greater politicians than King Sverrir and King Hakon Hakonsson? And where is a more stubborn adversary to be found than King Sweyn Ulfsson of Denmark, who, like William III. of England, never gained a battle, but still was never vanquished or subdued? Where a better specimen of a democrat than Thorgnyr Lawman; or of a sturdy squire, than Sveinki Stenarsson? Finally, the mastery of the Sagas consists in this, that the reader, when perusing them, must say of the characters described, as the spectator says of a good likeness, 'How like!' They are not arbitrarily drawn heroes of romance, but real persons, true and sound productions of the inventive power of nature and creation.

The Northman did not, in the same degree as the Greek, pay his homage to the beautiful; this his stern clime, his barren soil forbade. Still, he was not indifferent to outward beauty and elegance. He also knew how to value a fine exterior, a rich 'scarlet' dress. But he always, principally, looked to the inward qualities; he liked the gold-hilted sword to be furnished with a keen edge, and the bright coat of mail to be able to defy any blow. Both the Sagas and the *speculum regium* of King Sverrir contain sufficient proofs of the value attached to a courteous bearing and neat dress, but they were never cultivated at the expense of more essential qualities. Therefore, the freeman in his homespun smock-frock looked upon himself as the equal of the scarlet-clad courtier. His sword was not the gift of a king, nor was it gold-studded as that of the young man, but the blade was as well tempered, and however frequently reddened with blood, it had no stains of rust on it. The old Viking himself forged his spear, and while forging in his smithy, he thought of past times, and drily said to the blower of the bellows:—

'Einn af ellifu
Bar ek banaord,
Blástu meir!'

i.e.

'One of eleven
Was I the bane—
Blow more!'

The test of the real, the positive worth and merit of a literature, and the characters it paints, is to know the reverse of them, their negative side—the comic element. Now, what are the comic points in Northern character? First of all, cowardice and want of self-command; then boasting and blustering. A man who, when in passion, grows wordy—*var ósamála*—is comical. The wild brute of a man—*berserkr*—who *non sui compos* howls like a dog, and takes his shield between his teeth, is comical. But, especially, the coward, as possessed of ‘the mare’s heart,’ is an object of laughter and scorn. Outwardly, these comical characters of the North are uniformly represented as small and light, quick and ready of speech, flippant and full of levity; their very name points to their origin as descending from thralls; they generally are called *Hrappur*, a sham, a person not to be depended upon.

The female characters of the Sagas correspond with the male. Chaste and pure, faithful and dignified, each subordinate to her husband, and taking part in his toil, they stand firmly and lovingly by his side. Generally, they act as mediators, softening his pains, and cheering him; sometimes they step forward with the passion of a fury. Ragnhild, the wife of Thorberg Arnason (*Ólafs-saga Helga*), Bergthora, the wife of Njal (*Njáls-saga*), Helga (*Gunnlaugs-saga Ormstúngu*), are true patterns of the Northern woman. The furies we meet in Hallgerda (*Njáls-saga*),¹ in Gudrun Osvifur’s daughter (*Laxdæla-saga*), etc. The task of the wife was, according to Northern customs, to watch the honour of the house, to represent the house and the family in the absence of the husband. The house was not, as in the Homeric songs, left to the care of half-grown sons. The Northern wife, therefore, frequently comes forward cheering and encouraging her family, sometimes exciting them. Upon the whole, the old North was endowed with a fine race of women; as the men are, so are women. A sound age brings forth strong men, chaste and tender women. A corrupted age engenders weak and flabby men, unruly and voluptuous women.

As to the form, the Sagas belong to the same species of poetry as the historical romances of modern times, with similar epic, lyric, and dramatic elements; the difference is, that while modern romance generally observes the unity of action, the principal interest centring on one or two persons, towards which all the rest gravitate, the Saga treats a series of actions, of men and even families. The reason is, that the historical element is in the romance subservient to fiction, in the Saga it is prevalent; the historical romance does not pretend to be history, it only leans on history; the Saga claims the rank of history, which it

¹ G. W. Dasent, *Burnt Njal*. Edinburgh, 1861.

only adorns with fiction. Besides, the Sagas are mostly tales, not of single individuals, but of whole families and districts (*Laxdæla-saga*, *Svarfdæla-saga*, *Ljósveitnínga-saga*, *Sturlunga-saga*), and even where a single person claims the principal place, there are many other individuals equally entitled to the reader's interest (*Njáls-saga*, *Egils-saga*, *Grettis-saga*, *Vígaglúms-saga*, *Kórmaks-saga*).

It is at the first glance a remarkable fact, that the old Northmen, though endowed, as the Sagas prove, with a true instinct of the dramatic element of plot and event as well as of character, never attained the dramatic form of poetry. But this was a natural consequence of their outward circumstances and their social life, which did not admit the stage. Their degree of culture was not favourable to public artificial pleasure. Of public sports, or what is called in England out-of-door sport, they were extremely fond, such as wrestling, football, and horse-races, or rather horse-fights. They also knew dancing (*stiga dans*, *dansleikr*), music (*leikari*), and jugglers (*trúðr*), but as to the drama, properly speaking, they were satisfied with having those scenes of stirring interest represented through the medium of the epic to the inner eye of fancy, which the Greek made dramatically apparent to the outward senses. But in what we may call the dramatic arrangement of the narrative they had the tact of true artists. Read the episode about Thorgnyr Lawman on Upsalathing, of Sveinki the Elvgrime in Snorri Sturluson, or the description given by the shepherd in *Laxdæla-saga* of the party that came to attack Helgi Hardbeinson. Nothing can be more graphic.

We did not undertake the task of exhausting this rich subject; and much more might be said, and better said, in the same direction. Our only object was to point to our readers, who are now beginning to take some interest in Northern literature, the distinguishing features of the old Northern poetry. We shall be much mistaken if, by paying some attention to the Eddas, the Skalds, and the Sagas, they do not find much that is nearly akin to Shakespeare and Walter Scott.

ART. V.—VICTOR COUSIN.

A GREAT star has fallen from the intellectual firmament of France. Amongst all the men whose elevation of thought and nobility of character have during the last half century laboured to rescue France from the moral penalties of her political weakness, none stood higher, none did more to fill the minds of his fellow-countrymen with high aims and generous aspirations, than Victor Cousin. It was the magnitude and diversity of his gifts that sometimes led men astray in their appreciation of him, for people rarely disagree in judging power which has but one form, and which, however great it may be, is essentially narrow. Take for instance Royer Collard, a nature as strong in its narrowness as can well be conceived. People do not dispute over Royer Collard; they accept and follow him, or they reject him from sheer antipathy; but they do not 'fall out' about him passionately, which is what the friends even more than the enemies of Cousin were perpetually doing. Radiant natures dazzle; and if ever a radiant nature existed upon this earth of ours, it was that of Victor Cousin. His unity lay in his sympathy with greatness. To greatness he was wedded; and its various forms in man were thoroughly one in him. He took no heed of how the greatness revealed itself, so that it was there; religion, philosophy, history, art, politics, no matter what the field, so that the human soul fought well, and rose high above self. He knew of no party and of no 'opinion,' but wherever there was a great achievement or a great passion he was attracted. Herein alone can be found the unity of his genius; seek for it elsewhere, and he will appear a compound of curiously divergent aims and faculties. He has somewhere said of himself with perfect truth—'the keynote is admiration.' His desire to worship was so intense, that naturally enough it led him more than once to pay too eloquent homage where the grandeur was only apparent. This explains the angry disappointment with which those who had most hung upon his word sometimes judged him.

But the hour of Cousin's death has silenced nearly every dissentient voice, and from quarters where no one would have suspected that so lofty a soul as his could have been known there has arisen in France a note of mourning recognition. Now the radiance of his nature tells; and, as with sunlight in dark alleys and tortuous streets, flashes must have fallen where no one would suppose they could ever have penetrated. From the deservedly condemned *Petite Presse* of Paris, from the columns of journals where names are signed whose sole notoriety springs from what

is frivolous or immoral, but whose chiefly youthful conductors, by reason of their youth, have not yet ceased to respond to the beautiful; from all these there has come one identical expression of admiration and respect. Whoever knows modern France sufficiently to know what the rupture is between the 'rising generation' of a certain class and all the men and things of the past, sees in this an isolated and significant fact. It proves for the thousandth time that whatever is sincere invariably conquers. What the weary enervated garrulous youth of Paris (who had never approached Cousin) felt and knew was, that a man had died whose life's passion had been the sublime, and that that passion had won for him no material gains. Seeking, as he did, objects of admiration everywhere, no wonder either that he made mistakes, or that his sympathies passed too promptly for slower minds from one form of glory to another—excluding neither Republicans nor Royalists, Bonapartists nor Parliamentarians, from his paradise, but welcoming superiority under all denominations, from Duguesclin to Marshal Bugeaud, from St. Bernard to Danton, from Condé to Napoleon Bonaparte. He was powerless to exclude any. Show him but a proof of greatness, and call it by any name you would, and he did homage to it. But the one important point was that never were these changes of Cousin's self-interested; and this, while it only the more perplexed and vexed his friends, secured for him in the end justice from the public, and recognition from that worn-out and would-be cynical 'rising generation,' the prime secret of whose cynicism may perhaps lie in its disgust and contempt for the corruption around it. It was, as Othello says, 'the cause that made the difference;' and while the basest appetites lay bare before the French public, and while 'modifications' of opinion, as they are euphoniously termed, had but the shameless cause of barter—a man's whole soul exchanged for wealth—the 'cause' with Cousin lay so high that none could touch to sully it. And this 'cause' saved him. In a world where consciences were bought and sold in open market, where honour was an obsolete word, where the love of the lovely and the grand was ridiculous, and where that alone was esteemed which was convertible into cash, it was something to see a man who lived with the dead of two centuries ago, and would not be a senator. This, if not this alone, was the source of Cousin's power, a power he himself scarcely knew, for he judged the contemporary youth of France severely, and believed that between them and him there could be no link. The indestructible basis on which Cousin rests his fame will be found in the fact, that from his first to his last written page there is not one on which the passion of disinterestedness is

not inscribed. All his lessons are ennobling; in that consists their unity.

‘Bend not your knee before fortune, but be accustomed to bow to the law. Cultivate the noble sentiment of respect. Know how to admire; worship all great men and things. Cast from you that enervating literature, alternately coarse or over-refined, which delights in the poverty of human nature, fosters our weaknesses, and panders to our senses and fancy, instead of speaking to our souls and elevating our thoughts. Hold out against the disease of our age, that fatal love of ease, incompatible with a generous ambition. Into whatever career you step, propose to yourself some high and noble aim, and to its pursuance devote a constancy that nothing can shake. *Sursum corda!* lift your hearts on high! therein lies all philosophy! this it is which we have borne away from all our studies; this we taught to your predecessors in the schools; this we leave to you as our final instruction and supreme last lesson.’¹

To this teaching Cousin remained faithful through a period of fifty years. And for never having, in the course of half a century, spoken or written one word that was not in strict harmony with the injunction *Sursum corda*, he has merited that, at his death, those who were remote from his intimacy should, out of sheer regard to justice, say of him, with Sainte Beuve: ‘The void left by Cousin is no ordinary one. It is not an eminent individual who has gone from amongst us—it is a power, a force, a grand intellectual influence that has ceased to be.’

Victor Cousin was born in Paris in the year 1792. He is one of the small number of illustrious Frenchmen who are by birth and parentage Parisian. Like the father of Jean Jacques, the father of Cousin was a watchmaker. The strong belief in the omnipotence of knowledge had already set in in France, and the boy was sent early (and not without some sacrifice on his father’s part) to school. His first studies were at the *Lycée Charlemagne*, and the triumphs of young Victor Cousin remain still among the traditional scholastic glories of the place. All the great prizes were awarded at once to this single student at the *Grand Concours* of all the Lycées of France; and, as far as mere collegial fame could go, the future philosopher was famous before the first years of manhood had opened upon him. From the *Lycée Charlemagne* he went to the *Ecole Normale*, and from that moment the outlines of his destiny were fixed. M. de Fontanes, who guided the University under the Empire (one of the few compensations France enjoyed during that period of noisy intoxicating violence and wrong), had made Royer Collard Professor of the History of Modern Philosophy at the

¹ *Du Vrai, du Beau, du Bien*, Avant-propos. p. 10.

Faculté des Lettres. Laromiguière was at the same time Professor of Philosophy.

In 1812, when the intemperance of successful tyranny (as all authentic documents now prove) was ripening into actual insanity, and the Russian campaign was to spell the first letters of the awful 'writing on the wall,' no man could have been better chosen than Royer Collard for impressing the minds of young men, who naturally revolted from wrong, and were beginning to feel that morality might have its glories as well as war. The object of the *Ecole Normale* as an institution, was to educate Professors, to form those who were to lead the national mind. It was in itself a powerful and useful body, and like many other creations of despotism, became a terrible instrument of resistance to its creator. Those who have at all studied the character of M. de Fontanes will arrive at the conclusion that he was thoroughly aware of what he was doing when he appointed Royer Collard to the professorship, not of Philosophy, but of the History of Modern Philosophy at the *Faculté des Lettres*. It is certain that had Napoleon been as well aware, he would never have sanctioned the appointment. But his genuine inability to appreciate impalpable force, his determined disdainful blindness to what was neither a battalion nor an edict, allowed to be sown the seeds of an opposition the power of which was not calculable by him. Cousin, then completing his twentieth year, heard Royer Collard, and chose his career in life. We purposely abstain from saying that he followed Royer Collard, or became his 'disciple,' for that view of his conduct would be incorrect. The matter and the manner of Royer Collard's teaching alike struck Cousin's ardent nature, as flint on steel, and the fire flashed,—but the matter and the manner of Cousin were not those of his predecessor. When the youthful student stood amongst his fellows and first listened, in 1812, to the noble doctrines of the teacher upon whose austere repute there lay no shade, he was somewhat in the mental position which Dante has described in the words: '*Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura.*' Darkness was all around, and, to a certain degree, silence; and though men's souls, by reason of their divine origin, could not deny the higher attributes and higher longing, though freedom and human dignity were on the eve of being loudly evoked, the voice was as yet but a whispered one, and the public was still only groping after what were one day to be its great gains. Now the intellectual action of Royer Collard upon Cousin opened for him a gate out of Dante's 'darksome wood.' Light came through the branches, and the listener saw a path, down which he dashed—dashed with the impetuosity which

never left him till his last hour,—but he went his way alone: the teacher was left at the gate which he had opened. Cousin never was a *Doctrinaire*. It might be almost safe to say that Royer Collard was that alone.

Cousin's lot in life was now irrevocably chosen. As in all cases where a vocation is so evident, success greeted him at the outset, and never abandoned him to the end. He had barely reached his majority when he was named *Maître des Conférences* at the *Ecole Normale*, and became virtually Professor of the future Professors of France.

In 1815 an important interruption occurred in Cousin's academic life. The vanquished Emperor returned from the island of Elba; and from the 20th of March till the 18th of June, it may be said that nothing in France remained upright,—all was jostled together in one wild mass of helpless confusion. There was, in good earnest, nothing to choose between parties: all were equally corrupt, cowardly, and imbecile.¹ If the Bourbons, on their first return, had not attempted to restore the absolutely worm-eaten paraphernalia of a monarchy as thoroughly defunct as that of the Pharaohs, the comedy of the Hundred Days could never have been enacted at all; and if the Hundred Days had not served to show up the miserable clap-trap devices to which the utterly exhausted Imperial *régime* was reduced, there never could have been a second appeal to the family of the elder branch. The time was ill chosen for esteem or admiration of anything French. Flood after flood had swept over the land, and left it morally bare. To the crimes of the old *régime* had succeeded the crimes of the Revolution, which in their turn had ushered in, if not caused, the devastating oppression of the Empire. The fallen were on all sides, and in 1815 it was hard to see where the work of reconstruction could begin. In the midst of so many beliefs overthrown and duties betrayed, one only duty seemed plain—the defence of the soil. To this the youth of France eagerly rushed, and Cousin's intimates in later years could trace many tendencies and predilections, not wholly accounted for by mere love of history, to the few months spent by him as a Royalist volunteer.

At the end of 1815, however, when monarchy had become, for a time at all events, the form into which France had settled, Cousin's intellectual activity flashed into its first splendour. He took, at the age of twenty-three, the place of substitute to Royer Collard, as Professor of the History of Modern Philosophy. Few now living remember Cousin's lessons at this time, but the few who do so describe the impression made by him as something unparalleled. In the six years between 1815 and

¹ For the proof of this, read Villemain's *Cent Jours*.

1821, he in fact founded his school. After having commenced his teaching, inspired almost exclusively by the doctrines of our own great Scotch Professors, and taken up his philosophical rank in France as an '*Ecossais*,' as it was then termed, he paid his first visit to Germany, and returned to his lectures on the history of modern philosophy as full of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling as he was before of Dugald Stewart and Reid. In 1821 the Restoration began to show its readiness for reaction against Liberal opinions, and, contrary to the wish of Louis XVIII. and the wiser convictions of M. Decazes, a system of secret prevention rather than actual compression was resorted to; suspicion was the order of the day, and, perhaps for almost the first time in France, intellect was regarded as dangerous. The murder of the Duc de Berry (the act of a fanatic) was made to serve a system, and princes were persuaded into a fatal belief of their own incompatibility with freedom. Outbreaks of what is termed by the timid 'the revolutionary spirit' were of frequent occurrence, and the *Carbonari* in Italy sufficed to petrify with terror whoever in Europe went by the name of a Conservative. The princes of the House of Bourbon in France were by no means the most timid of their brethren; quite the reverse; but they followed the lead of other Thrones, and useless acts of severity laid the basis for what, nine years later, was a national movement carrying everything before it. In 1821, it was decided that Cousin's lessons were 'dangerous,' and 'authority,' as is its wont in such cases, hastened to put the crown to his popularity by suspending his lectures. Morally, the young Professor's fortune was made by this, but, in a worldly point of view, his means of subsistence were greatly reduced; for simultaneously with the suspension of the *Cours d'histoire philosophique* at the Sorbonne, the doors of the *Ecole Normale* were closed, and that nursery of future doctors laid waste. From 1821 to 1825 he was appointed private tutor to one of Marshal Lannes' (Duc de Montebello's) sons; and at the same time he was engaged with his famous edition of Descartes, and his translation of Plato into French.

In 1825 Cousin paid his second visit to Germany, a visit destined to be more fruitful of celebrity to him even than the first. Matters were advancing to a crisis, and everywhere the obstinate cowardice and wilful blindness of governments were forcing contemplative intelligence into political action, and ripening the future success of their own worst enemies. The clear-sighted, sceptical, dispassionate French king, Louis XVIII., was dead; the period of the 'unforeseen' was already opened in France under the weak, honest, bigoted rule of Charles X., and an *entourage* of ministers and favourites, who held 'reaction

against revolution,' as they styled it, to be a duty. In Germany, every State, large or small, rested on a volcano; and the unfulfilled pledges of 1813-1815 were secretly prompting revolt from the Elbe to the Rhine. In Italy and in Spain the impulse had been given by princes, and 'houses were divided against themselves,'—the result being, what it generally is, the betrayal of cause and comrades by the Prince, and increased contempt for the Holy Families who asserted that their right of governing was 'divine.' Great Britain, whose monarchs had for a century and a half unlearned that mischievous doctrine, and grown to know that the tenure of sovereignty rests on the happiness and prosperity of the nation—Great Britain stood almost alone in dignified tranquillity, whilst the remainder of Europe was convulsed.

Caution was not one of Cousin's qualities. His appearance and attitude were enough to frighten any Teutonic police functionary. 'There is something defiant in the very way his head is put on his shoulders,' one of those who knew him best used to say; and this may have been true, for before he had done more than been seen and heard amongst private friends, he was arrested in Dresden, sent to Berlin, and kept a prisoner there for six months!

Cousin's greatest public triumphs date from this time. In little more than a year after his return from his German 'captivity,' the Villèle cabinet fell, and was replaced by the Martignac ministry,—the first and last serious effort at conciliation with the spirit of the age made by a *régime* whose fate was sealed. This was a brilliant passage in the intellectual history of modern France, and nothing that was really grand in the '*Grand Siècle*' outshone the lustre that was thrown over the French name by the host of noble thinkers that then arose. Villemain and Cousin at the Sorbonne, Guizot at the Collège de France, were the three foremost chiefs round whom flocked the rising generation. But the nature of his teaching and the nature of the man made Cousin the most prominent of the three. When his lectures were once more opened to the public in 1827, the hall where they were held might be looked upon as a more important place than the Chamber of Deputies. The crowds that assembled there had not bent their minds to the practical discussion of some public measure, of some legal enactment; they had heard the capacity of the human soul descanted upon in the loftiest language, and had gone forth inflamed with enthusiasm and ripe for attack upon whatever was unworthy or mean. In all this Cousin was not to blame; he was then, what he always remained at heart, a royalist, a genuine conservative, a chivalrous French royalist,

awarding a larger portion of active preponderance to the monarch himself than any British constitutionalist could ever be brought to sanction; but at the same time, he had lived far too constantly with the great Greeks, and communed too closely with Plato, not to believe that ideas have a sphere of their own, high above all governments. As far as political rule was concerned, Cousin was a stanch, and according to our notions not even a very liberal royalist; but he put philosophy above kings, and denied their right to trammel thought; which is precisely what no champion of *le Droit Divin* can ever be induced to admit. Struggle as he might against the absurdity of the misapprehension, Cousin was set down throughout Europe as a revolutionist in 1827—just as, in 1848 and the following years, he was declared to be a '*Réactionnaire*;' but it was circumstances that had changed and altered the point of view from which he was seen; with a few insignificant external variations, his doctrines suffered far less modification than the general public supposed.

However, the high-handed 'logic of facts' had its own way, as it mostly has, and dealt with Cousin according to popular appreciation rather than according to downright reality. As he was foremost among those who had elevated the national mind, and thereby helped to wind it up to repel tyranny; as he was one of the victims to the reactionary government of Charles X., so he became one of the favoured of the government of July. Before the year 1830 had come to an end, he was a Professor at the Sorbonne, a Councillor of State, a member of the great Council of Public Instruction, and of the *Académie*, and director of the *École Normale*. In 1832 he was made a peer of France. In 1840 he joined the short ministry of M. Thiers, known in France under the name of '*Ministère du 1^r Mars*,' and during the eight months the cabinet endured (till the 29th October, when the last, fatally-long Guizot ministry succeeded), he remained Minister of Public Instruction, into which department he introduced reforms the expediency of which was not contested by even his bitterest enemies.

From the end of the year 1840 until the Revolution of 1848 a period of nearly eight years opens, during which Cousin's activity was chiefly political. He resigned his place as member of the Council of Public Instruction upon entering the ministry in March; but this, on ceasing to be a minister, he resumed, and then took upon himself the task of defending the University in the Chamber of Peers. Most valiantly he acquitted himself of the task—not always sympathizing with the kind of support he met with from his friends, and never enjoying a respite from the violent acrimony with which he was pursued by his foes,

whose arguments, moreover, he did not indiscriminately reject. From the 24th February 1848 till the day of his sudden and recent death, a period of nineteen years, the fame of Cousin as a thinker and writer, as a powerful intellectual agent, however removed from the bustle of public life, grew in splendour, a splendour steadier and calmer, but perhaps even more intense, than that which flashed over the stormy contests of his earlier days.

We repeat the words with which we began this essay : ' It was the magnitude and diversity of Cousin's gifts' that provoked hostility. He could as little confine himself to one narrow opinion as to one single pursuit. He saw men and things from all the points of view which in fact existed ; never from his own point of view only. His largeness of perception unsettled his friends in their adherence, for the simple reason that in practical politics above all, men are for the most part, and in spite of themselves even, attentive to details, whilst Cousin's speciality was in all things to overlook details, to treat them with the loftiest indifference. In this respect, his mind might be said to be divergent from the purely political mind, according to the ordinary acceptation of the word. But no one who reads his studies on Richelieu or Mazarin (particularly the last work on the Italian cardinal)¹ will refuse to Cousin the grandest capacity and clearest perception where the vast problems of government and the first principles of policy are in question.

It happened to the great French philosopher, as so often happens to men who overtop the mass of their fellow-men, that he was judged by lesser minds than his own, and arbitrarily condemned to occupy a place and pursue an aim to which he could not confine himself. Those who have attacked Cousin, and they are many, above all in Germany and France, forget, or were never able to comprehend, what his objects in life were, and they abuse him for not having been faithful to theirs. Cousin had very few objects in life, but to those few he gave himself entirely, heart, soul, time, faculties ; from what he worshipped he withheld no part of himself. Now the one object which he pursued for fifty years, which he followed through every variety of form, to which he sacrificed whatever stood in its way, and to which he never, in thought, word, or deed, was unfaithful, from the hour when he learned to think till the hour when thought vanished from his brain—that one object was Spiritualism. In this respect, there perhaps never existed a teacher in any country whose teachings show such an absolute oneness. From the lessons of 1818 to the studies on the history of France in the seventeenth century, through all the professorship of the close of the Restoration, all the discussions in the Cham-

¹ *La Jeunesse de Mazarin.*

ber of Peers under the July monarchy, and all the confusing events of the nineteen years that followed the Republic of '48, through all that, one aim remains unaltered, one worship unmoved, one belief unimpaired—Spiritualism.

We must remember that Cousin was a Frenchman, that he taught in French, educated and tried to elevate the youth of France (not of any other nation), and that, whilst in other countries Spiritualism may give its name to a philosophical doctrine, which may be more or less calmly discussed and disputed over, in France it implied much more than this. In 1812, when Royer Collard expounded the text of our countrymen at the Sorbonne, he spoke to men who, twenty years before, had been the chief actors in the Revolution, and for whom the patent proof of Materialism lay in their own success. What could the spirit, the soul, the flame from on high, immaterial and divine, mean to men who with the brutal sledge-hammer of fact had beaten down thrones and crushed creeds? To these men Spiritualism was a weakness. Yet from the hour he first opened his mouth to teach that France in which Materialism was rampant and gorged with power and success, Cousin taught her the opposite doctrine and that only, and he forced her to recognise and do homage to it under every variety of shape.

This was the great achievement of which so many people lose sight. We will take Cousin upon this point as a witness in his own cause, for it is perfectly safe to do so. In 1853 he republished, under the title of *Du Vrai, du Beau, du Bien*, the lectures he had delivered between 1815 and 1821; and in his Preface occurs this passage:—

'Our true doctrine, our true standard, is spiritualism—the philosophy, generous and solid at the same time, that commences with Socrates and Plato, that the Gospel spreads over the world, that Descartes forced into the severer forms of the genius of modern times, that in the seventeenth century was the power and the glory of our land, and that in the eighteenth succumbed with our national greatness. . . . The name of spiritualism is properly given to this philosophy; for its character is, that it subordinates the senses to the spirit, and that, by all means which reason can avow, it perpetually tends to elevate man and make him greater. Spiritualism teaches the immortality of the soul, the freedom and responsibility of human action, the obligation of morality, the virtue of disinterestedness, the dignity of justice, the beauty of charity; and beyond the limits of this earth, spiritualism points to God—the Creator and the Type of humanity, who, having created man evidently for an excellent end, will not abandon him during the mysterious development of his destiny. This philosophy is the natural ally of every noble cause; sustains religious feelings, inspires true art and poetry worthy of the name, and all lofty literature.

This philosophy is the mainstay of right, and rejects alike despotism and demagogy; teaching all men to respect and love each other, and gradually leading the communities of this world to true republicanism,—that dream of all generous natures which, in the Europe of our day, seems to be realized by constitutional monarchy.

‘According to the strength we possess, to co-operate in the work of reviving, defending, and propagating this noble philosophy, has been the object which made us what we are, which has upheld us, during an already long career, in which great difficulties have not failed to meet us on our path. Thanks be to God, time has rather increased than weakened our convictions, and we end as we began. A new edition of the writings of our early youth is but a fresh effort in favour of the sacred cause for which we have fought for more than forty years.’¹

To this passage we earnestly call the attention of the British reader; for this passage contains Cousin—the teacher and the man. Beyond it there is little left to seek for, and from it he never swerved an inch. There, as he himself recalls in a work republished at a distance of forty years from the date of its original appearance,—there are his objects, or rather, the object in which all others were comprised. Spiritualism—the cause of the soul against the senses, of the generous against the sordid, of the lofty against the base; the cause of self-sacrifice against enjoyment, the cause, to use his own words, of whatever was ‘true, beautiful, and right.’

The words we have quoted above express Cousin’s teaching. Man, created free, and yet under the law of duty, distinct from, and yet dependent on God the Creator: there stands the creed in all its simplicity. There is the foundation on which, from Plato to Descartes, so many glorious spirits have rested their faith, and which the modern German school, culminating in Hegel, professes to have found too narrow. Whether the human soul finds a wider field, and a nearer approach to truth, in either of the two antagonistic systems which seek to supersede Spiritualism as Cousin understood it; whether Hegelianism or Positivism advances most towards the solution of the eternal problem—that is not the present question. The question is what Cousin taught and believed,—believing it and teaching it at the end as he did at the beginning. This question we have answered; and however the envious or the prejudiced may deny the fact, the consistency of Cousin is proved with a clearness that does not often fall to the lot of public men. What frequently misled those who judged him was the spirit with which he met all illiberal interpretations of great doctrines by little men.

¹ *Du Vrai, du Beau, du Bien.* The lessons of 1815-21 republished in 1853-55-56, Preface, p. 7.

Shocked by the readiness with which a contemporary school denies the necessity of what is divine, Cousin sought more and more the support of the great Christian masters, and drew daily nearer to Pascal, Descartes, and Leibnitz; but those who, in their anger, described him as church or priest-ridden, or as what they term 'gone over to Rome,' laboured under a complete misapprehension. In the year 1860, observing upon a friend's table the volume of Bossuet's *Elévations* and the *Meditations on the Trinity*, Cousin suddenly exclaimed, 'What a book! what a guide for those who are trying to find their way!' His friend smiled, and rejoined: 'I know many an ecclesiastic who would be rejoiced to hear you say so.' Cousin sprang from his chair, and throwing back his head with an air of defiance peculiar to himself: 'Priests!' he cried sharply; 'don't talk to me of priests! Those meditations of Bossuet on the Trinity, those glorious meditations, I would sign them with both hands any day: but what do priests know or care for *la Trinité incréée?*' His friend, whose belief was somewhat more formal than that of the great philosopher, prolonged the conversation by adding, that the man who would sign Bossuet's treatise on the dogma of the Trinity, accepted implicitly the doctrines of the Church. 'Perhaps so,' was the reply; 'but I will not answer for repeating the Credo on my deathbed.' 'Why not?' asked his interlocutor. 'Because,' answered Cousin, fixing upon him the steady gaze of the eyes, whose lustre none will ever forget upon whom they ever shone—'because that will depend upon the priest who is near me when I am dying.'

Fire lay so ready in Cousin's ardent nature that the flame of enthusiasm was easily lighted by what had a semblance of greatness, but he surrendered himself to none, and those who could rule him have yet to be discovered amongst living men. They will be found neither in Berlin nor in Rome, not more among Hegelians than among Romanists, and this was probably the reason of frequent misunderstanding. Whilst Cousin never devoted himself to anything save the doctrine taught, his disciples attached themselves to those who taught it, and thus became intolerant, which he could not be. It was thus in his political as in his philosophical career. For having, like most lofty spirits, acknowledged the grandeur and beauty of republican theories, he was held pledged by a certain set, not of dreamers, but of very practical placehunters, to the utter repudiation of all forms of government that should not put the governing power into the hands of *Messieurs les Républicains!* Consequently, when Cousin did what any practical Englishman would have done, when he accepted the monarchy of July as

the best chance offered to France, and helped with all his might to give that monarchy stability by a wise liberalism, when he did this he drew upon his name all the obloquy that a noisy and disappointed party, incapable of responsibility, could cast upon it. With all his passionate love of the sublime, Cousin never disregarded common sense, and in all crises his disinterestedness supplied him with moderation. His impartiality exasperated those who, in politics, for instance, care less for the act than the agent. To Cousin the agent was always a matter of supreme indifference.

Then again, the charge of eclecticism was brought against him. Now how does this matter stand? 'You may have eclectic philosophers,' said Goethe; 'you cannot have an eclectic philosophy; there is no such thing.' Did Cousin ever say there was?¹ is the question we would fain put; and here, in our opinion, comes the one circumstance which those who have attacked and those who have defended him seem to have forgotten, namely, that Cousin was not the founder of a doctrine, but the historian of doctrines. What he was appointed to teach to France, both before and after he succeeded Royer Collard, was the History of Philosophy. It was not his function to dogmatize, or to invent a formula out of which there should be no salvation. He was not called upon to startle a whole world by proclaiming in five words a symbol like that of Descartes; but he sought out and found that

'Je pense donc je suis'

had been the underlying thought of all great metaphysicians. This was the sentiment of Pascal too, when he said that at the distance of twelve hundred years St. Augustine and Descartes had thought the same thought, which was simply 'otherwise lodged in St. Augustine than in Descartes.' Cousin taught what he discovered, what his mind had palpably realized to itself—that all the leading minds of this world of ours had been Spirit-

¹ The misapprehension was foreseen by Cousin, and he knew his adversaries well enough to be aware that bad faith would be added to misapprehension. His own words are explicit upon this point. At the outset of his first *Cours*, he says: 'Eclecticism is, in our eyes, the true historic method, and has for us all the importance of the history of philosophy. But there is something that we put far above the history of philosophy, and, consequently, eclecticism; and that is, philosophy itself.'

'The history of philosophy does not carry its own evidence with it, and is not its own aim and object. How then should eclecticism, which has no other field save history, be our sole, or even our first object?'—(*Opening Lecture of the Cours of 1817, 4th Dec.*)

It is scarcely possible to state more clearly how Cousin applied eclecticism, and the words taken from the lips of the master himself authorize our statement that he never founded, or dreamed of the absurdity termed 'eclectic philosophy.'

ualists, and had from the finite effect mounted surely to the Infinite Cause, proving God to their own souls, even when, as with Plato, he was unrevealed. This bringing together from all the ages of witnesses to man's spiritual superiority, and to the existence of God, was pre-eminently Cousin's work, and with it his eclectic method was consistent. But it is a misapplication of terms to call this 'Eclectic Philosophy,' and false to say that Cousin did so.

As the limits of this article do not afford room for minute details of Cousin's teaching or of his career, we will confine ourselves to the elucidation of two or three of the points on which his action bore strongly on the minds of his countrymen or of mankind.

What a gain for France was Spiritualism, rising as it soon did proudly above the sensual theories of the eighteenth century. Thus far we have heard no voice raised to deny the importance of Cousin's initiative. Even the *jeunes Normaliens* admit that the commencement of Cousin's teaching was of the highest worth; and one of the Positivist sect says of him: 'For the fifteen years intervening between 1815 and 1830, philosophy in France is almost exclusively personified in Cousin. He is its beginning and its end. He was the founder of a school, and that school dies with him.'

Now, of these assertions, we admit some and reject others. We hold that, for more than fifteen—for at least thirty years, the philosophic thought of France, if not actually incarnate in Cousin, was at all events subject to him. He was its leader. For the space of thirty years he was the mightiest prompter of the French mind that France had; but to say that he was the 'founder of a school' is to speak inaccurately, just as it is inaccurate to declare that what he founded died with him. What Cousin originated was not a mere 'school,' but a method and spirit. He brought all the facts of past thought to bear on the public mind of France. After generations of wrong and misery and shame, the mind of France was conscious of a void: he filled it—filled it with the facts, or, as it were, with the deeds of thought. He exhibited the history of philosophy, as Herder did the philosophy of history. He weaned France from her bigoted incredulity, by showing to her the example of all the great thinkers in the world's annals. But this was a spirit, a method, not a 'school.'

The great reproach brought against Cousin by some men of this generation is, that he stopped short, and would not tread the paths of Hegelianism to what they are pleased to term a 'logical' conclusion. But we ask, Who has reached this logical

conclusion?—Where is it? ‘He stopped at Kant!’ cry they indignantly,—‘he never allowed a disciple to go further than Kant.’

We beg pardon of these gentlemen, but we maintain that Cousin stopped before Kant. He stopped at Leibnitz, and it yet remains to be shown that any one has gone beyond. Cousin chronicled Kant, if we may be allowed the expression, but Kant never indoctrinated him; for the simple reason that what is in Kant is in Leibnitz, and that what in Kant is not Leibnitzian escapes the hold of Kant himself, and bears the mark of what Leibnitz calls ‘a false and corrupt reason, misled by appearances.’

Two classes of fanatics never forgive the refusal to go all their lengths,—the ultra-speculator and the formal priest; the first will tolerate any amount of mysticism so long as its final result is to land you in total disbelief; and the second will favour speculative scepticism so long as, instead of transforming itself into strong rational faith, it throws you in despair into blind, helpless subjection to the ministers of the Church of Rome. Now Cousin resisted both, and with the ultras of both sects his name is an abomination.

Besides establishing by history the great fact, that all deep thinkers were men of faith, Cousin was foremost among those who asserted that all science is compatible with faith. ‘*Plus vous saurez de vérité, plus vous saurez de Dieu,*’¹ he had boldly said in 1818,—thus confessing the creed of his noble German master, who, a century before, proclaimed that ‘a truth can never be opposed to reason,’ and laid down as a first principle that ‘necessary truths and the demonstrative consequences of Philosophy could never be contrary to Revelation.’² The grand and steady movement of thought, which is going on in one direction and unceasingly in France, and which is far too little observed out of it, has its source chiefly in Leibnitz, whose immediate influence on the present generation can never be sufficiently noted.

‘Noble youth of the nineteenth century,’ exclaims Cousin, in one of his fervent appeals to his hearers, ‘your task is to find in a deeper analysis of thought, the principles of the future, and out of so many ruins of past systems to construct an edifice that Reason can avow—*Le xix^{me} siècle doit être celui des réhabilitations intelligentes.*’ And this is the underlying thought of France in every direction; in religion, philosophy, politics, and art. But when Cousin spoke those words they were an inspiration; one of those sudden flashes of genius which, throughout his life, served

¹ *Du Vrai, du Beau, du Bien, Lessons of 1818-19.*

² Leibnitz—*Discours sur la Conformité de la Foi et de la Raison.*

him better than the mere knowledge which they preceded, and illuminated the unknown with a sure and steady light. Shelley's words are profoundly true: 'We know too much; what fails us is to imagine what we know.' This was Cousin's grand characteristic; he imagined what he knew, and the imagination soared upon so strong a wing above a knowledge that lay deep, that never was the knowledge uninteresting or the imagination unsafe.

In three different directions he was, as we have already said, a prompter of the French mind—he established Spiritualism as the most rational of doctrines on the authority of historic fact; he reproduced the grand theory of reconciliation between Faith and Reason (which, since the famous controversy between Bossuet and Leibnitz had dropped out of France's memory); and he revealed the moral grandeur of the Seventeenth Century to a race who, in their just indignation at what followed it, had flung away the title-deeds of their national superiority. The French nation was, intellectually and morally speaking, in a situation dissimilar to that in which any modern nation has been placed. It had seen the holiest creeds so foully perverted to the vilest uses that it madly turned its wrath upon the creeds themselves as much as upon those who had dared to misuse them. How could an unusually ignorant race (for the French were so) be brought to esteem monarchy as an institution, when three generations had groaned under Louis XIV., the Regency, and the long wretched reign of Louis XV.? How could they believe in the wisdom of a Church or the soundness of a religion whose representatives were men like Fleury or the infamous Dubois? Disbelief, utter absolute disbelief, was a refuge, and France eagerly sought it. Destruction was the spirit of the time long before it assumed a concrete political form. Religion was swept away before royalty was attacked—at which royalty tacitly connived, caring, as usual, marvellously little about the souls of the lieges so long as their bodies were under control. The consequence was that when, in 1793, a weak, well-intentioned, incapable, honest, ill-educated Prince paid for the crimes of his predecessors, nothing was left standing. There was no religion more—only some simple-minded, meekly heroic Christian priests, who suffered martyrdom obscurely, paying for the sins of a corrupt, impious, and ignorant clergy. France was godless. The revolutionary set who proclaimed atheism were not more godless than the blind, obstinate, frivolous society which they attacked. It is a law of life that no one portion of a nation has ever the monopoly of either good or bad; the faults and virtues are of the same kind, and are the faults and virtues of all. The fault

of France, in all classes, had been for eighty years godlessness ; her virtue was energy. But the energy of the assailants was more fresh and passionate, than the energy of the assailed, therefore the latter succumbed.

The efforts of the first Napoleon in favour of an official reconciliation with the Papacy were among the first steps which led the Governments of the Continent into a thoroughly false position with the Church. The faults of secular and spiritual authorities were common to both, and they sought together for a common recovery from the consequences. During the actual crisis of the Revolution itself, the governing power was nearly everywhere overthrown ; government was no more ; from the moment that government revived it became defensive. Sovereigns, no matter of what origin or what denomination, when they either clambered up to a new throne, or got back to their own, had been so shaken, that they never felt secure in their places, and their one predominant idea became that of resistance to their people. The power of the Church having been struck down with the power of the Crown, the mere priesthood (very generally ignorant, and not high-minded) forsook their true position, and regretted the power, growing unmindful of their duties. The ministers of the Church made themselves the accomplices of the sovereigns, and the period of the *Concordat* inaugurates that unholy alliance in which, throughout Europe, Crowns were to provide the bayonet, and the Church the bushel. All light was proscribed !

But France was too intelligent to submit permanently to such a state of things, and France has (whatever may have been her weaknesses and excesses) a strong sense and a genuine yearning for the Divine ideal. Without God she could not continue to live. Had the ministers of the Church been true to the precepts of their Divine Master, had they gone forth as apostles, contented to be poor and unprotected by aught save the Word of Christ, had they rested on their faith, France would, much sooner than she did, have returned to the recognition of Christian doctrine. But with the ruin of everything else the faith of the clergy fell. They descended (and showed that they did so) to faith in brute force, and the nation ceased to have any faith in them. The wars of the Empire, and their disastrous, humiliating end, chastened France ; and there can be no doubt that with the return of the Bourbons in 1815, and with the ten years' reign of Louis XVIII., much was regained for the French nation that might a few years before have been reasonably supposed to be for ever lost. During these ten years men were springing up who, five or ten years later, were to be the guides and the glory of France. The wisdom of Louis XVIII.,

and the comparatively liberal tendencies of his government, gave genuine freedom of thought and action to men who were really worthy to help in the task of regenerating a country. In 1825 fresh impetus was given, and the short reign of Charles the Tenth placed no obstacle to the current of modern French thought, but, on the contrary, strengthened intellect by condemning it to hostility, and by obliging speculative and aspiring minds to become doers of deeds.

But during all this time the clergy had neglected its great part. Content to exercise any sort of power, the priesthood had allowed themselves to be made the instruments (no longer even the accomplices) of political authority, and filched away power from timid consciences. There was in all this no pure, bold, simple Christian faith; and the words of Cousin were true, 'What cared such a priesthood for *La Trinité incréée* ?'

At the same time truth was dimly there, and must be saved. Without God, without belief, the nation could not live, and the nation felt it. But is God a *reality*? This awful question rose; it awoke in the national mind, lay at the bottom of every heart, and generations sought passionately for a proof of what they were equally without proof to deny. Half a century and more had taught them to seek for truth; the vanity of their own achievements, for twenty years, had taught them that they could not live and die without a belief. Before the Revolution, France clamoured for a proof that God was not; after the Empire she longed for a proof that all was not chance. She meant more than the Materialists expressed; but what remained of her doubts was the inquisitive desire for proof—nothing less would satisfy her. This opened the way to science, natural science, which at the present day in France has at least begun to prove that what are termed miracles are everywhere around us, and that mysteries need not necessarily be rejected by reason. Spiritualism was the forerunner of the present movement, and when Cousin, in the way of proof, showed historically how all great thinkers had believed, he spoke the first word of consolation to the uneasy, empty heart of France.

When Cousin said, 'The more you know of truth, the more you know of God,' he opened the way to the reconciliation between Faith and Reason, which is the grand work upon which the thinkers and believers of France are now occupied, and which was initiated by Leibnitz. 'How many things,' says M. Paul Janet, in his admirable article on Cousin,¹ 'how many things that have since occupied men's minds are to be found in these republications (the *Lectures*), so full of fire and youth! How many theories that since then have become predominant

¹ *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1st February 1867.

find their origin in this enthusiastic theology! . . . How many amongst those who opposed him from him alone received the first spark of fire! Not only is this true, but what is more strangely true is that in the two camps of philosophic theologians and of Christian philosophers, where Cousin's bitterest detractors are to be discovered, we recognise disciples whose wisdom was derived solely from his teaching. Take the commencement of the famous chapter, '*Dieu Principe des Principes*.' It requires but little penetration to discern in it the source of the whole present school, whose ardent striving is to achieve Belief through Science, and induce faith to bend to scientific proof.¹

'From Plato to Leibnitz,' says Cousin in 1819, 'all great metaphysicians have held that absolute truth is an attribute of the Absolute Being, of the Almighty. Truth is incomprehensible without God, as God is without truth. Truth is placed between human intelligence and intelligence supreme, as a sort of mediator. At the topmost height of being as at its lowest level, everywhere God is, for everywhere there is truth. Study nature, aspire to know the laws that govern her, and make her as it were a living truth. The more you penetrate the secret laws of nature, the nearer you will come to God. Study humanity still more! Humanity is greater than nature; for while proceeding, as does nature, from God, humanity knows it, while nature does not! . . . Far from its being true that science leads away from religion, all the sciences lead to it; and physical and mathematical science, and, above all, philosophy, are but so many steps by which we approach God, or, indeed, so many temples wherein we worship Him.'

It would have been difficult to have described more clearly, or to have foreshadowed more distinctly, what became, forty years later, the movement of the national mind. God the Truth—Faith vindicated by Science—these were the chief aims of Cousin, as they had been the dogmas of Leibnitz. The first obstacle, as we have said, lay in the hatred of the so-called scientific for all who believed,—their hatred of the clergy, whom they confounded with religion. The next obstacle grew out of the hatred of those who believed for the scientific. Science would not condescend to Faith, nor Faith to Science; each dreaded and maligned the other. Truth is now saving both. It is a question, according to Goethe's dying words, of 'more light!' On both sides, there was weakness, insufficiency; too little science and too little faith. Both champions are now running the race with equal ardour in France,—the scientific towards more science, the faithful towards more faith. The consequence is mutual respect. Not only is there a rising school of mathe-

¹ *Du Vrai, du Beau, du Bien*, p. 99.

maticians, geologists, astronomers, anatomists, who say, 'We do not know enough to deny,' but there is a large school of rising theologians, who, led by such men, for instance, as the Père Grato¹, consent to the enlightenment of reason on matters of faith, saying, 'If we had perfect faith, we should have no fear.'

It is an important movement; and France, as in intellectual movements generally, has had the initiative. But in modern times its originator is Leibnitz. On his theory of the compatibility of Revelation with Science, and of the impossibility of overcoming the omnipotence of truth, rests the present effort to reconcile faith and science, which in France undoubtedly begins with Cousin, half a century ago.

The last twenty-five years of the great French philosopher's life were devoted to tracking out one of the noblest consequences of his abstract notions upon truth. When he had preached to France, 'Truth in God's name!' (for that was the war-cry of his youth), he turned with passionate earnestness to the task of basing upon truth man's dignity.

'The human soul loves truth,' exclaims he, with a triumphant joyfulness. 'Have we found a truth? Then there is something in us which exults. A human being charged to struggle against nature, and having work sufficient, as it would seem, to defend his own life, to sustain and embellish it, can yet love what concerns his worldly nature in no way, what exists but in the Invisible alone! This disinterested passion of truth bears witness to man's grandeur who can feel it.'

And from this passion of disinterestedness, from this desire to substantiate the capacity of our species for greatness, and the dignity of man, 'resident in his thought,' came the historian, and also the word-student and literary artist in Cousin.

As in his method of philosophy, and in his doctrines, Cousin was the direct heir of Plato, St. Augustine, and Descartes, so in the form in which thought is expressed, Cousin has for his direct ancestor Pascal. To no modern writer in any country is it perhaps so fully given to

'twine

His hopes of being remembered in his line
With his land's language.'

Deprived of his works published in the last twenty-five years, the French tongue would be wanting in some of its most conclusive proofs of superiority for prose. Cousin's style was always splendid, but it was only *fixed* from the

¹ Author of *La Connaissance de Dieu*, *La Logique*, and several other works having a like tendency.

day when he possessed himself of Pascal. Luckily for France, and for human thought in general, after the fall of the Thiers ministry in the autumn of 1841, Cousin gave his newly-acquired leisure to research in the archives of the Bibliothèque Royale, touching the leading characters of the seventeenth century. He was suddenly brought face to face with Pascal. The genuine manuscript of the *Pensées* fell into his hands, and to him the world now owes the really correct edition of that immortal work; the original expression of the thought of one whose entire soul lay wrapped in the 'shadows of God,' according to Plato's definition of geometry. There was great joy in Cousin's mind when he saw before him the true text of the *Pensées*. There was, too, the strange feeling a man might have in suddenly discovering the portrait of an ancestor. It was recognition; vaguely he felt that he gazed upon a past and still grander self, and from that hour Cousin never swerved from Pascal. Yet, was there no imitation. Cousin was too independent for that, and his own individuality was too powerful. The lesson Pascal taught him was that impression and expression are one, and that to attempt to magnify mere expression beyond the force of what has been impressed on the mind, leads only to inflation and emptiness. The close fitting of the word to the idea, the subjection of terms to thought, the rejection of whatever is not necessary, the horror of ornament,—this was what Pascal taught Cousin, or rather revealed to him in the depths of his own mind. He learnt that, as in everything else so in language, what was termed style was truth. Ideas had always come to him grandly, but from the day when he possessed Pascal, he had no rest till he was certain that they were safe from loose inartistic expression. From Pascal to Port-Royal the road lay open, and Cousin found a shrine at which he could worship without fear.

'Let us pay our full tribute to Port-Royal,' he exclaims,¹ 'as in our hours of dejection and lassitude we should always bow down our whole hearts before whatsoever serves to raise the dignity of men's characters and minds!' Here was the 'keynote admiration.' The grandeur of the women of the seventeenth century in France, their courage, their capacity of sacrifice, their utter disinterestedness, in a word, their *heroic* qualities, inflamed Cousin's enthusiasm, and he taught modern France how the vain-glorious epoch of Louis XIV., and the frivolous sensual one of Louis XV. were preceded by one half century where, in the midst of perpetual struggles, moral grandeur was to be discovered on all sides. '*Dans un grand siècle tout est*

¹ Preface to *Jacqueline Pascal*. First edition was in 1844.

grand,' declares Cousin the historian,¹ in the concise style which had now become his, and with these words he opens the series of essays on the period between the death of Henri IV. and the majority of Louis XIV., which to France are studies of history, and to the general reader studies of historical psychology.

What Cousin seeks for in history, much more than particular incidents in particular lives, is the capacity of greatness of the human soul. He finds evidence of this in different individuals, and sets them forth as examples, but what he exults over is the principle itself. 'La vraie grandeur ne peut sortir que d'une âme naturellement grande, qui s'émeut pour une grande cause' is his profession of faith, and for twenty-five years he pursues the signs of this '*vraie grandeur*,' and, wherever he finds them, worships, and proclaims them to the world. In the ascetism of La Mère Angélique, in the conviction of Jacqueline Pascal, dying of having signed the '*formulaire*,' in the genuine repentance of Mme. de Longueville, honestly paying for the errors of genuine passion, in the generosity of Marie de Haute-fort, devoting herself to a queen she could not deem her equal, in the truth of all these to their ideal, Cousin found what he sought,—a means whereby to elevate the mind of France, and show how women had, by the exercise of the noblest virtues, devotion, self-sacrifice, and generosity, been led to deeds of real heroism.

But we touch now on one of Cousin's defects, on perhaps his only narrowness. All greatness was indeed recognised by him, but he loved French greatness alone. He was the proudest of patriots, and an exclusive one. His motto was: '*Gesta Dei per Francos*.' He would not have had the doings of others spring one whit less from the Divine source, but he scarcely cared for them when they were not manifested by French agents. His philosophy accepted all great acts as '*gesta Dei*,' but his patriotism held to their being '*per Francos*.' This pervaded his train of thought. In everything he put France first, and in art went the length of putting Poussin and Lesueur above Titian and Leonardo! But perhaps herein lay a compensation. Perhaps it was as with the figure of the circle, whose circumference (and no matter how wide it may be) can only be defined when the intensely narrow centre, the one point, is given. It may be that so imaginative a nature needed at least one check. Had he not had the narrowness of his patriotism, he might have wanted intensity. As it was, his love for France was an intense passion, which he for ever fed by his exclusive study of the French language, and of French history, French literature, and French art.

¹ *Les Femmes illustres du xvii. siècle.*

We must remember also the surrounding circumstances of Cousin's life. He reached his intellectual majority at a time when France, after giving unparalleled proofs of power, had been vanquished, and was chafing at defeat, while vindicating more than ever the right to fame and glory. France was never more French than under the Restoration; and this was natural. It is only in the last sixteen or eighteen years that France has acquired any degree of cosmopolitanism. Something may be due to the present Emperor, whose education and early habits were German and Italian, and whose political experience was gained in England; but free-trade and railway communication have done the rest, and France no longer repels the notion of learning from foreigners. But from the Revolution of 1789 to the Insurrection of 1848, this notion was repugnant to her, and she looked upon the stranger as did the ancient Roman, with a conviction of his inferiority.

That the armies of France had been worsted was a fact. They had been worsted before Waterloo, the real '*coup de cloche de l'Empire*' having been sounded by the people of Germany in 1813. But then came the question, Had the French nation, had France herself been defeated? or was it merely an empty form that had been destroyed, a tyranny usurping France's name, a stage-hero, aspiring to perform the part of a great country? After invasion had revenged conquest, freedom became once more the prime occupation of the French mind, and in the vices of military despotism the nation discovered the reason of her failures. Except a small clique of politicians, it might be asserted that, after 1815, all men were Liberals in France. Constitutional liberty—the liberty of thought, pen, and tongue—the power of discussing measures and compelling cabinets,—these were the objects of French aspiration. France had awakened to public life. In this single fact you find the unity of French politics for thirty-three years. There may be divergences in the political ideas of the men of the Restoration, and of the July monarchy; these may wish for a larger extension of the electoral franchise, those for trial by jury; some for an hereditary peerage, others for the mobilization of landed property; but we find none who dream of shutting up the whole country and prescribing for it as for a patient. This makes the virtual homogeneity of France between 1815 and 1848. Publicity, the right to oppose, and the right indirectly to help in the work of Government,—these are the principles on which rests the oneness of French monarchy, as distinct from the two periods of Empire or military despotism, between which it is placed. The chief superiority of the July *régime* is, that it could not escape the superiority of the indi-

viduals who adorned its public life. But the Restoration had prepared these men, and this is too often forgotten. In the public life of France between 1815 and 1830, the unhappy episode of the reign of Charles X. does not, when looked at from an historical point of view, present much more than the characteristics of a weak, bigoted, old-fashioned Tory ministry in England. But freedom was new; France was impatient and easily distrustful; so the revolution of 1830 was hurried on, but the forms only of public life were altered. All the men who governed were men whom the contests of the Restoration had formed for public life. Royer Collard, Benjamin Constant, Laffitte, M. de Broglie, M. Pasquier, Guizot, Cousin, Villemain, and a list too long to enumerate, were men who had fleshed their swords in the *mêlée* that had already lasted fifteen years, and with the addition of younger recruits (such as Thiers for instance) and the loss of veterans as years rolled on, these same men led the politics of France for eighteen years more. As France must in some shape or other be proud of herself, as she must have glory, she sought it now in intellect, and intellectual glories replaced the glory of arms.

But during all this period the patriotic feeling, in its narrow sense, was strong. The monarchy in France was profoundly French, was national to a remarkable extent; and the men who helped to sustain it were what we, with our present notions, should call prejudiced.

When the monarchy fell in 1848, and it was seen how the genuine love of freedom, which alone can produce a republic, failed France, the hearts of her nobler sons received a terrible blow. When the nation in 1851-52 signed a deed of abdication, sacrificing all her higher gains for 'order,' the real patriots showed their grief in various ways. Some died, like De Tocqueville, sickening, as he himself says, under the consciousness that 'what he adored France despised, and what he despised she adored.' Some more combative, haughtier spirits, as Cousin for example, took it defiantly, and refused in their caprice to recognise a sign of deterioration. If Cousin could have ever admitted that France was degraded or had hopelessly sunk in the moral scale, he too might have died of it; but he neither would nor could admit it. And this belief, which was so dear, so indispensable to him, drove him deeper every day into the study of the seventeenth century. In the name of all that could not die, he resisted the proofs of dissolution brought before him. This was the origin of the admiration for war with which his adversaries have reproached him. In the noble deeds of the French army in Algeria, in the Crimea, in the Italian campaign, he found a pretext for satisfaction, and consoled himself with

the belief that the race that fought so bravely, could yield to civic and political weakness only for a time. Every day found him more intensely French—more absorbed by the lofty minds of the seventeenth century—more wedded to incessant study of the French language.

Amongst his colleagues of the *Académie* his loss is more severely felt than perhaps anywhere ; for Cousin was one of the greatest students of the philosophy of language that ever existed. Nothing escaped him, and nothing satisfied him but the perfect. One of the most learned of his brother academicians says :—

‘ We only can know what Cousin was. At the Thursday sittings¹ he invariably ended by leading the debates, and fixing irrevocably the value of the words under consideration. No one ever grappled with a term as he did, tracking it to its source, following it to its latest use, forcing it back to its true signification, laying bare all the most delicate *nuances* of its various applications. A greater master of the philosophy of language never existed.’

And what he was in the midst of his colleagues at the *Académie* when the art of expression was being discussed, that he was also amongst his private friends when the subject of talk happened to be his favourite period of French history. It is difficult to give any idea of the fire and earnestness with which he threw himself into the activity of the past, in which he habitually lived. His eloquence, at such times, was incomparable ; and so passionately did he realize the men and things he described that he ended by giving a dramatic form to recital, and you fancied you had witnessed the scenes of two centuries back. Once launched upon this current it carried him utterly out of himself, and made him forgetful of all precaution. A note of his lies before us now, wherein are these lines :—‘ I will *not* dine with you on Thursday, unless you promise me an invalid’s conversation as well as diet. Andral² is very angry, and absolutely forbids such excesses as our talk of last evening ! I got home at God knows what hour, and have been taken to task by everybody ever since.’ The ‘ talk ’ which tempted him into the ‘ excesses ’ he alludes to, had run upon the employment, by Louis XIII. and Cardinal de Richelieu, of the eight days previous to the execution of Cinque Mars ; and in the work of living the whole over again in its minutest detail, he had lost the sense of all outside that tragic week. He had scarcely risen from a long and dangerous illness,

¹ The *Académie Française* every Thursday holds a meeting where the Dictionary is in question, where words are admitted or rejected after due discussion.

² The famous French physician.

requiring the strictest care, and freedom from all emotion and fatigue; but the 'unselfish passion of things' had seized him, and, all rules and prescriptions forgotten, he had flung himself recklessly into the flood of his own eloquence, and it was two hours past midnight when he remembered that instead of the year 1641 we were living in 1861. No custom ever familiarized those who lived the past again with Cousin to the manner in which he evoked his phantoms. It was always new. The compelling charm of his eloquence on such occasions lay in its sincerity; in the passionate conviction he had that he was nearer to the heroic dead than ever were their own contemporaries.

This it is which makes the appeal at the close of the *Life of Madame de Hautefort*, so affecting. Cousin's friends knew that it was real.

'Be for ever blessed, ye Muses, now graceful, now austere! always noble, always lofty! you who have taught me what true beauty is, and unfitted me for all vulgar attachments. You it is from whom I have learnt to avoid the crowd, and instead of raising my fortune, to elevate my heart. Thanks to you, I have found pleasure in a proud poverty. I have lost the vulgar prizes of life, but have been faithful to the grand cause of freedom, deserted in our day, but to which the future is insured. Be my mainstay in the trials which await me, you who were the companions of Descartes, of Pascal, of Corneille, of Richelieu, of Condé; you, Amie de Bourbon, Marie de Rohan, Mariet de Hautefort, Martha du Vigean, Louise de La Fayette; all tender of heart as strong, who, after you had shone with such lustre, courted silence and obscurity, give me a share of your courage, and teach me to smile as you did upon age and solitude, upon sickness and death.'

Whoever wishes to know Victor Cousin thoroughly should study every word of that page. For it is one of the pages in which he wrote down his very soul. And truly his dead loves did practically inspire him. He lived beyond our world, away from all petty wranglings or debasing pursuits, and this was the source whence he drew that inexhaustible, imperishable youth, which was his privilege above all others.

Those who saw him in July last, after the results of the campaign in Bohemia, can never forget the rapidity of look and gesture, the eagerness of the whole man to become master of every detail, the passion with which he threw himself into the struggle, noting at each step the advance of victory to the Prussian arms, and almost fiercely seeking out the causes of Benedek's defeat, to end by mourning over the mysterious overthrow, not so much of a great general, as of one of the noblest natures ever born. Never was Cousin younger or more brilliant than in the last few months of his life; never had he more evidently upon

his broad brow the sign of power. Indeed, his contemporaries were wont to say that, wilful as he had always been from early youth, and incapable of discipline, he had with each added year acquired a right the more to lead others. It has been said of him that he was 'the greatest Professor that France ever had,' and his rare combination of faculties justified the saying. Everything in Cousin bore the mark of sovereignty. His ringing voice, his large flashing eye, undimmed to the very last, his superb head, his habitually commanding gesture, all told of an instinctive consciousness of superiority,—rarely withstood when it is really instinctive.

'I could not have believed that, in a time of such intellectual degeneracy as ours, the loss of such a man as Cousin could be felt as it is; I am astonished at the universal outbreak of regret.'—Thus writes from the provinces (2d February) to a friend in Paris, one of the most distinguished men in France, who began life as little more than a boy under the fatal Polignac ministry, and who, in 1848, under Lamartine's really liberal and too short exercise of power, represented France at a German Court. The reason of this universal regret will be partly found, as we have already said, in that independence of character which refused ever to subordinate a generous passion to a selfish interest; but it must also be sought for in the ceaseless activity with which Cousin associated himself to the last hour with those intellectual labourers who tilled the same fields as himself. He never lost sight of them; he watched their movements—even their thoughts as it were, and never allowed them to rest. Rest was to him a thing unknown, and far or near, by word or letter, he kept the minds of his disciples in perpetual activity. His last day on earth found him busy with what had been his first inspiration. Before leaving Paris for Cannes he superintended the publication of the seventh edition of his *Histoire Générale de la Philosophie*. No sooner had he reached Cannes than he began to correct what was to be the eighth edition of the work. He wrote several pages on the Philosophy of the Fathers of the Christian Church and recommenced revising the first chapters of the *History*. On the day of his death he was at work, and his lectures on the Scholastic School and on Locke bear the latest strokes of his pen.

Accurately to define Cousin is an impossible task, for a definition implies a limit, and the greatest characteristic of his nature was that on all sides it was unbounded. Everywhere his soul lay open to the Infinite. 'What a singular organization!' exclaims Sainte Beuve the other day,¹ 'what a personality was that which bore the name of Cousin! he has remained

¹ 20th January 1867.

for me, and I believe for many of those who knew him best, a problem and an enigma.' Probably the solution of the 'problem' lies in the words *Sursum corda*. His ceaseless task was to elevate both himself and all around him, and he spared no pains to attain his end. 'It is at all events unanimously admitted,' says M. Janet,¹ 'that as a philosopher Cousin achieved two things—he founded in France the History of Philosophy; he revived and upheld the Spiritualist Doctrine for fifty years with indomitable energy. Those who dislike that doctrine feel of course little gratitude to him, but there can be no two opinions upon the immense utility of having founded the Historic School of France.'

When the disputes and passions of the hour shall have subsided, and judgment shall have passed calmly upon a man who, while living, made it impossible for friends and foes to remain calm when judging him, Victor Cousin will fill one of the highest places among the great men of Europe in any age. For France herself he will remain as much a part of her mind as Descartes or Pascal or Malebranche, justifying by his life his own notion of greatness, namely, a 'spirit naturally great, busied only with great things.'

¹ *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1st February 1867.

ART. VI.—*Report of the Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the Sea-Fisheries of the United Kingdom: Regulations relating to Oysters, and Oyster-Fishing in general.* 2 vols. 1866.

A FEW months ago,¹ we called attention to the results of the inquiries made by the Royal Commissioners into the laws affecting our sea-fisheries, but space prevented us from noticing a very important branch of commercial enterprise, which was carefully investigated by the same Commissioners, and with similar results: we mean the Oyster-Fisheries. We propose now to consider this very important subject, and shall carefully weigh the evidence elicited by the Commissioners in their inquiries into the operations of the laws regulating oyster-fishing; but before we do so, let us pause a few minutes to notice some interesting facts about this not very interesting-looking bivalve. Who was the first wise mortal to eat an oyster we shall never know. Instead of that man having his

‘palate covered o’er
With brass or steel, that on the rocky shore
First broke the oozy oyster’s pearly coat,
And risked the living morsel down his throat,’

as Gay has imagined, we are inclined to assign to him a highly sensitive and exquisite taste, a prophetic appreciation of a dainty, as the tempting morsel lay all succulently upon its deepest valve—which does him much credit. However, it is certain that oysters have long been considered, not only a valuable article of diet, but a delicious adjunct to the dinner and supper-table. But oysters were in existence years before oyster-eaters in the human form were thought of.

‘The discoveries of geologists open scenes of regret to the enthusiastic oyster-eater, who can hardly gaze upon the abundantly-entombed remains of the apparently well fed and elegantly shaped oysters of our Eocene formation without “chasing a pearly tear away,” whilst he calls to mind how all these delicate beings came into the world, and vanished, to so little purpose.’²

If this applied to a time when ‘natives’ were comparatively reasonable in price, how much more forcibly does it apply now that they are 1½d. apiece! What animals enjoyed oyster repasts in these geological days, when, so far as human enemies are concerned,

¹ *North British Review*, June 1866.

² Forbes and Hanley’s *Mollusca*.

'Piscis adhuc [illi] populo sine fraude natatab;
Ostreaque in conchis tuta fuere suis,'¹

whether ancient star-fish or boring whelk-tingles fed with impunity on the juices of the Eocene oysters, we cannot tell; but to judge from the abundant remains of these conchiferous molluscs in certain formations, it would appear that then was the golden age of oysters!

Oyster-shells have been found abundantly amongst the refuse-heaps or shell-mounds (*Kjökkenmödding*) of Denmark; and the fact has been adduced by Sir Charles Lyell, and other eminent geologists, as evidence of important physical changes.

'At certain points along the shores of nearly all the Danish islands, mounds may be seen, consisting chiefly of thousands of castaway shells of the oyster, cockle, and other molluscs of the same species as those which are now eaten by man. These shells are plentifully mixed up with the bones of various quadrupeds, birds, and fish, which served as the food of the rude hunters and fishers by whom the mounds were accumulated. I have seen similar large heaps of oysters and other marine shells, with interspersed stone implements, near the sea-shore, both in Massachusetts and in Georgia, U.S., left by the native North-American Indians at points near to which they were in the habit of pitching their wigwams for centuries before the white man arrived.'²

Scattered all through these refuse-heaps are flint-knives, hatchets, and other instruments of stone, etc. The men of the stone period must have opened their oysters with these flint-knives, for bronze and iron were as yet unknown. Rather a difficult matter, we may be inclined to think, for by your uninitiated amateur oyster-opener the feat is seldom accomplished either gracefully or successfully; but practice always makes perfect, and even, as Epicharmus tersely observes,—

ὄστρεια συμμεμυκότα
τὰ διελεῖν μὲν ἐστὶ χαλεπὰ, καταφαγεῖν δ' εὐμαρέα.³

'Oysters with closed shells, very difficult to open, but very good to eat,' may have their valves forced asunder by rude implements. The shape of the oyster, as indeed that of the conchifera generally, must, from the earliest times, have suggested the need of some instrument to insert between the shells, for necessity is the mother of invention. According to Dr. Milligan, in places on the shores of Van Dieman's Land, when the shells of the mounds are univalves,

'round stones of different sizes are met with, one, the larger, on which they broke the shells, the other, and smaller, having served as the hammer to break them with. But where the refuse-mounds con-

¹ Ovid's *Fasti*, lib. vi. 174.

² Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, pp. 11, 12.

³ Athenæus, *Deipnosoph.* iii. 30.

sist of oysters, mussels, cockles, and other bivalves, there flint-knives, used to open them with, are generally found.¹

Who would have thought that the presence of oysters amongst the Danish 'kitchen-middings' can have any bearing upon such a question as the antiquity of these shell-mounds, or upon the present configuration of a portion of the land? But so it is, for the common oyster (*ostrea edulis*) attaining its full size is found amongst these refuse-heaps. But at present the common oyster

'cannot live in the brackish waters of the Baltic, except near its entrance, where, whenever a north-westerly gale prevails, a current setting in from the ocean pours in a great body of salt water. Yet it seems that during the whole time of the accumulation of the "shell-mounds," the oyster flourished in places from which it is now excluded. In like manner, the eatable cockle, mussel, and periwinkle (*cardium edule*, *Mytilus edulis*, *Littorina littorea*), which are met with in great numbers in the "refuse-heaps," are of the ordinary dimensions which they acquire in the ocean, whereas the same species now living in the adjoining parts of the Baltic only attain a third of their natural size, being stunted and dwarfed in their growth by the quantity of fresh water poured by rivers into that inland sea. Hence, we may confidently infer that in the days of the aboriginal hunters and fishers, the ocean had freer access than now to the Baltic, communicating, probably, through the peninsula of Jutland, Jutland having been, at no remote period, an archipelago.'²

But we must pass on from the contemplation of oysters as they are found in geological strata, or in the shell-mounds of prehistoric times, to oysters of genuine history. The ancients, it is well known, were fully alive to the excellency of oysters, and ate them raw, or cooked in various ways, according to the tastes of the consumers. The Greek palate was not so sensitive to the good things of the table, nor so choice in its predilections as the Roman; yet we find various references to oysters in the works of Greek authors, although little interesting matter. Whether Homer was familiar with these delicacies or not is uncertain; he appears to have only one passage which may possibly contain an allusion to oysters. Patroclus, after having knocked a certain Trojan charioteer off his chariot with a stone, addresses him in not very polite language, as follows:—

' Good heavens! what active feats yon artist shows!
What skilful divers³ are our Phrygian foes!
Mark with what ease they sink into the sand,
Pity that all their practice is by land!'

¹ Tylor's *Early History of Mankind*.

² *Antiquity of Man*, p. 13.

³ The words *ῥήεα δειφῶν* are supposed to refer to oyster-catching, but *ῥήεα* is a word of uncertain meaning.

But that oysters were early used as food by the Greeks is evident from the fragments of Arcestratus that have come down to us. Arcestratus was a native of Gela or Syracuse, and lived about B.C. 370. He was a thorough epicure, and extremely fond of fish, and took so much pleasure in all that relates to 'the good things of life,' that he travelled through various countries in order that he might see what different animals different people ate, and report thereupon. That he thoroughly appreciated a snug dinner-party is evident from these lines:—

'I write these precepts for immortal Greece,
That round a table delicately spread,
Or three, or four, may sit in choice repast,
Or five at most. Who otherwise shall dine
Are like a troop marauding for their prey.'

He mentions different places as being famous for their production of various kinds of fish, especially shell-fish, as in the following lines:—

'Aenus has mussels fine, Abydos, too;
Is famous for its oysters; Parium produces
Crabs, the bears of the sea, and Mitylene periwinkles:
Ambracia in all kinds of fish abounds,
And the boar-fish sends forth: and in its narrow strait
Messene cherishes the largest cockles.
In Ephesus you shall catch chem which are not bad,
And Chalcedon will give you oysters (τῆθεα). But, my Jupiter,
Destroy the race of criers, both the fish born in the sea,
And those wretches which infest the city Forum;
All except one man, for he is a friend of mine,
Dwelling in Lesbos abounding in grapes, and his name is Agatho.'

Matron, a certain individual who wrote parodies, calls oysters 'the truffles of the sea,' by which comparison he meant to bestow high praise upon the dainty mollusc. Beyond the notices of oysters to be found in Athenæus, scarcely anything occurs in Greek authors. Aristotle speaks of them, but not in any way that deserves repetition.

Oysters were considered an article of great luxury amongst the Romans, and various tales are on record of the vast numbers consumed by the *gourmets* of imperial Rome. Pliny speaks of them as 'palma mensarum divitum' (*Nat. Hist.* xxxii. 6); he considered that the best kind came from Circeii ('his neque dulciora neque teneriora esse ulla compertum est'). The first person who established oyster-parks (*ostrearum vivaria*) was Sergius Orata, or, as his name is sometimes written, from his fondness for gold-fish it is said, S. Aurata.¹ He appears to have

¹ Others suppose he obtained this name from the large gold rings he used to wear. We would suggest another reason—he had plenty of money.

been a man of considerable ability and refinement, and a most successful breeder of oysters. Cicero, in a fragment preserved by Augustin, speaks of him as 'ditissimus, amoenissimus, deliciosissimus.' His oyster-parks were formed at Baia, in the Lucrine Lake, and the mode adopted by him for securing the oyster brood was probably similar to that now in vogue in the same locality. It was customary for the Romans to collect oysters from Brundisium, Tarentum, Cyzicum, and even from Britain, and to fatten them on the beds of the Lucrine Lake. Thorough epicures pretended to tell at first bite what localities the oysters came from:—

'Circeis nata forent an
Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo
Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu.'

In Macrobius (ii. 9), an express distinction is made between *ostreae crudæ*, which were handed to the guests before dinner, *quantum vellent*, and *patina ostrearum*, which was a warm dish prepared from oysters,—shall we call it a dish of oyster-scallops? A particular kind of bread was eaten with oysters, which was called *panis ostrearius*. Before the introduction of the British oysters from the shores of Kent, the Lucrine and the Circeian were in the highest request; but when the Roman palate became acquainted with the flavour of a real English 'native,' their own oysters had to yield the palm.

'From the fourth century to the reign of Louis iv. of France, the history of the oyster is a blank; but that king revived the taste for our favourite, and during his captivity in Normandy brought it again into request with his conqueror, Duke William. So, when the Normans invaded England under William the Conqueror,—the descendant of that Duke William, little more than a century later,—they were not long in finding out how much Kentish and Essex oysters were preferable to those of France.'¹

But let us turn to more practical matters. Mr. Gwyn Jeffreys, a high authority in all that relates to molluscos animals, enumerates five varieties of our common oyster, *Ostrea edulis*, namely,—*O. parasitica*, *O. hippopus*, *O. deformis*, *O. rutupina*, *O. tincta*. Var. 1 is found on shells, crabs, and other substances; the shell is small, flat, colour purplish or greenish-brown, with streaks of a darker hue radiating from the beaks. It has a more southern distribution than the other varieties. Var. 2 has a large and very thick shell; it occurs in deep water, and is solitary. Var. 3 has a small, distorted, and often nearly cylindrical shell; it occupies the crevices of rocks in the littoral or

¹ *The Oyster: When, How, and Where to Find, Breed, Cook, and Eat it*, pp. 24. London.

laminarian zones, and is called the 'rock oyster.' Some specimens, we are told, resemble a *gryphrea* in shape. Var. 4, with a small shell, transversely oval, and of a regular shape, is our true 'native,' from the coasts of Essex and North Kent, in a semi-cultivated state. Var. 5, with a flattened shell, and attached in every stage of growth, having its inside of a rich purplish-brown or olive-green, and the hinge-margins strongly crenulated, occurs in the west of Scotland, and in Burra, one of the Shetland Islands.

It is necessary to bear in mind the fact of the existence of different varieties of oysters, as all do not present precisely the same features in their habits and economy; some, for instance, spawning considerably earlier than others, some considerably later; hence the necessity of careful legislation, if legislation is necessary at all; but to this point we must return by and by. To the eye of the mere oyster-eater, this animal looks like a flabby mass of semi-animate matter, and perhaps he would be disinclined to credit an assertion that the oyster is possessed of mouth, stomach, and intestinal canal; that it has an appetite, and doubtless an appreciation for its food, which consists of minute organisms both of animal and vegetable nature; that it has a heart, and branchial vessels for the aeration of its blood, a nervous system, and organs for the increase of its race.

Oysters are hermaphrodite, and combine both sexes in one individual. Formerly very erroneous opinions prevailed upon this point, and there are even now writers who continue to assert that these mollusca are of two separate sexes. At the proper time of the year, oysters will be found to contain a quantity of milk-like fluid; this fluid consists of minute eggs and milt; from the ovaries the eggs pass into the folds of the gills, where they remain for some time, and become developed into small free embryos, with rudimentary shells or membranes, and having their upper parts covered with cilia, by the action of which the little animals are able to swim about in the water. It has been computed that two millions of these ciliated embryos may be produced by a single oyster, but few, comparatively speaking, grow up to oysterhood. Unless the embryos find suitable places of attachment, they either die or become a prey to numerous enemies. Hence in oyster-culture, the first essential condition is to secure good spatting-ground, with suitable places of attachment for the young fry. The French have adopted oyster-cultivation in different parts of their coasts, notably at Ile de Ré and St. Brieuc. The mode of oyster-breeding is 'to erect artificial pyramids of stones in the water, surrounded by stakes of wood in order to intercept the spawn, the oyster being laid down on the stones. Fagots of branches were also used to col-

lect the spawn, which requires, within forty-eight hours of its emission,¹ to secure a holding or place, or be lost for ever. The plan of the Fusaro (the ancient Avernus) oyster-breeders, struck M. Coste as being eminently practical, and suitable for imitation on the coasts of France. He had one of the stakes pulled up, and was gratified to find it covered with oysters of all ages and sizes. The Lake Fusaro system of cultivation was therefore, at the instigation of Professor Coste, strongly recommended for imitation by the French Government to the French people, as being the most suitable to follow, and experiments were at once entered upon with a view to prove whether it would be as practicable to cultivate oysters as easily among the agitated waves of the open sea as in the quiet waters of Fusaro. In order to settle this point, it was determined to renew the old oyster-beds in the Bay of St. Briec, and notwithstanding the fact that the water there is exceedingly deep, and the winds very violent, immediate and almost miraculous success was the result. The fascines laid down soon became covered with seed, and branches were speedily exhibited at Paris and other places, containing thousands of young oysters. The experiments in oyster-culture tried at St. Briec were commenced early in the spring of 1859, on part of a space of 3000 acres, that was deemed suitable for the reception of spat. A quantity of breeding-oysters, approaching to three millions, were laid down either in the old beds, or on newly-constructed longitudinal banks. These were sown thick on a bottom composed chiefly of immense quantities of old shells (the "middens" of Cancale in fact, where the shell accumulation had become a nuisance), so that there was a more than ordinary good chance for the spat finding at once a proper holding or place. Then, again, over some of the new banks, fascines, made of boughs tightly tied together, were sunk and chained over the beds, so as to intercept such portions of the spawn as were likely, upon rising, to be carried away by the force of the tide. In less than six months the success of the operation in the Bay of St. Briec was assured, for at the proper season a great fall of spawn was secured, and the bottom shells were covered with the spat, while the fascines were so thickly coated with young oysters, that an estimate of 20,000 for each fascine was not thought an exaggeration.²

Alas ! that the success detailed above is found to be so exceptional, as subsequent experiments both in England and on the Continent have shown. It is found that a good spatting season must not be looked for every year ; on the contrary, it seems that such seasons are quite the exception to the general rule, and it is to this reason that we must assign the scarcity of oysters the last few years, and the consequent exorbitant prices charged for natives. A great deal has been said about over-fishing. The assertion is easily made, but we have met with no proof that the beds are becoming exhausted from over-

¹ Mr. Buckland says twenty-two or twenty-seven days, but we consider he is in error here.

² Bertram's *Harvest of the Sea*, p. 350.

dredging. The Commissioners have, with their usual care, examined this part of the question, and have come, as we shall see, to a very different conclusion.

The most important French cultivation of oysters is carried on on the Ile de Ré, near La Rochelle, in the Bay of Biscay, where there are more *parcs* and *claires* than at Marennes, Arcachon, Concarneau, Cancale, and all the rest of the coast put together. 'It is curious,' says Mr. Bertram, 'to note the rapid growth of the industry of oyster-culture on the Isle de Ré. It was begun so recently as 1858, and there are now (1865) upwards of 4000 parks and claires upon its shores, and the people may be seen as busy in their fish-parks as the market-gardeners of Kent in their strawberry-beds.' The same writer informs us that oyster-farming on the Ile was inaugurated 'by a stonemason having the curious name of Beef,'—a circumstance, we may remark, which is suggestive of the connexion between rump-steaks and oyster-sauce!

'This shrewd fellow, who was a keen observer of nature, and had seen the oyster-spat grow to maturity, began thinking of oyster-culture simultaneously with Professor Coste, and wondering if it could be carried out on those portions of the public foreshore that were left dry by the ebb of the waters, he determined to try the experiment on a small scale, so as to obtain a practical solution of his idea, and with this view he enclosed a small portion of the foreshore of the island, by building a rough dyke about eighteen inches in height. In this park he laid down a few bushels of growing oysters, placing amongst them a quantity of large stones, which he gathered out of the surrounding mud. This initiatory experiment was so successful, that in the course of a year he was able to sell £6 worth of oysters from his stock. The result was, of course, very encouraging to the enterprising mason, and the money was just in a sense found money, for the oysters went on growing while he was at his work at his own proper business as a mason. Elated by the profit of his experiment, he proceeded to double the proportions of his park, and by that means more than doubled his oyster commerce, for in 1861 he was able to dispose of upwards of £20 worth, and this without impoverishing in the least degree his breeding-stock. He continued to increase the dimensions of his farm, so that by 1862 his sales had increased to £40. As might have been expected, Beef's neighbours had been carefully watching his experiments, uttering occasional sneers, no doubt, at his enthusiasm, but, for all that, quite ready to go and do likewise whenever the success of the industrious mason's experiments became sufficiently developed to show that they were profitable as well as practical. After Beef had demonstrated the practicability of oyster-farming, the extension of the system over the foreshores of the island, between Point de Rivedoux and Point de Lome, was rapid and effective, so much so, that 200 beds were conceded by the Govern-

ment previous to 1859, while an additional 500 beds were speedily laid down, and in 1860 large quantities of brood were sold to the oyster-farmers at Marennes, for the purpose of being manufactured into green oysters in their dairies on the banks of the river Seudre. . . . So rapid has been the progress of oyster-culture at the Ile de Ré, that what were formerly a series of enormous and unproductive mud-banks, occupying a stretch of shore about four leagues in length, are now so transformed, and the whole place so changed, that it seems the work of a miracle.¹

The success that has attended oyster-cultivation on the French coasts has induced similar attempts on portions of our own coasts, and companies have been formed for the purpose of breeding oysters at Herne Bay, Poole Bay, Hayling Island, and elsewhere; but success has not yet crowned the efforts of the cultivators, though the accounts of the last spatting season at Hayling Island were satisfactory:—

‘Hitherto it has been generally supposed,’ says the *Pall Mall Gazette*, ‘that the system of oyster-culture followed in France, and which has been so successful in many places in that country, was inapplicable to our waters. It was thought that the general temperature of the water was too low for the effective development of the process. Several partial attempts have been made to carry it out at various places on our coasts, but not only have they generally failed to give any successful results, but they have failed so completely, as to leave no encouragement whatever to the projectors to continue their attempts. These attempts, however, were probably made by persons who had but an imperfect knowledge of the French process, and who thus made some fatal oversight in the arrangement of their apparatus. It is satisfactory then to find that the system has been successfully carried out at Hayling Island. In the harbour there a company has become possessed of 900 acres of ground; this harbour being a great inlet of the sea, similar to that of Portland harbour, and situated at a few miles to the east of it. A large portion of the harbour has been cut off by the embankment of the railway, which runs from the mainland to the south of Hayling Island, and within this is situated the 900 acres referred to; the embankment, by the aid of sluices, giving the company a perfect command over the water supply. Parts of the ground have been divided off and set apart for various purposes, some for parcs and spawning grounds, some for growing and fattening grounds, others for the cultivation of other molluscs than oysters, or the more valuable crustaceæ, and others as *viviers* for fish. Hitherto, however, the company have only had two branches of these undertakings, those which would be most likely to pay well if they succeeded. The one is oyster and the other lobster breeding. For the latter purpose, the company had a suitable reservoir constructed, and stocked it towards the end of the season with a score or two of breeding lobsters, and the result is that they have now in their ponds

¹ *Harvest of the Sea*, pp. 352-4.

thousands of small lobsters, passing through the unprofitable stages of babyhood. The oyster-parc has been made on the side of the old Salterns, oysters being laid down, and collecting-tiles placed to receive the spat in the most favourable positions. It is scarcely a month since the oysters commenced to throw out the spat, but already the collecting-tiles have been covered with the young oysters. The embryo taking to the tiles, and fixing itself firmly to them without difficulty, the tiles are covered with oysters; the number of which may be imagined, when we say that there are about twenty-six oysters to every square inch of tile. The experiment has been carried out at a small expenditure (four acres only out of the 900 having been occupied by the present parc), and the produce promises to be considerable; which is something to the general public, if it leads to other enterprises of the same kind, and a downfall in the price of oysters.' ¹

The success of the Hayling Island experiments is most encouraging, and if care is taken to secure other parcs as favourably situated, there is good reason to hope for more satisfactory results than have hitherto attended oyster cultivation. We must become better acquainted with the natural history of oysters before we can determine the causes of failures, which have been so universal the last few years. As Mr. Frank Buckland says, we must first of all consider the amount of failure, to know what we have to combat; (2d) the nature of the young oyster or spat, and the conditions favourable or unfavourable for its development; (3d) the necessary requirements for the adult oyster; (4th) the various operations necessary for the cultivation of oysters both by the natural and by the so-called artificial methods; (5th) the enemies of the oyster. On the subject of the general failure, the same writer remarks that it is most mysterious on account of its universality, 'for it has extended not only to the celebrated breeding-beds in comparatively shallow water on the south coast of England, but also to the beds at the mouth of the Thames, both north and south of the estuary. Then, again, we find that the beds in the deep sea are equally affected, and that the oyster-beds in France have also failed.' The beds off Jersey can be hardly said to exist, a colony of shells (crow-oysters) having taken their place. The oyster-beds on the west coast of Ireland have terribly fallen off in their supply of young oysters; nor are the beds on the east coast in a very different condition:—

'These are the facts we have to deal with, and the first thing we must observe is, the immensity of space over which the cause (whatever it may be) has extended; we must, therefore, while collecting

¹ Since the above was written we have read a short pamphlet on *Successful Oyster Culture*, by Harry Lobb, Esq., Director of the South of England Oyster Company, in which much valuable information is given.

facts and observations at individual localities, not forget to take a large view of things, and look in the first instance for some *one great cause* which must be taken into consideration with the many minor causes, though I am of opinion that the minor causes in many instances are but of secondary importance.'

It is interesting to note that Mr. Frank Buckland, who has paid so much attention to the oyster question, is not an advocate for the over-dredging theory. He says,—

'I am aware that it has gone forth to the world that over-dredging is the cause of failure. I at once place myself in the position of a man fixed for his sins in the pillory, and in spite of the numerous arguments and theories which I expect will come spinning through the air at my devoted head, at once give out that I am opposed to the over-dredging theory, and that, if it has any influence at all, it must be placed in the number of the minor causes.'

On the failure of oysters on the French coasts the last few years, Mr. Buckland assured himself by a personal visit to La Rochelle and the Ile de Ré; and he has tabulated the fall of spat as it occurred in France and the mouth of the Thames during several consecutive years as follows:—

		FRANCE.			MOUTH OF THAMES.
1858,	. .	Good,	. .		Good.
1859,	. .	Good,	. .		Good.
1860,	. .	Very good,	. .		Very good.
1861,	. .	Good,	. .		Good.
1862,	. .	Bad,	. .		Bad.
1863,	. .	Bad,	. .		Bad.
1864,	. .	Bad,	. .		Bad.
1865,	. .	No information,	. .		Better.

In considering the question of frequent failures of the spatting of oysters, we must take into account the *a priori* probability, and indeed necessity, of occasional failures; for, as Mr. Buckland has well said,

'in all cases where animals multiply their species at a very great rate, and each individual brings forth its thousands, we find that on the other side of the balance-sheet there are a proportionate number of enemies, be they animate or inanimate, ever present to keep under the species, and prevent them multiplying in an undue ratio.'

Again, if the fall of spat took place every year, previous years' young would be destroyed by the crowded overgrowth of several consecutive spatting, and the result would end in the extinction of the species; so we may see, as Mr. Buckland observes, 'how beneficial it is that there should be periodical successive years of failure, for the new generations to have time to grow and become adult creatures.' What the particular

conditions are, indispensable to secure a good spat, as yet remains a matter of doubt, but it would seem that warm calm weather is an essential requisite. The foreman of the Whitstable Company informed the Commissioners that 'they do not expect a good spatting season oftener than once in every ten years, and that a good season has generally been followed by one or two seasons of moderate spat, but that one good season would supply them with sufficient brood for six or seven years.' He also asserted that on one occasion within his recollection there was no spat upon the flats for thirteen consecutive years.

With respect to the laws regulating the oyster-fisheries, the Commissioners have proved that they are in the same uncertain and unsatisfactory state as those regulating the other fisheries. The following articles of the Convention Act have reference to oyster-fishing:—

'XLV. Oyster-fishing shall open on the 1st of September, and shall close on the 30th of April.

'XLVI. From the 1st of May to the 30th of August, no boat shall have on board any dredge or other implement whatever for catching oysters.

'XLVII. It is forbidden to dredge oysters between sunset and sunrise.

'XLVIII. The fishermen shall cull the oysters on the fishing-ground, and shall immediately throw back into the sea all oysters less than two and a half inches (six centimètres French) in the greatest diameter of the shell, and also all sand, gravel, and fragments of shells.

'XLIX. It is forbidden to throw into the sea, or oyster-fishing grounds, the ballast of boats, or any other thing whatsoever which might be detrimental to the oyster-fishing.'

It will be remembered that great uncertainty prevails with regard to the operation of the Convention Act, and 'that there is much difference of opinion among the legal advisers of the Crown as to the limits within which this Act operates, whether it has, in fact, any operation within the three-mile limit from the shores of this country,—the better opinion being that it has no operation within the aforesaid limit.'¹

The regulations, however, were enforced within the three-mile limit, and the injurious effects thereof were soon felt by the fishermen of Kent and Essex, who from time immemorial had been in the habit of fishing on the 'flats' in the estuary of the Thames, and on the grounds off the coast of Essex, for brood to stock their beds. Owners of private beds also com-

¹ *Sea-Fisheries Report*, p. lxiii.

plained, and with great justice ; for if the Convention Act was interpreted to apply within the three-mile limit, they were forbidden to dredge and clear their beds during the summer months. In consequence, therefore, of these complaints, and of legal difficulties which arose in the prosecution of persons for dredging in the harbours, the Board of Trade in 1847 consulted the law-officers of the Crown, and gave directions to the Customs ‘not to enforce for the present the regulations of the Convention with respect to oyster-fishing in any portion of the sea within three miles of the east coasts, or in any of the bays or estuaries thereof.’ They said that it ‘was not the intention of either of the parties to the Convention to make regulations binding on the coast-fisheries of the other, except so far as might be necessary to secure the observation of the regulations applicable to the sea common to both ; and that, as regards the seas not common to both, it would be desirable to enforce the regulations to such an extent, and to such an extent only, as might be most consistent with the permanent interests of the fishermen on different parts of the coast.’ With respect to other parts of the coasts of the United Kingdom, the regulations were to be enforced unless the interests of the fisheries should require their relaxation. In 1852, in consequence of the French Government having called on the English Government for a strict execution of the Convention regulations as regards the oyster-fisheries, a close-time was generally enforced upon the fishermen of Jersey, and instructions given to the Custom authorities, the Coast-guard, and Channel cruisers, to carry out the Close-Time Act most strictly, ‘not only outside the three-mile limit, but also within that limit, with the exception of the beds on the east coast,’ where the people appear to have enjoyed perfect freedom,—dredging, moving, or selling their oysters exactly as they pleased. Let us see what was the effect of this close-time. The Commissioners say :—

‘The enforcement of the close-season worked a revolution in the oyster trade. It had been the practice on the beds off Jersey, and off the south coast generally, and in most of the bays, to dredge throughout the summer for the oyster brood ; the small oysters thus taken were laid down in beds along the south coast, at Langston Harbour, Chichester Harbour, Newhaven and Shoreham, and to the eastward, on beds in the mouth of the Thames, and comparatively few oysters came to market which had not lain a year at least on some one of these beds. It is alleged by many of the witnesses examined by us on this subject, that the effect of discontinuing dredging during the summer months has been to do far more injury than good ; that it has allowed weeds and slub to accumulate on the ground, which, under the

old system, were prevented from settling on the ground to the same extent; that the spat falling upon this foul ground has been choked by weeds and mud, and that consequently the oyster-beds have almost disappeared.'

In 1855 another Act (18 and 19 Vict. c. 101) was passed, in consequence of the difficulty in enforcing the regulation; as no power had been granted to the Customs officers to destroy the oysters found on board fishing-boats during the fence-months.

'The first section of this Act provides that any officer, when he boards any British fishing-vessel to examine whether the fishing regulations are complied with, may seize and throw overboard or destroy any oysters found on board such vessel at any time between the 1st of May and the 31st of August, and may seize and dispose of dredges and other implements for catching oysters found on board such vessel, or found sunk in, or floating upon the seas during the time aforesaid; and the second section provides that no oysters taken in the seas between the United Kingdom and France shall be imported into or landed in the United Kingdom between the 1st of May and the 31st of August, and that any oysters imported or landed between such days from any vessel employed in fishing in the said seas, shall be deemed to be oysters taken and imported contrary to the provisions of the Act, unless the contrary be proved, and that oysters which it is attempted so to land may be destroyed.'

The question as to the operation of this Act within the three-mile limit is as much a matter of doubt as the Convention Act, although some have supposed that this Act had the effect of extending the operation of the Convention Act, and enforcing the close-time within the three-mile limit.

'Like the Convention Act, the Act of 1855 was passed for the purpose of executing more effectually the convention between the two countries, and it does not in express words extend any of its regulations to the seas within the three-mile limit. The words "seas between the United Kingdom and France" occur in both Acts, and if, in the Convention Act, they exclude the seas within the three-mile limit, they do so equally in the latter Act. Such being the case, only those dredges may be seized which have been used during the close-season beyond the three-mile limit; and though oysters imported, or landed, from any vessel employed beyond the limit during the close-season, are to be deemed to have been taken beyond the limit, unless the contrary be proved, yet where it is proved that the oysters were taken within the three-mile limit, the Act does not apply. If this view be correct, then neither under this Act, nor under the Convention Act, can the close-time for oysters be enforced by law within the limit of three miles from low-water mark, or in those bays which are not more than ten miles across.'

Notwithstanding the evident uncertainty of these Acts, as

regards their operation within the three-mile limit, and notwithstanding the absence of any subsequent well-defined Act on this point, instructions, we are told, have been given to Naval and Customs officers on the south coast to carry out the close-time strictly, both within and without the three-mile limit, to seize the dredges and oysters of all persons found dredging in the four close-months—May, June, July, and August—in all places, with exception of the estuary of the Thames, and some parts within ‘three miles of the east coast north of the Foreland.’

In 1857, in consequence of complaints from the owners of private beds, an Order in Council was passed, directing the officers of Customs and Coast-guard not to interfere with the action of the owners of private beds within the British limits, as far as relates to the preservation, propagation, and removal of oysters. The owners themselves were not to work the beds, except for the purpose of cleaning them and removing the oysters during the close-months, and then not without a special license; oysters were not to be removed from bed to bed without a license ‘addressed by the collector of the port where they are dredged, to the collector of the port where they are deposited;’ which rules were to apply to the removal of oysters lawfully dredged in Ireland to the coasts of England.

‘As might be expected from the account of the legislation which has taken place respecting oyster-fisheries, we found,’ say the Commissioners, ‘everywhere great uncertainty existing as to the state of the law on this subject. On the Essex coast the fishermen are under the impression that they have a right to dredge for oysters anywhere north of a line drawn from the North Foreland to Dunkirk. They state that such a line was drawn for them some few years ago by the Board of Trade, and that they were told that beyond that line they were free from the restrictions of the Convention. It seems that latterly the Government have insisted on stopping dredging north of the line, except within the three-mile limit, but the Colchester men told us they had challenged the Government to send a vessel out after them; and an action in the matter is, we believe, now pending.’

As evidence of the injurious effect of the uncertain nature of the law upon the interests of the oyster-trade, the Commissioners cite the statements of the Colchester dredgers:—

‘The commander of one cutter will come on board a vessel and say, “You ought only to have oysters of such a size;” and another will say, “You ought not to have a dredge on board;” a third, that we ought not to be here, and the next, that we ought not to be there. Another one says we have no business to go to Burnham for oysters, and what with all these different opinions, we never know what we ought to do. In point of fact, the interference to which we are subjected here has regularly paralysed our trade.’

Again—

‘The Government have taken so much advantage of us that our business has been almost paralysed. We are obliged to act contrary to the law; if we did not we should starve, and should have to seek some other mode of gaining a living.’

The legislation in Ireland with regard to oysters, although it differs for different parts of the coast, has, we are told, ‘the merit of being certain.’ May 1st to September 1st are close-months, and oysters are prohibited from being taken, but the Act (5 and 6 Vict. c. 106) makes no restriction as to size. The Convention Act is suspended by Order in Council from operation on the Coast of Ireland; and there are Fishery Commissioners who have passed bye-laws with respect to certain oyster fisheries off their coast.

‘The clearly determinable results of legislation respecting oysters’ have been thus summed up by the Royal Commissioners :—

‘1. That round the English and Scotch coasts, and outside the three-mile limit, a close-time is to be observed; oysters less than 2½ inches in diameter may not be taken, and all sand, gravel, and fragments of shell must be thrown back into the sea; ballast or other detrimental matter must not be thrown on oyster fishing-grounds; and dredging must not take place between sunset and sunrise.

‘2. That, on the supposition that the Convention Act applies only to the seas between the fishery limits of the two countries, oyster-fishing is free from regulations within the three-mile limit, and in the bays of England and Scotland.

‘3. That Dutch fishermen, and fishermen of other nations, not parties to the Convention, may dredge oysters when, where, and how they please.

‘4. That, on the above supposition as to the Convention Act, if oysters are landed during the close-time, they are liable to seizure, unless the holder can prove that they have been taken within the three-mile limit.

‘5. That in Ireland the taking of oysters during the close-season within the three-mile limit is illegal, but that the Convention Act being suspended outside the three-mile limit, a question would arise whether the taking of oysters outside the limit is subject to any restrictions.

‘6. That where the Irish Fishery Commissioners have given leave to remove oysters within the three-mile limit, such removal is lawful; but that elsewhere the dredging up of oysters, even on private grounds, is illegal.

‘7. That within the same limits in Ireland there is no restriction as to the size of the oysters permitted to be taken, except where the Commissioners have made a bye-law.

‘8. That in Ireland the Fishery Commissioners have power to grant licenses for the formation of oyster-beds; but that in England there is

no such power in any public department, and that no grant of exclusive fishing can be made without an Act of Parliament.'

Extensive oyster-beds outside the three-mile limit are found in deep water, from fifteen to twenty-four fathoms, in all parts of the Channel between Dunkirk and Cherbourg, on the east coast of England near Great Grimsby, at Arklow on the east coast of Ireland, and at Wexford.

These deep-sea oysters are large and coarse when first taken, but improve on being laid down on beds inshore for a short time. They are familiar to every one, being extensively hawked about at fairs and races throughout the country, and piles of them meet the eye of every passer near the Liverpool Docks and at the street-corners. The Jersey dredgers, we are told, since the deep Channel beds have been discovered, have devoted themselves entirely to these banks; the oysters are very abundant, 'and at present' (1866) 'show no signs of giving way.' In consequence of these oysters being inhabitants of the deep sea, they will not stand a winter on the Kentish beds, where the temperature is variable. About three hundred vessels, each of about twenty-five tons, and carrying six men, are employed in this work.

'They hail generally from Colchester, Rochester, and Jersey, but they take their produce to Shoreham, Newhaven, and to the beds at the mouth of the Thames. During the open months the beds at these places are stocked with a supply sufficient to last, as far as possible, through the close-season; and the supply only ceases when the oysters become sick from spawning, when they will not bear carriage; the oysters are then kept back for about a month, and are not sent to market again till the spawning is over.'

With respect to the advantage to the beds of dredging during May and June, the Commissioners say that they found it everywhere the opinion of fishermen engaged in the deep-sea dredging, that these two months might be added to the open season, on the ground that the oysters are never in better condition than they are in May and June; that if permitted to dredge them, the fishermen would be able to bring in much greater supplies, as they are often prevented during the open months by bad weather from dredging in such exposed grounds. And again, the fishermen maintain that dredging the ground during May and June would prevent the growth of weed, and prepare it for the reception of spat. The dredges, of which there are four to each boat, have rings $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, so that few very small oysters are taken. The regulation of the Convention Act forbidding to dredge between sunset and sunrise is not observed by the Jersey fishermen, who dredge day and night

during the fine winter nights. French oyster-dredgers are also engaged in these beds, but no conflicts between them and the English boats occur.

The deep-sea bed near Great Grimsby is situated ten or twelve miles from the shore off Spurn Point, and is worked by the Colchester boats during the summer months, the men declaring they have the permission of the Government to do so, which the Commissioners do not credit. They affirm they must dredge during the summer months on account of the exposed nature of the ground in winter, and its being very heavy to work at that time. The large oysters from the Arklow beds are not fit for immediate consumption; large numbers of them are sent to Beaumaris, where we have ourselves frequently seen them, and form the chief supply of Liverpool and the manufacturing districts during the summer months. The Arklow fishermen are allowed to dredge in the month of May, with the restriction, however, that the oysters are to be sent to replenish private beds. The Arklow beds extend south a distance of thirty-six miles, and join with those opposite to Wexford.

The oyster-beds which lie within the three-mile limit may be conveniently considered under two heads:—1. Those which have never observed a close-season, and where no restriction as to size has ever been attempted. 2. Those in which a close-time is everywhere strictly enforced, both within and without the three-mile limit. Under 1 are classed the oyster-beds of Kent and Essex, chiefly in the estuary of the Thames. Under 2 are to be enumerated the beds on the south and west coasts of England, in the Solent, Portland Bay, Falmouth Harbour, Milford Haven, Swansea Bay, and Carnarvon Bay; in Ireland, those of Clew Bay, Sligo, Tralee, Loch Foyle, Belfast Lough, and Carlingford; in Scotland, of Loch Ryan, and the Forth. Of the two different and opposite methods pursued, which is the best calculated to produce the greatest number of oysters for the consumers? The first-named system is a very ancient one, while the other, which prevails in most of the bays and inshore beds on the coasts of England and Ireland, does not date before the Convention Act (1839), and in some cases not before the enforcement of that Act, which, as we have seen, took place in 1852.

Now, in the fisheries of the estuary of the Thames, the fishermen from time immemorial have been in the habit of dredging the open or public grounds for 'brood,' that is to say, the young oysters of from half an inch to one inch in diameter, at any season of the year. This brood is then deposited in the private beds along the coast of Kent and Essex.

'Of these private oyster-fisheries, the most important are the Whit-

stable and Faversham fisheries on the Kentish coast at the mouth of the Swale, and the Colchester and Burnham fisheries in the rivers Colne and Crouch; and there are numerous other grounds on the Essex coast, in the estuaries of the rivers Crouch, Roach, Colne, Stour, and Orwell, and on the Kentish coast in the Medway and Swale. The public grounds from which these beds are supplied with brood lie off the Kentish coast on what are called the Flats, from near the Isle of Sheppy to Margate, and off the Essex coast from the entrance of the river Crouch to Harwich. The Blackwater river, which is a considerable expanse of water, is also open ground.'

What would be the effect upon these private oyster-fisheries if the Convention Act were strictly enforced upon the public grounds which supply the brood? The Commissioners say, that they found it to be the universal opinion of the fishermen in those parts of the coast, that the enforcement of the Act 'would be fatal to the general prosperity of the dredgers, and to the interests of the private companies.' They give the following reasons:—

'1. If the brood were left on the open grounds, a very small portion of it would come to maturity, or reach the market as large oysters. The question is asked—

'58,200. What would be the effect of carrying out the Convention Act, and preventing you from dredging for young oysters in the close-months?—If we were prevented from working on the ground in the close-months, it would materially injure us no doubt. It is very possible that it might be the occasion of our losing a great portion of our oysters. There is no telling when the vermin would set in. Whenever a bed of five-fingers [the star-fish] moves and settles itself upon the oysters, there they lie, and destroy everything before them unless they are removed.

'59,747. I know a case in which a bed of oysters was found in the Channel. It was at the end of the season, and they were very small, so the persons who found them thought they would not go for the purpose of catching them until the commencement of the following season; but when they went, they found that they were all dead, having been killed by the five-fingers.

'2. Oysters which have reached $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter on the open grounds never are so delicate as those which have been raised from brood on the private grounds; and therefore, if the taking of such brood were prevented, the markets would be supplied with an inferior article.

'3. On the private beds great care is taken of the brood thus secured, so that one good spatting season will supply the private ground with sufficient brood to keep up a constant supply of large oysters for four or five years, and thus the supply of "natives" is husbanded, and bad breeding seasons are compensated.

'4. Dredging during the summer months prepares the ground for

the reception of spat. If there were no dredging during the months of May and June, there would be a growth of weed and a collection of mud which would unfit the ground for the reception of spat; and it is not to be expected that men will dredge their open grounds during the summer, unless they are permitted to sell what they take up.

'5. The summer months are those in which the brood is most easily dredged. "Although one might think," says Mr. Nichols, the foreman of the Whitstable Company, "that under water the weather would make no difference to the ground, that is not really the case. It is only when the weather is warm that the ground is loose, and we may then catch brood in a spot where we could not catch it at all in the winter. In the winter-time the ground is quite close and hard, and we cannot catch it at all."

'6. Where the prosperity of the oyster-beds requires that for a short period after the spat has been deposited there should be no dredging, lest the young oysters should be injured by the dredge, the fishermen themselves, without any legislative restrictions, abstain from working, in part from a sense of their own interest, and in part because the owners of private beds would refuse to buy brood of them at such a time.'

The following account of the fishery of the celebrated Whitstable Company, the most important of the private oyster-fisheries in the estuary of the Thames, and perhaps the most productive oyster-bed in the world, will be read with interest:—

'This fishery lies immediately off Whitstable, and is protected from the easterly winds by a spit of sand which runs out from the shore for a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Inside of this, the ground which belongs to the Company is about two miles in extent each way, but at present not more than two square miles are cultivated. Except during very extraordinary tides, the beds are never uncovered at low water, the depth not falling below from four to six feet. From this comparatively small piece of ground the produce of oysters is very considerable. The Company is an ancient corporation of fishermen, in the nature of a guild, and is probably an example of the ancient guilds which were formerly so common in this country. They had from time immemorial been working on their present ground, but in the year 1793 they were empowered by Parliament to purchase the exclusive right of fishing from the lord of the manor on the ground where previously they appear to have been only customary tenants. At that time they were only thirty-six in number, and they had to borrow a sum of £20,000, which was subsequently increased to £30,000, for the purchase of the ground, and for stocking it with brood. Their numbers are now increased to 408, including widows, and of these about 300 are working members. They have succeeded in paying off their debt. Their annual receipts are now sufficient to enable them to lay out a great amount of money in the purchase of brood, and they have a stock of oysters in hand which is valued at a very large sum. At the

commencement of the season of 1862-63 their stock was valued at £400,000, and during the season they sold oysters of the value of £90,000. The Company is governed by a foreman, deputy-foreman, treasurer, and a jury of twelve; the officers are elected by the whole body, and the jury is nominated by the officers. The only persons who have a right to become members of the Company are the sons of dredgermen. The officers and jury decide what shall be the quantity of oysters dredged up and sold in the market, and what amount of brood shall be bought, and how much shall be paid to the members for work done for the Company. The rate of wages varies according to the quantity sold and the price of oysters; on the average of the last eighteen years the rate of pay to the members has been 23s. per week; the last few years it has been considerably more; and a bonus was divided in 1863 of £20, and in 1864 of £16; so that the amount each member has received during the last twelve months has been altogether £100. The widows of members are also entitled to one-third of the pay which working members get. Between £33,000 and £34,000 has been paid over by the Company to its members in the course of one year. For this pay the average work performed by the dredgermen, during the open season, when they are engaged in dredging up oysters for sale in the market, is about two hours a day; and during the close-season, when they are occupied in dredging and clearing the ground, and moving and separating the oysters, four hours a day. The rest of their time is generally occupied in dredging the "Flats" for brood, which they sell to the Company for laying down; and in good years they often make more by work outside than they receive from the Company itself in wages.

'There is no legal close-time for these beds, but it has been the practice of the Company, from time immemorial, to observe a close-time of their own; they cease dredging for oysters for market every year, on a day fixed by the jury—usually about the 9th of May—and commence again about the 3d of August. During this period, though no oysters are supplied to the London market, the men are constantly employed in dredging, for the purpose of cleaning the ground, preventing the accumulation of mud and weeds, killing the enemies of the oyster—such as five-fingers and mussels,—and separating the larger from the smaller oysters: the larger are set apart on a portion of the ground, from which the market is supplied during the open season. The dredging goes on throughout the close-season, with the exception of an interval of a month, usually in June or July, when the spat is observed settling on the beds; whenever this is ascertained, the fishermen leave off dredging, on the ground that the dragging of the dredge over the young oysters before they are sufficiently formed may be injurious. Mr. Nichols, the foreman, informed us that they generally find that they have a good spat on their grounds in years when a good spat is found on the open ground outside; but that, when there is no spat outside, neither is there any to be found on their own ground. They have had no good spat on their grounds, nor has any been observed on the flats, since the year 1858.'

In that year, we are told, the spat was very abundant, and the great quantities of brood which were secured in that and the three following years formed the stock from which the market has ever since been supplied. A return of the quantities of spat yearly bought by this Company, the price paid for it, and the quantity and price of full-grown oysters sent to market, which the Commissioners give, shows the extent of trade in oysters carried on by the Whitstable Company alone. From it is also seen the considerable variations in the quantities and prices of brood obtained from the flats and the Essex beds, the different prices per bushel of 'natives' sold, which in 1865, in consequence of the great scarcity, rose as high as £6 per bushel.¹

The oyster-beds on the south coast of England have, the last few years, yielded very poor returns; everywhere there has been a great scarcity of oysters. The fishermen, who dredge the beds in shallow water, and in bays on other parts of the coast, are, with few exceptions, in favour of a close-season. They attribute the falling off of the oysters to over-dredging, or to the taking of oysters of too small a size. 'They are opposed to the taking of small oysters for the purpose of laying them down on beds distant from their own neighbourhood, though they are not generally opposed to move them for the purpose of laying them down on beds of their own.'

In favour of a close-season must be mentioned the name of Mr. Ffennell, a gentleman who has paid considerable attention to these and kindred subjects, and who was for several years one of the sea-fishery inspectors for Ireland. Mr. Ffennell thinks the establishment of a close-season on the oyster-fisheries in the bays and loughs of Ireland has been beneficial; but it appears that the Irish beds have not suffered as the English beds have done *from the failure of spat*,—a most important consideration, and one which, we are persuaded, lies at the bottom of the whole question. A considerable business is carried on in Irish oysters, and great quantities are sent to Liverpool, London, and other towns. As far as quality goes, it would no doubt be considered an unpardonable gastronomic heresy to say that the Carlingford oyster is equal in flavour to a real 'native,' but the Carlingford oyster, in our opinion, though not so delicious as a 'native,' is the very best attainable substitute. The present price of these oysters is considerably less than that of the 'natives.'² The open-season at Carlingford is reduced to

¹ The average price of native oysters is about £2 per bushel.

² We paid for Carlingford oysters, in Liverpool, in October last, at the rate of 1s. 8d. and 1s. 10d. per score. Natives were, and are, 2s. 6d. per score.

four months, and the regulations as to size are duly enforced. There are 220 boats and 460 men now employed in this fishery, as compared with 357 boats and 887 men employed some thirty years ago; but for a lengthened period it is alleged that the oysters completely disappeared from the Lough, owing, as the Commissioners were told by the fishermen, to a great gale which smothered the oysters with sand, and they have only reappeared within the last three or four years.

Scotland is not celebrated for its oyster-fisheries, the only important beds there being in the Forth and Loch Ryan.¹ These beds are owned by private individuals, and the fishermen pay for a license to dredge. In the Forth the close-season is from April 30th to September 1st, and small oysters are not allowed to be taken, but there is difficulty in enforcing the restriction. In Loch Ryan only twelve boats are allowed to dredge in September, and twenty-four during the remainder of the open season; the dredgermen pay to the owner £5 a month for each boat.

That the enforcement of a close-time in the open grounds is not only unnecessary, but may be positively injurious, is insisted on by many competent witnesses examined by the Commissioners. The evils that would result are mainly these two:—(1.) The mud and weed would so accumulate as to destroy the oysters, unless removed from time to time during the summer months. (2.) Constant working the beds is necessary in order to destroy the five-fingers, mussels, whelk-tingles, and other enemies of the oyster. On these two points one of the witnesses remarks—(1.) That the ground, upon which freshets are constantly coming, and bringing sullage with them, requires constant clearing; that a heavy gale of wind will come on, and roll up the oysters in a ridge three feet deep. If the beds are worked after this gale, the oysters would be all spread over the ground again in the course of a few days, and the mud would be dispersed, whereas if the beds are not worked, fresh accumulations of mud would settle about the ridge and choke the oysters; and (2.) That mussels, if allowed to get amongst the oysters, would soon smother them; that the five-fingers sometimes come in upon the beds like a swarm of bees, completely filling the ground, and that they would soon eat up the spat unless the ground was repeatedly dredged:—

‘There is one kind which will eat an oyster itself; yet it is a singular thing with regard to them, that after they have been dredged for a time they roll themselves up and float away; so much is that the case, that in places where the fishermen have caught ten bushels of five-fingers one day, they will go out the next day and not catch one.

¹ We speak of the quantity, not the quality of Scotch oysters; the ‘*Pandores*’ of Prestonpans are in high repute.

If, during the close-months, the fishermen were unable to dredge, of course it would follow that the five-fingers would soon clear the oysters off the beds.'

If, then, as the Commissioners truly remark, we look at the action and interaction of mussels and star-fish alone, without considering any other of the numerous active and passive enemies of the oyster, we cannot help being struck by the great complexity of the conditions upon which the prosperity of an oyster-bed depends.

But let us look at the arguments which are adduced in favour of a close-time. It is maintained by its advocates—

- (1.) That during close-time the oysters are unfit for food.
- (2.) That dredging over the beds will crush and destroy the young spat.
- (3.) That if the oysters are taken while breeding, the supply must soon come to an end.

But it does not appear that a single one of these statements can be accepted as valid. As to the first, it is 'generally agreed that not more than 20 per cent., or thereabouts, of the oysters are ever spawning at once; at least 80 per cent., even at the worst of times, being eatable and in good condition.' Indeed, there is considerable difference as to the time of spawning; the deep-sea oysters are certainly later than the 'natives,' and those which inhabit more shallow water. Mr. F. Buckland has found an oyster in spawn as late as the 9th of November; and the Danish naturalist Krøyer, who undertook an official examination of the Danish oyster-beds, found not more than one oyster in ten spatting even in July and August. As to the second objection, the testimony of several practical oyster-cultivators is averse to it. 'We find,' says Mr. Wiseman, 'that the more we work the ground when the spat is falling, the more spat we have, and there is a friend of mine who works all the year round, and he has more spat than I have.' Moreover, those who have been in the habit of dredging for marine animals are well aware that they bring up delicately-organized creatures from the bottom of the sea without inflicting any injury upon them. Again, the Commissioners say,—

'It is rare for the spatting to take place early in May, and if it does, as the young oysters swim about for twenty-two to twenty-seven days, dredging over the beds cannot possibly do them harm for the greater part, if not the whole, month of May; while if, as is more usual, the spatting does not occur until June, July, or even August or September, not only may dredging during these months be totally innocuous to the spat, on account of its not having settled, but on the theory that dredging over the spat is injurious, great damage may be done in the two first of the *open* months.'

As to the third argument for close-time, that if oysters are taken while breeding, the supply will soon become exhausted, 'those who employ it leave out of sight the fact, that oysters are taken before they breed as well as after they breed; if a sheep-master own a hundred ewes, all of which will lamb next February, it will make not the smallest difference to the increase of his flock whether he destroys ten of these ewes this July, or leaves them till they are just about to bring forth at the end of next January. The increase altogether depends on the absolute number of ewes which are allowed to bring forth and rear their young. So with an oyster-bed. Other circumstances being alike, the supply of oysters in the bed will depend upon the total number allowed to shed their spawn during the breeding-season.'

As with salt-water fish generally, their amazing fertility renders man's agency, whether for good or evil, altogether inappreciable, so it is with oysters.

'If the conditions for the development of the spat are favourable, it is produced on so enormous a scale that any check exerted by human influence is altogether insignificant; while, on the other hand, if these conditions are unfavourable, man is, in nine cases out of ten, powerless to effect them. Something he may do by clearing away weed and mud, and checking the growth of mussels and the depredations of five-fingers; but how is he to deal with changes of temperature, with gales of wind, with the multitudes of marine animals which prey upon the oyster-spat in all its stages, or with the currents which, by being a little swifter or a little slower than usual, or by deviating a few points from their ordinary course, may carry millions upon millions of nascent oysters upon sands or mud unfitted for their development?'

'Oysters,' says Pliny, 'are all the better for travelling and being conveyed to new waters; the oysters of Brundisium, when fed in the waters of Avernus, are considered to retain their own native juices, and to acquire the flavour of those of the Lucrine Lake.' This is quite true, and modern oyster-cultivators improve the quality and enhance the value of the fish by removing them to new water and other localities.

'The general state of the case is this: if the oysters are thrown back again on to their native beds, they will, at the end of two years, supposing them to survive the ravages of their enemies, be worth a certain price per bushel; if they are removed to beds in their own neighbourhood, they will be secure from danger, and they will increase in value about a third, while, if they are removed to the Thames beds, which are still better adapted for improving their quality, they will increase in value as much as 50 per cent.'

With respect, therefore, to the prohibition of taking small oysters from public grounds, and transferring them to distant private beds, although it is natural that the fishermen should

complain at beholding the small oysters removed from beds whereon they have been in the habit of dredging to other localities where they have no such right, yet if it be an established fact, and there can be no doubt of it, that oysters thus transferred do improve in quality, and consequent value, then it is the interest of the public that such removals should take place. 'Suppose, for example, that 1000 bushels of small oysters of about an inch to an inch and a half in diameter, be dredged up in Falmouth Harbour or in the Solent, is it better for the public that they should be thrown back again on to their native beds, or removed to the beds at the mouth of the Thames, or laid down on local beds near the places where they were dredged up?' The Commissioners therefore are in favour of removing every restriction upon such transfer; the only regulation that ought to be observed being that the minimum size should not be above that at which the oysters are capable of bearing carriage.

The Commissioners very strongly recommend that every encouragement should be given to the formation of private beds in all parts of the country, to which the small oysters, wherever and whenever they are dredged by the fishermen on open grounds, may be transferred, and there cultivated and protected till they are sufficiently grown for the market. They think that the maintenance of a continuous supply of oysters to the market to a great extent depends on this system being extended. It will not do to apply to public grounds the same regulations or the same system which are observed on private beds, and for this simple reason:—

'The great distinction between public and private grounds is, that on the latter dredging is carried out for the mere purpose of clearing the beds; in other words, capital is expended on the beds in the form of labour applied in dredging, for which no immediate return is expected. Fishermen cannot be expected to dredge the public grounds without immediate returns, unless the exclusive benefit derived therefrom be secured to them; we might as well expect one of the public to spend money in cultivating a public common, the benefit of which would be shared by all, and not confined to himself, as that one or more fishermen should dredge a public ground without immediate return.'

There are already in most of the estuaries and bays where large public oyster-beds exist, beds which have become, by law or custom, private ones, appropriated to the feeding of oysters; but the Commissioners consider it desirable to extend these private beds. In Ireland, the Fishery Commissioners have power to set apart grounds on the sea-shore for the purpose of forming oyster-beds, and to give licenses to the owners of the adjoining lands for this purpose, subject to a proviso that this

power should not be exercised in cases where the public have been in the habit of dredging for oysters. A good deal of dissatisfaction has been expressed against these private beds, and the results are not encouraging, owing principally, as Mr. Barry maintains, 'to the apathy of the individuals who get the licenses, and to their ignorance.' In England no such power of granting licenses for the formation of oyster-beds exists. The power of granting exclusive rights of fishing in the sea and tidal rivers, which in very early times had been assumed by the Crown, was abridged by Magna Charta; so that the existence of any such exclusive fisheries now dates before Magna Charta, or they are held by immemorial user, from which such grants may by law be presumed; hence, with the exception of the estuary of the Thames, where early grants were made, there are very few places along the coast where exclusive rights of oyster-dredging exist; and these have become private property by appropriation, or under leave of the owner of the foreshore. Some powers, therefore, must be given, if it is thought desirable to encourage the formation of oyster-beds. In 1864 a considerable extent of ground at Herne Bay was, by an Act of Parliament, granted to a private company, for the purpose of cultivating oysters, and this question will probably not be forgotten this session.

The propriety of the grant to the Herne Bay Company was questioned by many witnesses examined by the Commissioners, and various objections made, which, however, we need not consider. 'The advisability of appropriation will in each case turn upon a balance of considerations.' The Commissioners think 'that there should be no such appropriation without clear and unmistakable evidence that the ground will, by a course of cultivation, produce a much greater supply than it now does; that where the ground has been extensively dredged by the public, every consideration should be given to them; and that such appropriations should be limited so as to interfere as little as possible with the public uses.'

The result of the Commissioners' inquiry into the condition of the oyster-fisheries—an inquiry which does credit both to their patience and ability—is summed up in these words:—

'That the supply of oysters has very greatly fallen off during the last three or four years.

'That this decrease has not arisen from overfishing, nor from any causes over which man has direct control, but from the very general failure of the spat or young of the oyster; which appears, during the years in question, to have been destroyed soon after it was produced. A similar failure of the spat has frequently happened before, and probably will often happen again.

'That the best mode for providing against the effects of these peri-

odie failures of the spat is, to facilitate the proceedings of those individuals or companies who may desire to acquire so much property in favourably situated portions of the sea-bottom as may suffice to enable them safely to invest capital, in preparing and preserving these portions of the sea-bottom for oyster-culture. By which term, "oyster-culture," is implied, not the artificial breeding of oysters in the manner in which salmon are bred artificially; but the collection of the brood in years when that brood is plentiful, and its preservation by the application of due skill and care, as a source of supply during the years when the spat fails—a practice in vogue among British fishermen from time immemorial.

'That no regulations or restrictions upon oyster-fishing, beyond such as may be needed for the object just defined, have had, or are likely to have, any beneficial effect upon the supply of oysters.'

The great problem that oyster-cultivators have to solve is, how to make the little swimming fry stick to the cultch. Whatever may be the conditions requisite for the preservation of the young fry and their attachment, certain it is, as we have seen, that the conditions seldom occur in nature. But cannot art supply these conditions on a small scale? We do not yet know what these conditions are. Mr. Buckland, in his evidence before the Commissioners, says that the experiment of taking up oysters just before spatting, and placing them in *claires*, has been tried, but has failed. Professor Huxley asks:—

'60,256. Is there no trade in the taking up of breeding oysters, and supplying oyster-parks with them?—It would be of no use.

'60,257. The experiment has not been tried?—They have tried, as an experiment, the placing of one oyster on one tile, and two oysters on two tiles, but they do not catch anything under.

'60,258. They have tried the experiment of placing breeding oysters under the tiles?—Yes; M. Coste had the same idea that you have. He thought the young oysters would come from the old oyster and stick upon the tiles, but it has been found that they do not do so.

'60,259. What has happened?—They swim about, and I say it advisedly, for from twenty-two to twenty-seven days. They do not fix themselves as soon as they come out from the parent oyster. The idea of many persons is that they attach themselves as soon as they come out; but it is no such thing.

'60,260. Have you seen them swimming by means of the cilia?—Yes, thousands of them.

'60,261. Do they come to the surface of the water?—They have the power to do so if they choose; but as a rule they keep close to the bottom.

'60,262. Have you seen them forming a kind of scum on the top of the water?—I have had pointed out to me what was said to be oyster-spat forming a scum on the top, but it was nothing of the kind; it was young *medusæ*.

' 60,263. Are you fully satisfied as to their power of their being able to move about from place to place in calm water?—Yes; but blow the water with your breath, and they go along with it, and at night they are all down at the bottom. In the morning they are going up and down, exactly the same as a shower of snow.

' 60,264. They never congregate at the top, but always at the bottom?—Yes.

' 60,265. Has anybody tried the experiment of breeding oysters in a close pool of water?—The experiment has not been tried, but the oysters have spat in the *claires*.

' 60,266. What has been the result?—Nothing.

' 60,267. In the *claires* the water will be shallow? Not so shallow: from one to two feet.

' 60,269. Does the spat never fasten itself within the *claires*?—They have put in tiles, but they have never caught anything. I can lay down as a rule that oysters will not breed on artificial ponds, and that may save millions of money to people who are anxious to try the experiment.

' 60,270. They will not breed?—They will breed; but the spat will not fix itself in the ponds. Mr. Wiseman tried the experiment at my instance last year.

' 60,271. Did all the spat drift out to sea?—It vanished before one of its enemies.

' 60,272. (*Mr. Lefevre.*) Although you can collect the young of the oysters in a bottle like this I have in my hand, and they will live, there are no means of making them fix themselves on beds or anything else?—No. If you find out a means of accomplishing that object, you might make £10,000 a year with the greatest ease.'

Mr. Buckland, however, does not despair that the problem will one day be solved, although, no doubt, it is a difficult one, and many considerations are involved in it.

It has been already stated that oysters have enemies, and amongst the most destructive of all are the 'five-fingers,' an echinoderm, often called 'star-fish,' common on every shore. It seems hard to understand how a star-fish can gain admittance into the inside of an oyster, whose power of closing his valves so tightly is familiar to everybody. The ancients imagined that the star-fish watched till the oyster gaped, and then stealthily inserted one of his five fingers! Thus Oppian:—

τῷ δ' ἴσα τεχνάζουσι καὶ ἀστέρες ἐρπυστῆρες
Εἰνάλιοι, καὶ τοῖς γὰρ ἐπ' ὄστρεα μῆτις ὀπηδεῖ,
ἀλλ' οὐ λᾶαν ἄγουσι συνέμπορον οὐδ' ἐπίκουρον
κεῖνοι, τρηχὺ δὲ κῶλον ἐνερείσαντο μέσοισι
πεπταμένοις. τὰ μὲν ὧδε πιέζεται, οἱ δὲ νέμονται.¹

' In like manner, also, do the creeping star-fish of the sea plot, for craft

¹ *Halieut.* ii. 181–185.

is employed by them against oysters; but (unlike the crab) they do not convey and make use of a stone in order to open the shells; but when the valves are open, they insert one of their rough fingers into the midst: thus the oysters are killed and the star-fish feeds upon them.'

According to some observers, the star-fish protrudes a portion of his stomach, which he inserts between the valves of the oyster, and thus sucks his juices out.

'Should it come upon a mollusc,' says Mr. Wood, 'which, like the oyster, is firmly attached to some object, it is by no means disconcerted, but immediately proceeds to action. Its first process is to lie upon its prey, folding its arms over it so as to hold itself in the right position. It then applies the mouth closely to the victim, and deliberately begins to push out its stomach through the mouth, and wraps the mollusc in the folds of that organ. Some naturalists think that the star-fish has the power of secreting some fluid, which is applied to the shell, and causes the bivalve to unclose itself. But whether this be the case or not, patience will always do her work, and in time the hapless mollusc surrenders itself to the devourer. In the case of smaller prey, the creature is taken wholly into the mouth, and there digested.'¹

Whelk-tingles (*purpura lapillus*) are also oyster destroyers, and sometimes do considerable damage to the beds. By means of a sharp tongue or proboscis, the whelk-tingle perforates the shell of the oyster, and so gets at the dainty food inside. Mr. Wiseman collects the shells, and paves his garden with them. Mussels have already been stated to be oyster enemies. 'If the spat of the mussel comes and falls upon the oyster-beds, it will spin ropes and collect mud, and the oysters are done for; it will knit the oyster all together, like a spider winding his net around a fly.'² The grey mullet, amongst fish, is also considered a great devourer of oysters, and 'whole beds may be seen marked out where the mullet has been grubbing for food.' Marine worms, such as the *Serpulæ* and the *Hermellæ*, 'take up good places, where the oysters ought to fix,' and there is a bivalve of the *anomiidæ* family, the spat of which is so similar to that of the true oyster that only close observers can discover the distinction. This is the *Anomia*, with its white, pearly, flat, circular shell, the orifice being interrupted behind by a narrow slit. This is known as the 'crow,' or the 'saddle-back oyster,' and frauds are sometimes practised on spat purchasers, who are induced to buy the 'crow' spat instead of oyster spat. Storms, which roll up mud and sand, are injurious, and frost kills large numbers of oysters. The enemies of our much-prized 'native,' therefore, are clearly numerous; and when we consider the extreme uncertainty of the spatting seasons, together with the effects which are caused

¹ Wood's *Nat. History*, iii. 730.

² *Report*, Minutes of Evidence, 60,314.

by these natural destructive agencies, it seems absurd to attribute periodic scarcities to human agency alone.

Oysters, as everybody knows, vary considerably in point of flavour. According to Mr. Buckland, the oysters of the Isle of Ré 'have a vulgar, bad smell,' and would be valueless if introduced amongst us. But 'de gustibus non est disputandum,' perhaps. The green oysters, so much esteemed by our friends on the Continent, would probably not find much favour here.

Mr. Buckland has made some interesting experiments in order to ascertain the money value of different descriptions of oysters.

'I made a rule,' he says, 'to weigh the shells and to weigh the meat of every oyster I could get hold of. I have now weighed upwards of fifty kinds of oysters from every part of the world, weighing a dozen oysters, and taking the weight of the shells and of the meat. At the head of the list is the Whitstable oyster, which bears a proportion of one-fourth meat as compared with the weight of the shell. Next came the Colchester oyster, with a beautiful clean shell, and meat one-fourth again. Then Mr. Wiseman's oyster, from Paglesham, one-fifth. Next the Herne Bay oysters, one-fifth, and these were not cultivated. Falmouth, one-sixth; Isle of Ré, one-fifteenth. Like the French pig, they are very lean.'

Mr. Buckland does not tell us anything about American oysters; but according to Charles Mackay, the oysters of New York are the finest and best in the world. 'Fine in flavour, and of a size unparalleled in the oyster-beds of Whitstable, Ostend, or the Rocher de Cancale.' Some people prefer having their oysters opened on the shallow shell,—being under the impression, probably, that the contained liquor is merely salt water. But this is a mistake. According to M. Payen's investigations, the liquid found in the substance of the oyster and between its shells is not salt water only, or principally, but contains a good deal of organic matter. 'When shaken with ether, it deposits some albuminous material, containing 8·75 per cent. of nitrogen.' Real oyster-lovers eat the creature out of the deep shell, and thus get all the delicious liquid. Some people swallow an oyster whole, others masticate it. According to a little handbook on this mollusc,¹ 'the ancients, our teachers in all arts, but especially in æsthetics, did not bolt the oyster, but masticated it. With more epicurean tact, they always extracted the full enjoyment out of the good things set before them. Not so we. Most of us now bolt them; but this is a mistake, for the oyster has a much finer flavour, and is far more nourishing, when well masticated.' The ancient Romans, we may remark, after they had eaten as much as they were

¹ *The Oyster: Where, How, and When to Find, Breed, Cook, and Eat it*, p. 42.

able, used to practise a not very refined custom, whereby they were enabled to go on eating more. We hope we may never copy them in that particular branch of æsthetics!

Oysters are generally considered nutritious and easy of digestion when eaten raw, and, as is well known, raw oysters are not unfrequently recommended to the invalid; their digestibility probably depends upon the person by whom and the time when they are eaten. The London costermongers deal largely in oysters; they are sold to them out of the smacks at Billingsgate, and a few at Hungerford. The more expensive kind are never bought by the costermongers, but they buy oysters of a 'good middling quality.'

'At the commencement of the season,' says Mr. Mayhew, 'these oysters are 14s. a "bushel," but the measure contains from a bushel and a half to two bushels, as it is more or less heaped up. The general price, however, is 9s. or 10s.; but they have been known 16s. and 18s. The "big trade" was unknown till 1848, when the very large shelly oysters, the fish inside being very small, were introduced from the Sussex coast. They were sold in Thames Street and at the Borough Market. Their sale was at first enormous. The costermongers distinguished them by the name of "scuttle-mouths." . . . With the scuttle-mouths, the costermonger takes no trouble; he throws them into the yard, and dashes a few pails of water over them, and then places them on his barrow, or conveys them to his stall. Some of the better class of costermongers, however, lay down their oysters carefully, giving them oatmeal to fatten on.'

The number of oysters sold by the costermongers amounts to 124,000,000 a year. Those, at four a penny, would realize the large sum of £129,000. 'We may therefore assume,' adds Mr. Mayhew, 'that £125,000 is spent yearly on oysters in the streets of London.'

Every one has heard of the saying that oysters are in season only when there is the letter *r* in the months; 'an error which was refuted so long ago as the year 1804, when M. Balaine contrived the means of sending to Paris oysters fresh, and in the best possible order, at all seasons alike.' As oysters differ considerably in their times of spawning, as we have seen above, the *r* axiom must be taken *cum grano salis*. At anyrate the rule is violated, for August 4th inaugurates the oyster season; and in this month more oysters will be found spawning than in the month of May, and perhaps of June. The 'whiskered Pandores,' of which all Scotchmen boast, are obtained at Prestonpans and Cockenzie, where oyster-dredging is the principal occupation of the fishermen.

'The Pandore oyster,' writes Mr. Bertram, 'is so called because of being found in the neighbourhood of the salt-pans. It is a large fine-

flavoured oyster, as good as any "native" that ever was brought to table, the pooldoodies of Burra not excepted. . . . During the whole time that the dredging is being carried on, the crew keep up a wild monotonous song, or rather chant, in which they believe much virtue to lie. They assert that it charms the oysters into the dredge.

" The herring loves the merry moonlight,
The mackerel loves the wind ;
But the oyster loves the dredger's song,
For he comes of a gentle kind."

We conclude by expressing a hope that the 'gentle' bivalve will become more and more sensitive to the charms of oyster-cultivators, and that their efforts to induce the dancing fry to settle down to a quiet spat may ere long be attended with success.

ART. VII.—OXFORD UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.

THE great inquiry into the English Universities which was instituted in 1852, and the changes which were the result of that inquiry, stand out conspicuous among the many services which Lord Russell has rendered to the country. For these measures the Government of that day never, we think, received sufficient credit. Only a Minister of strong convictions and great courage would have boldly approached, with reforming hands, those powerful academic bodies. The danger encountered was not slight. The Universities cried aloud against the rash innovators; the inquiry was opposed by the whole force of the Tory party. Happily that outcry and that opposition were in vain. It is not unfrequently urged that, laying out of view certain leading measures of reform, the country derives no benefit from the continuance in office of a Liberal Administration; that the ordinary business of the Administration can be as well carried on by the Tories as by their rivals. The remark, though plausible, is very shallow. To this one great change we would point in answer. It was carried by a Liberal Government, acting on principle alone, not urged on, not even supported, by popular clamour, and carried against the whole force of the Tory party. How important the reform has been, how instant have been its results on the Universities, especially on Oxford, all who know the Universities are well convinced; and the constitution of English society is such, that everything affecting those great bodies must extend and spread itself, until it penetrates throughout the whole community. No one has a better right to set forth what has been the work accomplished by the Reformers of that time than Mr. Goldwin Smith—himself not the least active and powerful among them.

‘ In the swift lapse of academical generations the Reformers of 1850 are rapidly passing off the scene. They encountered and overcame opposition in their day. They cleared away a mass of obstruction which during centuries of torpor had accumulated to such a height that the effort to remove it assumed something of the character, was attended with some of the evils, and has left behind it something of the lassitude, of a revolution. They overthrew oligarchy in the University and despotism in the College. They restored the Professoriate, for want of which the University had lost her position to a great extent as a seat of learning, and almost entirely as a seat of science. They opened and augmented the Scholarships, thereby giving you the means of drawing hither the flower of English youth. They introduced physical science, which besides its intrinsic impor-

tance as a study, and as the indispensable title to the intellectual allegiance of a scientific age, has naturalized here the scientific habit of mind, and erected a bulwark of assured truth, though it may not be truth of the very highest kind, against which the alternate waves of Jesuitism and scepticism will henceforth beat in vain. Above all they opened the fellowships, a reform which in the case of many Colleges, and those among the wealthiest, amounted to nothing less than the reconversion of a mere body of proprietors, with a certain literary and educational tinge, into literary and educating institutions; and which moreover has assured the future by placing the destinies of Oxford in the hands of men, who, whatever qualms or reactions may prevail among them for the moment, cannot fail, as they have hearts and brains, in the long-run to see and feel the grandeur of their trust.¹

But though much has been done, there yet remains much to do. The Reformers of 1852 often failed to see their way clearly, sometimes fell into serious error. Besides, the work they had set before themselves was so great that they could not hope to achieve more than a portion of it; had they attempted more, they might have failed altogether. They were acting, as Mr. Goldwin Smith has said, mainly as pioneers. Partly owing to their own shortcomings, still more owing to the inveterate obstructiveness of well-drilled opponents, their pioneering labours have not fully thrown open the rich country which lies before us; 'the problem of converting the literary monasteries of the middle ages into modern places of learning and education has not yet been solved.' The abolition of the old Laudian government, under which the University had slept through centuries, undisturbed by the movement of the world without, was doubtless a long step in advance. But the constitution which inexperience or timidity substituted has been found indifferent or hostile to true academic interests; powerful only to obstruct, sometimes to disgrace. Owing mainly to the inefficiency, or worse, of the governing body, the examinations of the University are not in a satisfactory state. The position neither of college tutors nor of private tutors is right or just; the restoration of the professoriate has been, on the whole, a failure; and, above all, the pressing question of University Extension remains very much where it was in 1850.

To this last matter the attention of the University has been recently directed; and we propose in this paper to discuss very shortly the various schemes of University extension which have been suggested. It seems to us that education is rapidly rising to a place among great political questions. We are beginning to

¹ *A Letter to the Rev. C. W. Sandford, M.A., Senior Censor of Christ Church.*
By Goldwin Smith.

recognise its vital importance, to comprehend the power it must exercise in strengthening and in restraining the yet untried forces of the future. And if this be so, it is a thing of no light moment to inquire how far it may be possible that the vast wealth, the noble associations, the humanizing influences of Oxford, may eventually find fitting scope in the education of the country.

The subject is no new one. So far back as 1845, many gentlemen of mark, both lay and clerical, among whom were the names of Lord Sandon, Lord Ashley, and Mr. Gladstone, presented an address to the Hebdomadal Board, praying them to adopt measures which might render the University accessible to a larger class of the population. Pamphlets urging the same duty have, from that time to this, been periodically written and in due course forgotten. Few matters received more attention from the Commissioners of 1852. It occupied a considerable space in their Report; and nearly all the eminent academics whose evidence was published, discussed the various schemes which had been suggested for the attainment of this end. Mr. Mansel was perhaps the only man worthy of mention who maintained that it was fitting the Universities should be, as they then were, and unhappily still are, 'chiefly a training school for clergymen, or for men of fortune who need no profession,'—a position which he endeavoured to support by some heavy jocularity directed against what he was pleased to style 'academical ptochogony.' But all this is based on misrepresentation. No real Reformer wishes that men should be encouraged to come to Oxford merely because they are poor. To have entertained this idea and acted upon it, is a lasting reproach to the Scotch University Commissioners of 1858. They actually preserved small bursaries in the hands of private patrons, with the avowed object that by means of them poor students might be sent up to the University. The English Reformers were misled by no such weak prejudice. On the contrary, they have been accused of disregarding the claims of indigence, because they opened the fellowships and scholarships to real merit, without any preference on the score of poverty.

Professor Rogers, for example, has of late been pressing this view with some urgency. Mr. Rogers would hardly, we think, propose that the University should retrace her steps; and we have no fear of such a disastrous result; but as we firmly believe that the Oxford ordinances throwing open the fellowships, etc., were not only in accordance with right, but also in the real interests of learning, and as different views touching the nature of academical endowments and the right mode of dealing with them appear to prevail even among intelligent men—witness the opinions expressed by the Scotch University

Commissioners,—we cannot think it superfluous to quote a few weighty sentences from the report of the Oxford Commission of 1852 :—

‘ Doubtless, Colleges were eleemosynary foundations, but their sole object was not, like that of an almshouse, to relieve indigence. They were intended no doubt to maintain scholars who were poor ; and in an age when learning was regarded as ignoble by the great, and when nearly all but the great were poor, persons willing to enter the University as students could hardly be found except among the poor. If, in modern days, those who impart or seek education in the Universities are not indigent, it must not be thought, therefore, that the poor have been robbed of their birthright. Rather the Universities, among other agencies, have so raised the condition of society, and mental cultivation is now so differently regarded, that persons intended for the learned professions are at present found only amongst the comparatively wealthy. Such persons, if elected for their merits to Fellowships and Scholarships, would most faithfully fulfil the main objects of Founders, namely, the promotion of religion and learning.’

Sound, however, as these views undoubtedly are, there can be no doubt that, as a matter of fact, many poor men who could have got to Oxford ‘on the foundation,’ as it is called, before the recent changes, are deprived of that privilege now. This is, as we have said, quite right ; but, at the same time, it seems to entitle the claims of the poor to increased consideration in dealing with University Extension. Now, undoubtedly, under the present system, no poor man can hope, without a scholarship, to enjoy the advantages of Oxford. The question, ‘What is the cost of an Oxford education ?’ is so frequently heard in society, that we think the following calculations by the Oxford Commissioners will be read with interest by many of our readers. We may add, that we believe these calculations to be quite as applicable to the Oxford of the present day as to the Oxford of 1852 :—

‘ On the whole, we believe that a parent, who, after supplying his son with clothes and supporting him at home during the vacations, has paid for him during his University course not more than £600, and is not called upon to discharge debts at its close, has reason to congratulate himself. Those who allow their sons a private tutor should add proportionably to their estimate. Private tutors usually charge £10 a term, or £30 a year, for three hours a week ; £17, 10s. a term, or £50 a year, for six hours a week. Private tutors of high standing expect £20 a term ; £30 is usually paid by young men who join a reading party during the long vacation.’

Now, on behalf of poor scholars, the object to be aimed at

is, that all young men who can gain a scholarship, and that others who are not so successful, but yet have had a good academical training, should be able to enjoy an Oxford education, and obtain an Oxford degree at a cost within the reach of very moderate means. It is quite plain that the system which yields the above results must be considerably altered before this object can be attained.

But there are stronger reasons than the claims of indigence why a change in the present system is to be desired. Many men who would profit by Oxford, and do honour to it, are kept away, not because of the expense, but because of the tone of the society in which they would mix. Now, the surest way to improve this tone, to make it more rational and less prejudiced, is to extend and diversify the society. We are glad on this point to cite the convincing testimony of Sir Charles Lyell:—

‘I speak,’ he says, ‘from personal experience of what has happened within the circle of my own friends and acquaintances, when I affirm, that parents possessing ample pecuniary means are often deterred from sending their sons to Oxford by a well-grounded apprehension, that after a residence of a few years, they will contract from the social atmosphere of the place, notions incompatible with the line of life to which they are destined, although that professional line may be one peculiarly demanding a liberal education. They wish, for example, to bring them up as attorneys, publishers, engineers, surgeons, or as merchants in some established house, and naturally turn their thoughts to Oxford as a safe and good training place, till they are warned by those who know the working of the system, that the youth, however well satisfied with the honourable calling proposed for him (which, perhaps, he has chosen himself), will discover at the end of a few terms, that such occupations are vulgar and beneath his dignity. How much vulgarity of feeling and want of true independence of mind may lie at the bottom of such fine notions, it is superfluous to inquire here. The remedy is, I think, as obvious as the cause;—a large accession to Oxford of the representatives of the professions alluded to, would make such class-prejudices disappear at once, without the accompaniment of an evil so much dreaded by many advocates of the state of things as they are, namely, a diminished attendance of men of rank and fortune.’

Moved by such considerations, the Oxford Commissioners of 1852, rejecting all half measures, such as founding halls affiliated to colleges, or independent halls, recommended that the requirement of residence within college walls should be abolished, and (1.) that students should be allowed to live in lodgings connected with colleges; and (2.) that students should be allowed to live in lodgings unconnected with any college—as students of the University alone. Neither of these plans

was carried out. What was attempted was the institution of private halls, by a Statute passed in 1855, which has proved, as might have been foreseen from the first, a miserable failure. Awakening at last to a sense of their obligations, sundry graduates of Oxford met in Oriel College in November 1865, in order 'to consider the question of the extension of the University, with a view especially to the education of persons needing assistance, and desirous of admission into the Christian ministry.' A committee was formed, and six sub-committees were appointed to consider various schemes for this end, and to report. Their reports have been made, and four of them at least raise academical questions of very great interest.

Readers may be curious to learn what has led to this sudden movement. Zealous Reformers have long been urging this question, as we have already shown; for at least twenty years they have been crying in the wilderness, and crying in vain. Whence this sudden stirring of the sluggish academic waters—this quick awakening of the torpid academic conscience? The cause is not hard to find. One thing is near to the hearts of those who at present form the governing power at Oxford—the fortunes of the English Church, and the connexion between that Church and Oxford University. That connexion is at present in serious peril. A disinclination to take orders is growing among Oxford men. The first sub-committee give figures showing that the number of graduates who take orders has been for the last eight years steadily decreasing; while the number of literates, that is, of men who have never been at the University at all, is steadily increasing. We think we could suggest other causes for this than the cost of an University education; but that cause has been recognised as sufficient by two at least of the sub-committees, and they have devised their remedies by this light. It is unfortunate in many ways that the inquiry has taken this direction; but we must be thankful for what we can get, and had not the growing scarcity of well-educated clergymen given it this direction, it would never have taken place at all.

The first sub-committee claims especially to represent the sentiments of those who first began this present movement, that is, the view we have above expressed. It rests the right of the Church of England to govern the Universities of England on the fact that 'they are, or ought to be, the great seminaries of her clergy;' and therefore very naturally sets forth the duty of providing for the education of the clergy as 'the most obvious and pressing' ground of University extension. The second sub-committee, though less explicit in its language, treats the subject not less manifestly from the same point of view.

One is not surprised to find that in committees animated by these opinions, and working with such objects, the clerical element prevails largely. All the members of the first sub-committee are clergymen, with the exception of the two Chichele Professors, who are as good,—and as bad; and all the members of the second sub-committee are clergymen, without any exception. As might be expected, they have not addressed themselves to the consideration of University extension in any comprehensive sense—they have considered solely what Mr. Mansel would call clerical ptochogony; and the scheme of the first sub-committee is the institution of a poor-hall, of the second the foundation of poor-exhibitions. Both schemes are open to serious objections.

In the first place, we distrust the calculations on which they are based. We should suspect greatly the *permanent* quality of tuition at £4 a term; nor do we see how board, lights, firing, and above all attendance (keeping in view that the servants in a college must be men of character, and therefore well paid), could be supplied at £10 a term. Oxford calculations on money seem often inspired by considerable ignorance. Thus the present Master of Balliol gave evidence in 1852 to the effect that

‘it is a mistake to speak of the expenses incident to connexion with a College or Hall. There are expenses (sufficiently extravagant in many cases), incident to the residence of a young man in Oxford; but *cæteris paribus* the expenses are less within College walls than beyond them. *This is too plain to need proof.*’

The extreme silliness of this might have escaped notice had it been the opinion of one individual; but here we have the second sub-committee, as we understand them, adopting this view, and stating as a certain fact that ‘nowhere is board much cheaper than in the University.’ And yet some of the members of that committee—as Professor Wall—are reputed to be men of sense. Men who can write thus show themselves utterly ignorant of what living in lodgings may be,—of what, among large classes of the community, it actually is. They must be little competent to originate a scheme of University extension who know so little of the habits of those whom any good and sufficient scheme would endeavour to embrace. And their ignorance must be wilful. The Commissioners of 1852 gave quotations from the Reports of previous Scotch Commissions, whereby it appeared that the average cost of living among the students at Aberdeen, including everything, was from £20 to £25, for more than five months! And, indeed, is not the thing plain, without any such instances?

Setting aside the direct expenses of a college, tuition, caution-

money, and the like; it is clear that the indirect expenses must increase the cost of living. The articles supplied are, at most colleges, charged at a profit for the support of the staff of servants. Moreover, the style of living, without being at all extravagant, is necessarily such that many persons of frugal habits might wish to adopt a somewhat lower scale. This, by the lodging-out system, they would be enabled to do without giving occasion for remark—without even the suspicion that remarks were made arising in their own minds. Men living in a poor-hall, or supported by poor-exhibitions—especially the latter—cannot free themselves of the consciousness of a certain stigma; men living privately escape observation, and do not suffer from the fear of it.

Further, erroneous as we believe the calculations to be, even with their aid these Sub-Committees have not sufficiently brought down the scale of expenditure. As applied to all, or even to many, the scale is low enough, indeed too low; but if the University is to strike its roots deep and wide, there must be a *possibility* of getting a degree for less than £51 a year, not including fees. In short, their plan is not sufficiently *elastic*, and in this particular,—that is, in a student being enabled to practise moderate economy, or the most rigid economy, without control or remark, the whole merit of a system of University extension consists. We have already referred to Scotch students. Their average expenditure, as already given, is not great, yet many of them live for much less. Nothing is more common in Scotland than that young men earn in summer by their own labour the means of attending college during the winter. It is within our personal knowledge that a Scotch Professor, engaged in the slaughter of grouse, has found in his 'gillie' a youth who was thus hardly making up a purse in order to attend his lectures at college during the next session. Such 'brave struggles' would not be often witnessed in the English Universities; but to make them *possible* must be the aim of any real extension.

In the second place, both of these schemes involve setting apart the poor students as a caste by themselves, than which nothing could be more pernicious. The former will certainly end in the establishment of a poor-hall for clergymen. It has been unfortunately, and not quite honestly, identified with a 'Keble Testimonial;' but even had this not been done, its destiny was from the first assured. The principal must be a clergyman of the Church of England; the tutors the same; the rooms are to be arranged along corridors; all meals are to be taken in common; everything is to be kept under the closest and most minute supervision. Of course, this can only end in

being a hall for the education of poor men who propose to take orders. They will be looked down upon by the University, by no means because they are poor, but because they are a separate class; and they will pass through the University without knowing anything of its social life (one of the advantages strongly insisted on by the first sub-committee), save what can be met with within the precincts of their own semi-monastic hall. The special advantage which belongs to the English clergy beyond any other clergy—that of having freely associated, in youth and early manhood, with men destined for other professions—will be denied to the unfortunate inmates of these favoured halls.

The plan of the second sub-committee is, in this respect, even more unhappy. A poor exhibitioner, that is, an exhibitioner who is so *because* he is poor, is in any college a wretched man. This ingenious committee, whose sentiments are really a joke, suggest, in the first instance, that the fortunate recipient of their bounty should enjoy it in secret; 'possibly even the fact of his holding the exhibition might be known only to himself and to the authorities.' Surely recollections of the undergraduate world, far though it may have been left behind, might have suggested to the committee the utter impracticability, surely knowledge of the world of gentlemen might have suggested the extreme undesirableness, of such secrecy. Some such ideas seem to have been dimly present to their minds; for they hold that secrecy is not 'to be insisted on, inasmuch as poverty is no disgrace in Oxford.' Most true. To the great credit of Oxford, poverty is there no disgrace; but, not we think to the discredit of Oxford, *endowed* poverty is. A man who lives in unaided poverty is not despised; a man who helps his poverty by gaining a scholarship is respected; but a man who gets an endowment simply because he is poor, and is therefore held deserving of it, is certainly looked down upon. No one who, as an undergraduate, can recall the times prior to 1852 when there were such things as 'close' scholarships or exhibitions, can fail to acknowledge this fact.

And this leads, in the third place, to another objection to both these schemes, *i.e.*, that they encourage men to come to the University simply because they are poor. Nothing, perhaps, can be more pernicious than a system which has this effect. This Journal has already discussed this vexed question, in commenting on the views expressed by the Scotch Commissioners of 1858, and the observations then made will, *mutatis mutandis*, apply equally to Oxford:—

‘It is hardly possible to conceive of a position more erroneous or more injurious. In the first place, how can the Commissioners be certain that even the qualities they desiderate will be secured? Long experience has convinced all who have paid attention to such matters of the fact that preferences to poverty, to general desert, or to anything which cannot be directly and equally tested, simply lead to the success of some candidate whose circumstances chance or interest has brought prominently under the notice of the electors. And, even if there were no difficulty here, is the aim of the Commissioners desirable in itself? We need not dwell on the evil done to the teaching of the Universities—to the education of the whole country—by thus bribing men to enter upon a course of life for which nature or circumstance has not fitted them. But we would ask, Is it not even a greater evil to the student himself? If he be really able, he will easily force his way when all endowments are open to the best men; if he be not, he is a far happier man, and a far more useful man, resting contented in the position to which he was born, than struggling pitifully through a University career, leading to the sickness of hope deferred and the bitterness of eventual disappointment. And as to the public, what good do they derive from a system which ravishes stupid sturdy boys from their congenial plough, seeks vainly to educate them through a few years of struggle, and then licenses them to be instruments of torture to the lieges for two hours every Sunday?’—(No. LXXVIII. pp. 475-6).

It cannot be too often repeated that poverty by itself constitutes no claim upon a University; poverty, combined with intellectual power, does constitute such a claim; and poverty, combined with great force of character, does so likewise, though in a less degree. Neither of these is secured by founding exhibitions to be given to poor men only, or by establishing a hall where men shall be drilled into compulsory economy; both can be easily secured if the proper means be adopted. Open scholarships will secure the former; if it be made possible for a man to gain a University education at a small cost, by his own voluntary self-denial and frugality, a way will be opened to the latter. But, to be of any avail, the frugality must be as self-imposed as the work which leads to the scholarship. Any hot-house system for fostering economical habits will be of no use.

When we come to the report of the third sub-committee we seem to breathe a different air. Our attention is no longer concentrated on securing a perennial supply of third-rate curates; the committee come to their work having before them as their object ‘to furnish academical status and instruction to poor men seeking to be ordained as clergymen, to become practitioners in law or medicine, or *to enter into business.*’ Their plan is a very

simple one, *i.e.*, to relax the Laudian statute which requires residence to be within the college gates, and to allow students to live in lodgings either with or without connexion with colleges. This scheme has many advantages. There can, as we have already shown, be no doubt of its cheapness. The committee calculate that in lodgings 'a student may live at little more than one-half of what are now his expenses in college,' and this, though they put lodgings, including firing, at 15s. a week, which is quite unnecessarily high. Further, it is the only one of all the schemes which is adequate to the want. If this liberty be conceded, a man will have his expenses in his own hands, and may live for what he likes. Even taking the figures of the first sub-committee, why should a man be *forced* to spend £51 in twenty-six weeks? He certainly can live for less; and why should he not do so if he chooses to exercise the requisite self-denial? The value of economy thus practised is, that it is voluntary, that men are not driven into it, and coaxed to keep it up. And hence it is that this system has the merit of securing to the University men who have the great gift of strength of character.

Now what are the objections to this scheme? Only two will bear stating: one, the loss of social advantages; the other, the impairing of discipline. As to the former of these, it is quite sufficient to say that a very poor man, whether in college or out of it, cannot mix much in society; and secondly, that the mere fact of being out of college will in no way exclude men from college society. No stigma will attach to out-residents, just because they will not form a caste; and those of them who may gain scholarships will be able to introduce their friends to such society as they may desire. Certainly they will have access to a much more varied society than will ever be commanded by the members of a poor-hall. In fact, this objection is hardly urged seriously; the opponents of this scheme rest their case on the danger to what they call 'the moral and religious discipline of Oxford.'

Now, in the first place, the safeguards in the way of discipline afforded by in-college life are much more apparent than real. Professor Wall, in his evidence before the Commissioners, of 1852, scouts the whole thing as 'a romance;' doubting whether the discipline of Oxford could be much worse than it now is. 'As to the personal superintendence of college tutors,' he says, 'if any parent thinks that when he enters his son at a college he necessarily puts him where his moral and intellectual training will be carefully watched over by a tutor, I can only assure him that he is under a pleasing delusion.' The intellec-

tual influence of a tutor is in no way dependent on residence in college. On the contrary, under the present system, men, as a rule, see most of the tutors when they are in lodgings, just before going into the schools. What of religious discipline is connected with compulsory attendance at chapel may be imposed on men without the college walls as well as within. And as for moral discipline, no one who knows Oxford well but will assent to the observations of Mr. Wall. Some tutors there are who attempt to maintain control over the undergraduates by 'privileged communications,' that is, by underhand information from informers whose names are kept secret; by espionage through the servants; by listening at doors and windows, and sudden entries into men's rooms; but happily men of a disposition who can stoop to these things are not very numerous, and we leave our readers to guess how efficacious their noble endeavours are likely to prove.

Nor must it be forgotten that the very fact of so many young men living in college together leads to much mischief. Certainly facilities for gambling, drinking, and above all idling, are thus greatly increased. And as for the information of the tutors, we have known a college, one of the tutors of which was celebrated for his accomplishments as a spy, in which gambling at one time rose to a height that startled the young men themselves, and was by themselves put a stop to, without the authorities knowing anything about the matter.

Perhaps the most curious thing connected with this question is, that it has been always argued upon two remarkable assumptions,—one, that all students in lodgings are likely to be immoral; the other, that no discipline whatever is proposed to be exercised over them. Against the former of these assumptions, we can refer to the case of the Scottish Universities, and to the yet more apposite case of Cambridge. In Cambridge about seven hundred undergraduates, we believe, lodge out; in Scotland they all lodge out; and we have yet to learn that the morality of Oxford men shines 'like a good deed in a naughty world,' beside the morality of Scotland or of Cambridge. Against the latter of these assumptions we would refer to the report of this third sub-committee, which sets out very clearly a mode of regulating lodging-houses and the conduct of those who lodge in them. In fact, if the truth must be told, the system there suggested would be a great improvement on the present practice. As things are now, senior undergraduates and bachelors of arts lodge out in large numbers, while no superintendence, or next to none, is exercised over lodging-houses. The result is that these men lodge where they like, and do what they like,

and that their younger in-college friends find in their rooms ample facilities for doing what they like too. It is not pleasant to state this; *but it is true*; and the more distinctly it is stated the better. When we are dealing with really important interests delicacy must not be allowed to obscure a picture of things as they really are.

Finally, along with the report of the third sub-committee must be taken that of the fourth, which recommends that students should be allowed to lodge out after eight terms' residence in college. In this recommendation, sensible so far as it goes, the whole question of morality is conceded. Two years, about the age of twenty, hardly bridge over the gulf between easy immorality and ascetic virtue; and surely the discipline which will suffice for men in their last year would be found equally effectual for men in their first and second.

The report of the sixth sub-committee is the most novel of all, and in some respects the most interesting. Of the whole, it is the only one which deals with the difficulty of the length of time which, under the present system, is required to be spent at the University. The scheme recommended by it is that men should be allowed to remain at 'affiliated' schools until they pass the examination for moderations, and thenceforward only, that is, for about one year, be required to reside at the University. This scheme in principle assimilates to the third and fourth schemes, and we can see no objection to its being tried.

And this leads us to the practical conclusion of the whole matter, namely, let all the schemes, so far as may be possible, be put to the test of experience. On this point Mr. Pattison, now Rector of Lincoln, expressed himself with much force to the Commissioners of 1852:—

'Instead of guessing in the dark at the probable effect of these plans, let us make the experiment. . . . What is urged is not the creation of any new machinery . . . but that an oppressive restriction should be removed, and the field thrown open to private enterprise and energy. When free, this will speedily run into the best channels. Let us leave Halls and Colleges, old and new, all with unlimited liberty of admission to work together, and trust to the power of self-adjustment in things, which will bring to the surface the capabilities of the several methods. . . . It is incumbent indeed on a University to be cautious and deliberate in all its proceedings. But experiments are not necessarily rash—there are wise ones—there are even wise experiments in legislation which do not answer, and then to desist from them involves no disgrace. . . . We in Oxford, are weary of scheming, suggesting, and pamphleteering. Give us leave to be

doing something. Untie our hands and open our gates, and let us at least try if we can attract here, and can usefully deal with that larger circle of youth whom we are told we ought to have here. The ideal of a national University is that it should be co-extensive with the nation—it should be the common source of the whole of the higher (or secondary) instruction for the country; but the proposed measure would, after all, only go part of the way towards making it co-extensive with that part of the nation which supports the Established Church. If we can only draft in 500, say 300 students (additional), from a class whose education has hitherto terminated with the national school or the commercial academy, the good that would be effected by acting even on this moderate scale cannot be represented by figures. It would be the beginning of a system by which the University would strike its roots freely into the subsoil of society, and draw from it new elements of life, and sustenance of mental and moral power.'

Truer words than these were never written. Only by experience can the safest path of duty be discovered. If some rest with confidence in the prospect of a poor-hall, and can raise the requisite funds, by all means let that be tried. If others believe in poor exhibitioners, let that be tried also. The old injunction continues true: 'Try all things; hold fast that which is good.' Easiest of all is to try the plan of the third sub-committee. There is no doubt that experience can be most easily gained by adopting, as an experiment, the plan of allowing students to lodge out, or some modification of it. Therefore we should expect that any proposal involving such an experiment would have been gratefully welcomed by the governing body in Oxford. How stands the fact?

Balliol College, always first in any forward movement, as far back as last November proposed to the Hebdomadal Council to educate a certain number of students absolutely free, if the Council would bring forward a Statute enabling them to lodge out. These students were to be members of the college, and subject to all its rules as to chapel and lectures. Their attendance at lecture would not entail on the tutors any great amount of additional labour; and it was believed that such men, there from the love of learning and a desire of advancement, would be diligent and orderly, and not require the individual attention which the ordinary undergraduates are supposed to require, and by which they are presumed to benefit so much. No experiment could be simpler or cheaper, none less calculated to disturb the present academical system.

The Council has treated this scheme most unworthily. They first appointed a committee to examine it, which, with some insignificant restrictions, reported in its favour. When the adop-

tion of this report was moved, Dr. Pusey, we believe, moved, as an amendment, that another committee should be appointed to consider all the reports on which we have been commenting. How entirely this was a mere measure of obstruction, was shown by Dr. Pusey declining to nominate his committee, after the amendment had been carried. Eventually, we believe, a committee was nominated by some one else; but the practical result of these manœuvres has been to shelve the Balliol scheme, and throw back the whole movement for extension.

From this reception of so moderate a proposal, we may infer that the Council will do little in the way of real reform; and, even if they were inclined to more, the well-disciplined country clergy who rule in Convocation would certainly restrain them. This determination not to stir, except in paths pleasant to the passions and prejudices of a narrow and intolerant party, must, sooner or later, and the sooner the better, bring upon the University a second exercise of the power of the Legislature; and if Parliament does interfere, it will not limit its interference to sanctioning certain schemes of University extension. Much that was left undone in 1854 will be effectually done now. Especially, the constitution of the University must be reformed. The government of the University must no longer be given over to non-academicians. At this present time, when the power of Oxford to influence the education of the whole country, or its inability to do more than furnish inferior curates to the Church, is the question at issue, what is the spectacle which she presents? It is the spectacle of 'a great political and theological party, acting for non-academical objects, recruited to a great extent from non-academical sources, and labouring, under perfect discipline, and with fell unity of purpose, to hold the University in subjection, and fill her government with its nominees. It is as exterminating as Islam. No academical merit, no learning, no capacity, no experience in academical affairs, no devotion to the service of the University, can escape proscription at its hands.' The most important step towards ending this sorry sight would be to change the character of Congregation. That body was unquestionably intended to be a strictly academical assembly. By the admission of 'residents' (which was intended to include private tutors), chaplains, and the parish clergy, men who have nothing to do with education have been intrusted with power. They discharge this trust by seldom appearing at any discussion, by assiduously attending every vote, and by steadily voting as the theological party to which they belong ordains. All this must end. Only men really engaged in the work of the place have any claim to

share in its government ; and if, at the same time, Convocation were abolished altogether, no true friend of the University would feel a moment's regret. Other constitutional changes might also be made, but the above is incomparably the most important.

In the second place, Parliament should be asked to repeal the Statutes which prevent the colleges from allowing undergraduates to live in lodgings.

And in the third place, the colleges should be freed from the control of the Visitors—always despotic, often capricious and obstructive ; and should be empowered to alter their Statutes, as occasion may require, with the consent of the Privy Council. This is the position in which our Scotch Universities are now placed, and that with the general approval of the community. There are, of course, other matters well deserving Parliamentary attention ; but if these were satisfactorily disposed of, a great good would have been accomplished.

Of course, if the aid of Parliament is invoked, the cry of University independence will be raised with all the old vehemence. But it will be raised in vain. Parliament having interfered once, will not be debarred by mere outcry from interfering again, and in the present position of parties, any measure of University reform is sure of a favourable reception.

‘ If you apply now to Parliament for this or any other University Reform, you will find the House of Commons in a propitious mood. There is a majority of at least sixty on the side of University Reform. Some Conservatives are University Reformers. The Liberals who hang back on the question of the Suffrage are anxious to testify their fidelity to an enlightened policy on all other questions ; and even the Conservative Government, as it looks for the support of moderate Liberals on the one great subject, is very unwilling to present itself in such an aspect that these men may not be able decently to give it their support. Moreover the constituencies are really interested in the question of University extension, and they may easily be made to see that the progress of that movement depends on the character of the government which may be installed here.’¹

Moreover, when an appeal is made to facts, Oxford has no ground to stand on. It ill becomes her to vaunt her independence. Prior to 1852, Oxford had been less subject to control than any University in Europe ; and we all remember what evils were then revealed by inquiry, and what reforms were forced on. Since that day the ruling party has devoted itself, with strange persistency and with a great measure of success,

¹ Mr. Goldwin Smith's *Letter to the Rev. C. W. Sandford*, p. 15.

to prevent those reforms from having their natural effect ; to maintain in their own hands the government of the University ; in short, to restore the old time so far as may be. The case, if fairly stated, would, we fear, stand thus : Oxford wishes to be independent, in order that she may continue to be corrupt.

For ourselves, we heartily hope that the Council will persevere in its obstructiveness, so that the necessity for the interference of Parliament may be made clear. Short of this, we cannot anticipate any real good. For with the utmost exercise of all our charity, we confess we cannot recognise any other than unworthy motives as dictating this bitter opposition to restoring to the University the class of students of which she could boast in her earlier and her greatest days.

After the Report of 1852, it is really idle to say that the Statute requiring residence within college is maintained in the interest of discipline. It is maintained partly in the interest of bad colleges, in order to keep them full. But it is maintained still more in the interest of those relations between Oxford and the Church, which so large, and in the University so powerful, a party is bent on preserving at all hazards. That party never has been able to grasp the conception that the University owes a duty to the nation more imperative than its duty to the Church. On the contrary, it regards the Church as the final cause of the University. And, thus thinking, it fears lest the University, gathering strength from all classes of the community, may break the withes of ecclesiasticism by which it is now bound ; lest, in a word, in becoming equal to the nation, she may become more comprehensive than the Church. This is the real secret of the opposition ; and it is because of the vast importance of the principle involved that we look forward with so much interest to the issue of the contest.

And because, too, of the practical results of the contest. How great these results might prove to be it is hard to say without using language which may be thought exaggerated. People are prone to lament, somewhat idly, the commercial spirit of the age. Yet there is truth in the reproach ; there is among us an inordinate love of money-getting. Nothing can be more silly than to depreciate the value and the dignity of money ; but perhaps it is possible to over-estimate it. We pursue wealth with a fevered anxiety ; we form our estimates by a rude and somewhat vulgar money-standard. If this evil does exist, it can be best counteracted by the opportunity of a thorough education being afforded to all professions—giving them higher tastes, purer pleasures, and greater independence of mind.

We are far, too, from regarding lightly the wants of the

Church. We think, however, that those will be best supplied if they are not exclusively considered. Nothing would lead more surely to feebleness and inefficiency, nothing would more certainly loosen the already relaxing hold which the Church has upon the educated laity, than that young men intending to take orders should be set apart by themselves to be nurtured in a cloistered virtue. On the other hand, nothing would more strengthen the Church than the power of recruiting her numbers from all ranks of society; nothing would give the clergy greater influence than the experience of having known varieties of men in the early days of life.

The University should be the place where men of every shade of opinion, and of all grades in the social scale, meet on the common ground of education. It should be in reality, what it is often loosely said to be, an avenue into life—a path whereby talent may get forward in the world to do it service. At present there is no way upwards save by money-getting. In these respects the University might be to the nineteenth century what the Priesthood was to the middle ages.

To strengthen the capacities of the Church for good, to raise the tone of other professions, and thus to leaven the whole of society, these are no ignoble aims for even Oxford to set before herself. And this is not all. The University might render a vast political service by bringing out the talent of the nation more than is now possible. In no country, perhaps, is the area from which men rise into public life so small as in our own. Compare France, for example, with England in this particular. Among us, without wealth, no man has any hope of public life. The dislike of ‘adventurers,’ as they are called, so general in Parliament, if probed to its real foundation, will be found to rest on a mere vulgar admiration of money, with perhaps a prejudice against Irishmen superadded. In no other country does such a dislike prevail; and the consequence is, that in no country are politics so seldom studied as a profession as in ours. We are apt to think this an advantage; it is on the contrary a great evil. It simply restricts the supply. Out of a hundred men of the upper classes you will certainly have a larger percentage of competent statesmen than out of a hundred of any other class, just as you will have a larger percentage of competent lawyers or competent doctors—in short, of able men. But if we could extend the field of our choice over 100,000 of the middle and lower classes, should we find no available ability there wasted? And from the fact that we cannot so extend our choice, is nothing lost to the country? Worst of all is, that the area is narrowing every day. The times of patronage and small

boroughs have passed away, and with them has gone many a chance to poor ability of an entrance into public life. Politics are now as literature was in the days of Dr. Johnson,—patrons are gone by, and publishers are not yet. The Universities might be the publishers of political life.

These may seem fond fancies. And yet it is hard that we should be denied what chance there may be of realizing them. That chance, we feel assured, will only be given us by Parliament. That Parliament will give it we fully believe ; for on academical reform the House of Commons is prepared to act with liberality and vigour. The one decided Liberal victory of last session was won on this field. And we cannot but think with pleasure that in such a contest there will be no disunion among ourselves—that the single light of the Cave will forsake its darkness, and resume his fitting place among the foremost friends of liberty and progress. On academical questions at least, Mr. Lowe has never shown any signs of wavering. Two things, at all events, seem clear : one, that Parliament should be applied to ; the other, that the application, by whomsoever urged, is almost certain to be successful.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Three Unpublished Tours through the Famine-Stricken Districts in 1866.*
2. *An Epitome of the Famine in Cuttack.* By GOPAL CHUNDER HALDAR. 8vo. Cuttack, 1866.
3. *Market Rates and Official Papers published by the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.* 1865, 1866.
4. *The Englishman.* A Calcutta Daily Paper. 1865, 1866.
5. *The Friend of India.* A Weekly Paper. 1865, 1866.
6. *The Som-Prakash.* A Bengali Paper. 1865, 1866.
7. *Selection of Papers from the Records in the East India House.* Folio. 1820.

LOWER BENGAL has three harvests—a rice crop which is cut in September, another rice crop which ripens in December, and a pulse crop which is ready in spring. The first of these grows only in damp localities; the third is a mere by-product of the year, yielding small returns; on the second the population chiefly depends for food. The rains of 1865, instead of continuing till October, ceased abruptly in August; and three-fourths of the December harvest withered in the blade. Small farmers sent out their cattle to graze down, in a morning, the crops which were to have maintained their families during the ensuing twelve months; the village money-lenders put in motion the machinery of the law in fruitless efforts to recover their advances; landowners found it necessary to remit half their rents, and all felt that 1866 would be an anxious year for Lower Bengal. But while every one foresaw high prices, none anticipated general starvation; and the press hoped that, by timely measures, the evil might be kept below the point at which scarcity passes into famine. The swampy river-districts had reaped a plentiful crop in September, and the improved means of communication with which British rule has intersected Bengal, promised to relieve the necessities of the west by the superfluities of the east. There was food enough in the country, many thought, if it could only be fairly distributed. The laws of supply and demand would hold true in India, as in England. Grain would find its way from places where it was plentiful and cheap to places where it was scarce and dear, and the action of Government, so urged the public organs, ought to be confined to publishing weekly returns of the market rates in the various districts. Government accepted this advice. Every grain-merchant, by running his eye down the price-lists, learned where to buy rice at a low rate, and where to sell it at a high one. Instead of the corn-dealers taking fright and shutting up

their shops, as at the commencement of previous famines, they carried on their operations more briskly than usual. The speculation proved a safe one. The returns were rapid. Capitalists of all degrees—land-holders, money-lenders, produce-merchants, and village traders—embarked in the traffic, and a tide of importation set in from the east to the west, such as had never before been known in Bengal.

The chief seat of the trade was at Kooshtea, the terminus of the Eastern Bengal Railway, and the spot where it taps the network of rivers formed by the mouths of the Ganges and Brahmaputra. Four or five large steamers laden with grain came in every week. Each morning a fleet of rice-ships hove round the point, cumbrous high-sterned galleys lined the river bank five deep, till at length the railway company had to have recourse to the Courts to stop native craft discharging on its lines and sidings.

While food thus poured in from the east, a counter current of population had steadily set from the opposite direction. No sooner did a steamer deposit its rice-bags on the wharf than it took on board a cargo of labourers who had come from the parched and overcrowded west to seek their fortunes in the sparsely peopled tea-districts on the north-eastern frontier. During the summer months these migrations had gone on at an unprecedented rate. Tea-planters offered high wages to all comers, and 3820 adults had passed through Kooshtea eastwards in a single month. At the same time, emigration to the Mauritius and the West Indian Islands proceeded briskly from Calcutta, and there seemed good reason to hope that, what with food coming into, and people going away from, the districts which had suffered most, the new year would be one of local scarcities rather than of famine. Measures, complete and effectual beyond precedent, had been adopted to meet the coming trial. Public notice of it had been given; Government had stimulated without interfering with the laws of supply and demand; rivers, roads and canals, not one of which had been projected in previous seasons of distress, were now at work day and night distributing the national stock of food, and nothing remained but to wait, with mingled hopes and misgivings, till the slow months should show whether the September harvest of the eastern districts would suffice for the whole of Lower Bengal.

The solution which this problem has received is such as no one who witnessed it can ever forget. Humane men will shrink from remembering the scenes of 1866, as they would from dwelling upon the opening pages of Boccaccio. It is right,

however, that the measures by means of which the famine has been dealt with should be recorded, not only as precedents in case of a similar calamity, but also as a part of that solemn account which England has to render of her stewardship in India to the civilized world.

The retail price of rice in Lower Bengal seldom exceeds, in ordinary years, a halfpenny a pound. In a few thickly-peopled localities it is sometimes higher, but in secluded agricultural districts it is generally lower, and this sum may be fixed upon as a fair average for the whole. An unskilled adult labourer earns threepence a day if he finds work on the railways or under an English employer, and about twopence-halfpenny if under a native master. Hired labourers, however, form only a small proportion of the population. The classes who in this country would work for daily wages are in Bengal cottier farmers, holding from three to five acres, and enjoying an income very little better, but still a little better, than the hired labourers. Those who have minutely studied the rural economy of India, estimate their crops as equivalent to a sum of ten shillings a month, or fourpence a day. Taking the hired workman and the cottier farmers together, the average wage of the labouring population of Bengal amounts to about threepence-farthing a day. This sum, although contemptible in the eyes of a Northumberland or even of a Wiltshire peasant, represents in ordinary times a fair amount of animal comfort in Lower Bengal. Twopence-halfpenny procures five pounds of solid rice, a quantity which amply suffices for the wants of the temperate Bengali and his family. Besides rice, hardly anything requires to be bought. Beef he never touches, and mutton or kid only once or twice a year, at family sacrifices. As a member of a village, he has generally some ancient, although disputed, right of fishing in the communal pond from which he irrigates his fields. His children pick the vegetables of common use in every damp hollow. His thatched roof furnishes an unfailing supply of pumpkins, and beyond these what does he want? A little oil to polish his skin, a little salt and pepper to season his rice, and a single coarse cotton cloth to wrap round his waist. His dwelling, if he be a cottier farmer, goes along with his land; if he be a hired labourer the rent seldom exceeds a shilling a year, and that sum he is seldom able to pay. Household furniture costs him nothing. As the national mode of sitting is to squat on the heels, he is ignorant of the use of a chair, and to many wealthy and well-born Bengalis, a table is still a dangerous innovation, which means more than appears on the surface. He sleeps on the ground, or on a reed mat. The cloth that serves him by day

serves him also by night, the only change being that it is unrolled from the waist and spread out so as to cover the whole body. A single vase and platter, made of a cheap alloy, with a few unglazed earthen cooking-pots, two of which go to a farthing, are sufficient furnishings for a numerous household. A large-leaved tree supplies him with plates. If his wife keeps a cow, which pastures free with the village herd in the jungle, he is a well-to-do man; but such luxuries are for the few. At hamlet festivals, the only form of religion he is acquainted with, his richer neighbours expect nothing from him but his bodily strength, and this he gives with pleasure. He may be seen helping to put up the swinging-pole, and violently deprecating the recent enactment which forbids the hook to be thrust into the flesh of the devotee, or tugging at the ropes of the sacred car, shouting with the loudest, and enjoying the procession as much as the corn-dealer who has supplied the new paint, the tinsel, and the drums.

Such is the poor Bengali in seasons of plenty;—ever at home with nature, able to rear children on wages upon which the inhabitants of a less generous climate would starve, ignorant, contented, indifferent to the future, and with a keen relish for the little festivities which the year brings round. Seldom comparing himself with his betters, he seldom envies them. To be a craftsman, or to train his son to a craft, does not enter his mind, for his sole ambition is to live; and both he and his children will be beyond reach of starvation by the unskilled work of their hands so long as rice does not much exceed a halfpenny a pound.

But before the first four months of 1866 had passed, rice had risen much higher than a halfpenny a pound. In some districts it was threepence, in many twopence, and throughout the famine it stood at more rather than less than three-half-pence. A penny-three-farthings a pound, or seven pounds for a shilling, represents, as nearly as the English denominations of money permit, the average price. A family of five persons can live, and the parents have strength to work, on four pounds of rice a day. On three pounds the family survives, but the parents soon become weak, and unable for manual labour. With less than three pounds among them, one or other of the members must die. Before the end of April three-pence-farthing could barely procure two pounds. The average earnings of the unskilled labourers and the cottier farmers, therefore, had become unable to keep an ordinary family of five persons alive.

The cottier found himself worse off in one respect than the day-labourer. He depended on his crops to repay the seed

advanced by the money-lender, and to support himself and his family during the coming year. His harvest had been in great part or altogether lost. Even if a fourth part had escaped, he did not receive four times the ordinary price for the remnant, importation from the east having lowered the local rates. The hired labourer could not make the day's wages provide a day's food; but the cottier, in addition to the present difficulty, was weighed down by previous debts. No one understands better than the modern Bengali landlord the evils of an excessive subdivision of his land. The arrears of rent in the spring of 1866 furnished him with a good pretext for doing what he had long been wishing to accomplish, and the first conspicuous effect of the famine was the ejection of a multitude of cottiers, who wandered hither and thither in search of work, and finally became fixtures in the relief depots.

The classes of which we have been speaking correspond to the unskilled day-labourers in England. The next rank above them consists of artisans, small shopkeepers and substantial peasants holding six acres or upwards. The inferior craftsman in Bengal seldom earns less than sixpence, and an artisan of the better class never more than a shilling a day. The incomes of small shopkeepers and of the substantial peasants fluctuate between these sums, and the daily average earnings of the class, collectively, may be estimated at eightpence or ninepence. During the famine the price of rice stood pretty steadily at a penny-three-farthings a pound, and four pounds maintain an average family in good health. Even the lower order of artisans, therefore, were able, by working a little harder than usual, to procure at least their daily necessaries, and the class, as a whole, was able to do something more.

These calculations have been made with a view to ascertaining the number of persons whose earnings were insufficient to keep them alive during the famine. To such estimates serious objections may be taken. It may be urged that it is useless to speak of the ordinary income of the substantial peasants, for that income depends on their crops, and this year their crops had been destroyed. Many will remember that the class which practically suffered most, and which elicited the deepest sympathy, were not the hired labourers, but a very respectable order of artisans, the silk-weavers. It is clear, too, that the profits of small shopkeepers must have been seriously affected by the circumstance that a large portion of their customers had ceased to be able to buy their daily food. Districts may be cited, and conspicuously the province of Orissa, where rice remained during several months at threepence a pound. To the generality of such objections, the only answer is that a

calculation of this nature refers not to individuals, but to classes, not to exceptional localities, but to the whole of the famine-stricken districts, and that our averages have been carefully struck from returns drawn up during the progress of the famine. One objection, indeed, deserves especial notice. The ordinary subsistence of the substantial peasants had wholly or in great part disappeared, but a source of income speedily developed, which enabled them to live through the scarcity,—a source of income unknown in previous famines, and one which will form a subject of examination in the following pages.

Our averages apply to about three-quarters of Lower Bengal, and throughout that vast tract the whole of the unskilled labourers were unable to live by their earnings. The population of the famine-stricken districts has been variously stated; but the estimate which probably approximates most closely to the truth gives a total of twenty-seven millions. Of these the hired labourers and cottiers form not less than a third. At the end of April, therefore, there were nine million human beings, who, if things took their ordinary course, were liable to die off before the September harvest. During the famine of 1769-1770, the only calamity in Lower Bengal which bears comparison with the scarcity of 1866, six millions actually perished.

Fortunately, however, things were not allowed to take their ordinary course. At a very early period it was perceived that the intensity of the famine would depend not solely upon the price of grain, but also on the demand for labour. The first circumstance lay beyond man's control; and when the national stock of food had been fairly distributed, and prices equalized, all had been done that could be done. But the second circumstance was more plastic. If employment could only be found for the people, it might be hoped that, by working harder, they would increase their earnings so as to mitigate the effect of, if not altogether to meet, the enhanced prices. The husband had supported his household during seasons of plenty; if the wife now added her labour, the family might hold together till the September harvest. This project, although sound enough in theory, was beset with serious difficulties in the execution. For, in the first place, a national wage-fund just suffices to perform its natural office, that is, to employ the ordinary number of labourers in the country. Nor is the demand for labour in general susceptible of any sudden increase. In 1866, in order that the day-labourers and the cottier class, which had now sunk into day-labourers, should be enabled to procure their ordinary food, the national wage-fund would require to be multiplied three-fold, for food had risen to three times its ordinary price; in order that the labouring population should survive at all, the effective demand

for labour would require to be doubled. Even if capital could be diverted so suddenly, and to such an enormous extent, from its natural channels into a wage-fund, the question remained how to find reproductive employment for the multitude of new labourers. Besides, the same causes which had produced the famine had also destroyed a large portion of the national capital, and rendered moneyed men of all classes less able to employ labour. In previous scarcities, it had been found, as a matter of fact, that the demand for labour received a sudden check instead of a sudden increase; indeed, during the great famine of the last century, all who had money, hoarded it, and industry of every kind ceased.

The years between that time and this, however, have brought great changes. Three different classes of capitalists, who had no existence in 1769, came forward in unexpected force to mitigate the famine of 1866. First among them were the landed proprietors. In 1769 an opulent gentry could nowhere be discovered in Lower Bengal. The English found two distinct sets of men in possession of the soil,—needy courtiers, who having started as tax-collectors of the land revenue, had acquired loosely defined proprietary rights; and the ancient, but impoverished lords of the soil. In the eye of the law the first class continued to be only tax-gatherers. Any appearance of wealth among them gave rise to suspicions that they were collecting more than they accounted for, and led to an increased demand. One and all of them pleaded poverty; indeed, a large portion of early Indian records consists of complaints that the percentage allowed for collection did not yield a living. The thrifty few who really saved money secreted it. Many of them were supposed to have immense hoards, but capital, in the proper sense of the term, none of them had. The state of the ancient princes of the country was much worse. Native historians relate how, a few centuries earlier, gold and silver utensils glittered at every great man's feast; but long before the British conquest this barbaric wealth had disappeared. During the troubled fifty years preceding the battle of Plassy, while the central power was slowly breaking up, many of the old families in Lower Bengal had fortified their mansions, levied black-mail on the surrounding towns, and even attacked the Royal revenue on its way to Moorshedabad. One of the most serious difficulties bequeathed to us by Mussulman misrule was a marauding gentry, and as late as 1800, an experienced judge recorded that the landowners were at the bottom of half the gang-robberies in the province. A few of the noble houses, however, retained the shadow of their ancient state. Of these, the three most illustrious in the western districts, were the princes of Burdwan,

of Bishenpore, and of Beerbhoom. The present Maharajah of Burdwan enjoys an income reputed to exceed the private revenues of the Queen of England, and administers his estates by means of a council that closely mimics the imperial assemblage which sits in the capital, with the Viceroy at its head. The earliest records in the Burdwan treasury date not many years after the famine of 1769-70. They disclose the Maharajah of that period in pecuniary difficulties, unable to pay his taxes, and about to be made a prisoner in his own palace. The house of Bishenpore stood first among the Hindu nobility of Lower Bengal. Signs and portents, not less divine than the interposition which saved the infant Romulus, protected the boyhood of its founder. Its family-book narrates the adventures of fifty-seven lineal princes; the popular era of a large part of the country dates from its rise; and during eleven hundred years it had formed an impenetrable barrier between the hill-savages of the west and the rich valley of the Ganges. Even the Musulman conquerors stood in awe of the great border house and contented themselves with a nominal tribute. The local official records open with the year 1788. They display the ancient palace in ruins, the furniture put up at public auction, and the prince, a venerable white-haired man, in the debtors' prison.

In 1600, two Afghan brothers seized on the Hindu principality of Beerbhoom; before the end of the century they had become, partly by force, partly by fraud, the most formidable Musulman house between the newly proposed metropolis at Moorshedabad and the western highlands. Sometimes their troops swelled the army of the Viceroy, sometimes they declared themselves independent of him. The most vigorous prince who ever sat on the State-cushion of Lower Bengal, when ordaining that all the feudatories should present themselves in person once a year at his court, found it expedient to make two exceptions. Of these the one was the Hindu house of Bishenpore, the other the Mussulman house of Beerbhoom. In later times, the Beerbhoom Rajah furnished a contingent to the prince who shut up Holwell and his companions in the Black Hole; and the most luxurious suburb of Calcutta, amid which the palace of the Lieutenant-Governor now stands, took its name from a cadet of the house. But during the thirty years preceding the famine of 1769, the fortunes of the Beerbhoom family had waned. An unsuccessful rebellion grievously increased their tribute; an hereditary disease unfitted two successive princes for war; the highlanders overran their territory, and the earliest English records detail how the late prince had been let out of the debtors' prison only to die, and how his successor became a prisoner within a few months of his coming of age.

Of these three houses the first has revived, and now enjoys a magnificence which it never obtained under native rule; the other two have perished, but on their ruins a new and better growth has sprung up. The modern gentry consist, to a large extent, of men who owe their fortunes to trade or banking. The thrifty habits which enabled them to accumulate wealth incline them to a temperate use of it; many of them have large savings invested in the public funds, and most of them are known as improving landlords. In former times, when the land-tax fluctuated from year to year, agricultural improvements were out of the question. The State claimed any increase in productiveness, without inquiring whether the increase had or had not resulted from the outlay of the proprietor's capital. Government, by solemnly binding itself never to enhance the land-revenue, made agricultural improvements possible, and they now form a favourite method of investing money. At the commencement of the famine, the Press called upon rural capitalists, particularly landholders, to find as much employment as possible for the labouring poor. Government, as a leading proprietor, and as the guardian of all wealthy minors whose estate consists of land, set the example, an example which each landholder, when he came to pay his respects to the English head of the district, was counselled to follow. Many a work that had been long talked of, but which would never have been undertaken, was begun, and a still greater number of works which had been languidly progressing, or altogether left off, were vigorously taken up again and finished. Marshes were drained, reservoirs and artificial lakes for irrigation were dug, watercourses were deepened or cleaned out, jungle was cut down, embankments were thrown up, thousands of acres were reclaimed, and during the spring months the words contractor and estimate, pronounced *contrakdār* and *ishtimét*, were never out of the villagers' mouths.

Another class of capitalists, whose existence would not have entered into the calculations of the most sanguine statesman of 1769, played a conspicuous part in the famine of 1866. During the first forty-eight years of British rule, Englishmen and private English capital were rigorously debarred an entrance into Bengal. During the twelve years preceding 1866, private Englishmen contributed, it is stated, sixty millions sterling towards a single Indian enterprise; and if to the cost of constructing the railways, the current expense of working and repairing them, be added, the total outlay cannot have been less than seven millions per annum. To the European world the Indian railways stand as a monument of successful British enterprise, under untried and unparalleled difficulties; but to

many who have had a nearer view of the matter, the mission of the Indian railway seems not to be the aggrandizement of the imperial race that planned them, but the amelioration of the humble millions who found employment in their construction. Wherever the iron road goes, wages permanently rise, and it is no exaggeration to say that the railway, by readjusting the balance between unskilled labour and capital, has done as much for the hewers of wood and drawers of water in Bengal as the Cornwallis Code of 1793 did for the agriculturists.

But the railways are not the only great enterprise in Bengal conducted with English capital. A century ago the Hooghly flowed through jungle so pestilent that at night the traveller moored his boat as far as possible from the bank to avoid fever. The founder of Calcutta was compelled by malaria to abandon a more commodious site which he had originally intended to be the chief seat of British enterprise in Lower Bengal. The stranger who now sails up the Hooghly views with surprise, at intervals on either bank, specimens of almost every sort of manufacturing industry: cotton-mills, sugar-mills, paper-works, dock-yards, foundries, and workshops of various kinds. The inhabitants of a single modern street in Calcutta represent a larger amount of imported capital than could be found in the whole city in 1769. In the business part of the town the eye everywhere lights upon signboards indicating the agencies of coal-companies, tea-companies, lime-companies, companies whose object is to collect vast armies of labourers in districts where population is redundant and to carry them to districts where population is sparse, steam-navigation companies, inland transit companies of sorts, and miscellaneous associations without number. The other great cities reproduce the same spectacle on a somewhat smaller scale. In spite of a succession of disastrous years, indigo-factories, worked with English capital, stud every district in Lower Bengal; silk-factories, similarly worked, and a single one of which gives employment to eight thousand people—send forth their incessant hum; tea-cultivation has, within fifteen years, turned a province of jungle into a province of gardens; in the swampy districts reclamation-companies wall out the sea; in the arid districts irrigation-companies, with an aggregate capital of several millions sterling, bring water from a hundred miles off to every peasant's field.

Another great capitalist that had no existence in 1769 remains to be mentioned. During the Mussulman period the Government was the only employer of labour on a large scale; it now forms the chief of many. The famine of 1769 happened at a most unfortunate time. Four years previously the old dynasty had been stripped of its civil administration, and its

public works suspended, nor had any successor as yet stepped into its place. At first, indeed, the conquerors ruled as if the government of a great province were a mercantile speculation, from which as much as possible was to be got, and on which as little as possible was to be spent. By slow and unwilling steps the Company rose to its responsibilities. It found that one of the chief duties of an Oriental Government was to conduct industrial enterprises, which its subjects were too poor and too devoid of the spirit of association to undertake; and by degrees a system of public works developed, which forms the most conspicuous feature of the Indian budget. One way or another, from imperial and from local resources, the Indian Government distributes six millions sterling a year among the working classes; and during the earlier months of the recent famine it so stimulated its operations as to offer wages to all who were willing to labour. Districts that had escaped the calamity received a more sparing allowance than usual for public works, and the saving thus effected was poured into the suffering localities. Old roads were repaired, new roads were constructed, rivers were embanked, and extensive Government buildings begun; in short, reproductive labour was found for a starving population.

Until the beginning of May the scheme for increasing the wage-fund worked well. The demand for labour continued to rise so as to meet the increased demand for work. Wages consequently remained firm at the old rates. But towards the end of April it became apparent that something had gone wrong. There was no lack of employment; the price of grain had not risen, or risen only in a trifling degree, above the previous rates; yet the people grew daily less able to buy food. Famishing crowds began to stream into the great towns, women dropped from exhaustion on the roads, and the English community heard with horror of a village, in the sea-board of Orissa, where the inhabitants had patiently starved to death and uttered no complaint. One traveller afterwards related that in some of the secluded hamlets each house contained a dead family. The truth is, that in the scheme of tiding over the famine by means of an increased wage-fund, two important considerations had escaped notice. No allowance had been made for the little rural communities who, cut off from the towns by rivers, swamps, and jungles, live their own isolated lives, and take no heed of the outward world. Such hamlets abound in all the more backward districts on the west. Not many of them are familiar with any system of money-wages; if a man works for his neighbour he receives his pay in kind; nor did it enter into their imagination that in the open country and large towns a

system of regular employment existed, by which they could have been enabled to live through the famine. They only knew that their fields had yielded no food, and the natural corollary was that they must die of hunger, as their fathers had died in time past.

But another and a more serious difficulty remained. It had been hoped that the labouring population, by doing nearly double its ordinary work, would earn three-quarters of its ordinary food. The arithmetic, indeed, was correct enough; and the employers had done their share of the transaction. It now became apparent that the labourers could not permanently perform theirs. The quantity of work exacted from the unskilled workman varies in different countries, but everywhere the standard naturally tends towards the maximum which the climate and the bodily strength of the race permit. On the other hand, the ordinary food of the unskilled labourer tends towards the minimum which will support an average family in health. To expect, therefore, that a labouring population will do twice its usual work, is to look for what can only for a short time, if even for a short time, be realized. To expect that, while thus doubling their exertions, they will be able to support themselves on three-quarters of their ordinary food, is to expect an impossibility. In justice to the poor Bengali, it must be recorded that he struggled hard to perform his part of the plan. While he had strength, he manfully put it forth for his children and his hearth, but too much work and too little food soon rendered his exertions vain. The women gave way first. In Bengal a labourer is paid according to the quantity of work he can do. Women generally earn about twopence a day. Before the end of May many of their emaciated frames could hardly perform the labour necessary to earn a penny. Numbers of men could with difficulty do a woman's ordinary work, and were thankful for a woman's ordinary pay. One extensive employer stated that in general his men could earn higher wages by piece-work than by the day; but this year they begged him to give them wages according to a fixed rate, and not by the measurement of the work actually done.

By the end of the first week in May, the necessity for a system of public charity had become generally recognised. Indeed, for several weeks past a party had existed in the capital who believed that the time for such operations had already arrived. There can now be little doubt that many of their proposals were premature, but there can be no doubt whatever that this sensitiveness of the English community did good by rendering the Government more keenly alive to the coming necessity. Both the party and its advocates in the public journals over-

looked an important agency which is always at work in Bengal for the relief of the poor, and which at that time was being strained to the utmost. Poor-laws are unknown in India, but there is no country in the world in which the people live so much on one another. Their ancient lawgiver ordained, not only that brethren should dwell together in unity, but also that they should abstain from any division of the inheritance. In this respect, the modern Hindus have diverged less widely from the precepts of Manu than in most others. The British Legislature early found it necessary to recognise what is termed the Undivided State; and a suit for partition forms one of the most complicated processes known to our Courts. Relatives, therefore, cling together more firmly than in other countries; and for the most distant kinsman to be seen begging, is the disgrace which the respectable Hindu most dreads. In every population, however, there must be a certain proportion of solitary and indigent beings dependent on public charity. For such persons the ceremonial code of the Hindus makes ample provision. In their religious system almsgiving has all the importance of a sacrament. As a man obtains an earthly birth from his parents, and a mystical birth by investiture with the sacred cord; so by charity he is made meet for that heavenly birth and reunion with the divine elements which his body obtains on the funeral pyre. Practically, the Hindu attends to no portion of his religious duties more than to almsgiving. Nor is this altogether unselfish. Public opinion is not strict to mark many things which in this country would sink a man in infamy. Men who have committed certain kinds of dishonesty, which here would make them outcasts, may still hope to enjoy the respect of their neighbours; the usurer may be ever so hard without fear of general censure; a native jury can seldom be got to return a verdict of guilty in cases of forgery; and acts that would be condemned as the sharpest practice in other countries escape notice in Bengal, or are noticed with praise. But one offence public opinion never condones. A shopkeeper who habitually sends the beggar empty away may be strict in all his dealings, but he never prospers. A proprietor may be a good landlord, but if he shuts his gate against the poor he is always an unpopular one. At every family ceremony, at a birth, at a marriage, when the child is inducted into his father's caste, when the air is still tainted with the smoke from the funeral pile, when the kinsmen gather together each year to commemorate their ancestor's obsequies, a distribution of food forms part of the solemnity. In general, each village looks after its own poor, and almost every landholder dispenses daily rations to the necessitous persons on his estate.

About sunrise, crowds of diseased objects, lepers and cripples, begin to gather in the rich man's court, and loudly grumble if the steward diminishes by a single grain the customary dole. The last remnant of greatness to which a fallen family clings is this daily practice of almsgiving. Of the ancient magnificence of the Beerbhoom Rajahs only two half-starved elephants remain; their palaces, mosques, and baths are now unsightly heaps of brick; their canals and trim water-courses have filled up; the great flower-garden, in which the bones of seven generations of princes repose, has relapsed into jungle; but every forenoon a train of aged and impotent folk may still be seen issuing, each with his little portion of rice, from the ruins.

During the earlier months of the famine, the ordinary system of private charity expanded in proportion as the exigencies of the people increased. There was a point however beyond which it could not be stretched, but at what precise period this point would be reached could not be calculated. The writer had an opportunity of making inquiries in seven of the most cruelly stricken districts during May and June. Uncertainty and contrary opinions prevailed everywhere, but the general voice both of officials and landholders was, that up to the end of April the existing machinery for relief had proved efficient. One extensive planter could not be convinced until the middle of June that a general system of State charity had become necessary. The terrible heats of April, however, aggravated by increased work and insufficient food, had rendered many thousands of previously able-bodied men incapable of labour; throughout the spring the landholders had found it impossible to collect the usual instalments of rent; their resources, therefore, barely sufficed for their ordinary charities, and were quite unable to deal with the rapidly increasing distress.

It is questionable whether the system of private charity works as effectively in the cities of Bengal as in the rural parts. A certain number of known and privileged mendicants collect a living from shop to shop, but to strangers, charity, although seldom absolutely denied, is given with so sparing a hand as to be but little effectual. In such cases even the smallest copper coin rarely changes hands. A few grains of rice, or a dozen cowries, of which 2400 go to a shilling, suffice to avert what the superstitious Hindu so much dreads,—the beggar's curse. The destitute crowds, therefore, that flocked from the country, received but slender relief in the bazaars of Calcutta, and the affluent inhabitants of the European quarters were daily shocked by the appearance of thousands of squalid objects in the last extremity of hunger. Our countrymen, individually, gave largely, but to the native merchants belongs the honour of

initiating an organized system of relief. Every Hindu trader, when he opens his day-book in the morning, writes at the top of the page the name of the deity on whose favour he chiefly relies. Many pious men note down after the divine name a sum of money, according to their means, and at the end of the year these sums are added up and devoted to a festival in honour of the god. The tutelary divinity of a number of the Calcutta merchants is Kali, and her grateful devotees annually spend several hundred thousand pounds upon the great autumn festival, at the close of which a long train of sacred effigies, arrayed in jewelled robes, are solemnly committed to the Hooghly. After the famishing crowds had for some time been encumbering the streets of Calcutta, it struck a rich merchant that the goddess would be better pleased if he added up her money and devoted it to the starving multitudes, than if he hoarded it for her festival. The idea spread. A fund instantly sprung into existence for charitable purposes, and many who cared nothing for Kali joined in the good work which her devotees had begun. In some cases opulent merchants acted singly, in others a number of the less wealthy citizens joined together to open a relief-depot; and it was subsequently ascertained that the native gentlemen of Calcutta, without noise or ostentation of any sort, had systematically fed 18,700 people.

Many considerations rendered it expedient that the ordinary system of private charity should be left alone as long as it continued equal to the necessities of the times. In the first place, it was what the people had always been accustomed to. It was susceptible of a gradual increase in proportion as the distress became more intense, and its increase caused no disturbance or displacement of the rural population. It penetrated more deeply than any system of State charity could; for the utmost that Government could hope to effect would be the establishment of relief-depots at certain central spots, while, under the existing system, every rich man's house throughout the country formed such a depot. Besides, no one knew how long the famine would continue. If the September and December harvests should fail, the present scarcity would be as nothing to the distress in 1867. At the same time, the benevolence of the landholders would be exhausted, and the public revenues would be greatly diminished. It was expedient, therefore, that the State should husband its direct charities as long as the people could do without them.

A still weightier argument was also urged. Had it been possible gradually to supplement the private efforts of native gentlemen, by grants from the public purse, much suffering might have been averted. But nothing is more sensitive of

official interference than Hindu charity. The orthodox Bengali distrusts English benevolence in general, but he particularly distrusts the benevolence of the English Government. The two nations look at the subject from widely different points of view. Hindu charity seldom discriminates, and when it discriminates it does so in favour of those who need it least. Their popular creed directs its professors to give to all who ask, but especially to Brahmans, Yogis, and Hermits, whether they ask or not. With the Hindu, almsgiving is not a social, but a religious duty. Charity of this sort nowhere asks questions. The English monasteries developed so many able-bodied mendicants that during the reign of Elizabeth special provision had to be made for dealing with the evil. To this day sturdy beggars beset the approaches to the richer religious houses in Spain and Italy, and a pious Bengali would as little think of inquiring whether an applicant for alms really needs relief, as a communicant of the Anglican Church would of refusing his offering at the solemnization of the Lord's Supper, until satisfied as to how the money will be applied. The offertory, however, is almost the only occasion on which English charity is not inquisitive. From early youth up an Englishman hears indiscriminate charity constantly condemned, and a large majority of the nation looks upon a system of State relief which fails to make distinctions as worse than the absence of State relief altogether. The explanation is, that in England and many other civilized countries the Poor-laws have removed almsgiving from the list of private virtues, and placed it in the array of public duties. The payment of the parish-rates seldom calls forth any violent emotion of benevolence. The evasion of them lays a man open, not to the charge of uncharitableness, but to the penalties of being a bad citizen. We discharge the claims of poor guardians for the same reason as we pay the income-tax, and we expect the same economy to be exercised in the expenditure of both. In neither case have those who disburse the proceeds any right to indulge private feelings. Indeed, the evils which spring from indiscriminate State relief have reacted on our private charities, and many thinking men have come to look upon benevolence as a private taste which they must not indulge, without first having ascertained that it will not prove hurtful to their neighbours.

The Hindu knows no such responsibility. He makes no distinction between the able-bodied professional beggar and those whom age or infirmities have compelled to ask alms. Nor can he understand why others should do so. A public officer who, in distributing a Government grant, did not discriminate between the really necessitous and impostors, would in the eyes of his English superiors be guilty of gross neglect of duty; in the

estimation of the Hindu community a public officer who did thus discriminate would be guilty of inhumanity. No scheme of State relief could be devised which would be at once just and popular. If funds were intrusted to the native landholders, the people would indeed be more effectively relieved, but a permanent pauper population would be created. If the public charities were administered by officials they would be productive of widespread discontent: few expected that the two systems of charity could run side by side without interfering with each other, and the event proved the general opinion to be correct. No sooner had a system of public relief been organized than private benevolence in a large measure ceased. Landholders deemed it no longer necessary to straiten themselves by discharging out of their diminished incomes a duty which Government consented to take off their hands. The more intelligent of them also perceived that eventually they would have to contribute the sums that Government might expend out of the public purse, and that any class which continued its private distributions would take on itself a double burden. A few wealthy and ancient families still dispensed the immemorial dole for the honour of their houses, but the above considerations prevailed with the generality. In every respect, therefore, it was inexpedient for Government to interfere until interference became absolutely necessary.

This time arrived in May. In some districts relief operations had been begun at a much earlier date, in others they were not found necessary till several months later, but the evidence goes to show that throughout the greater part of the suffering provinces the existing machinery for the relief of the poor broke down during the first half of May. The party who, in ignorance of this machinery, had for some time been anxious for organized measures, now became clamorous, and accused the authorities of inhumanity and neglect. These charges at the time seemed well founded. It was patent that a system of State charity had become necessary; it by no means appeared that the Government had taken steps to introduce such a system. Subsequently, indeed, it was proven that the authorities had not merely deliberated on the subject, but that at the very period when public dissatisfaction reached its climax, a scheme had been brought to maturity for meeting the exigency without drawing on the revenues. The traditional reticence of the Indian Government proved in this instance unwise. The authorities, however, were in a position to appreciate more thoroughly than the public could the evils that the most judicious system of State charity would not fail to produce, and which premature State charity would aggravate in a pernicious

degree. These evils they determined to postpone till the last moment, and whether that moment had arrived or not could only be ascertained from the one-sided and conflicting reports of an army of local officials, who found themselves for the first time in their lives in the midst of a great famine. No precedents existed in Lower Bengal to guide them. Of the famine of 1769-70 only sufficient record remains to prove that people died by millions without any effort on the part of the Government to save them. The analogies that the recent scarcity in the North-west Provinces afforded, were found in some material circumstances not to hold good. The result was difference of opinion, partial measures, and delay. Looking back with the wisdom of after events, there can be little doubt that three precious weeks were permitted to pass without organized measures, after the necessity for such measures had arisen. Looking back to the uncertainty which then prevailed, and making allowance for the difficulty of introducing, for the first time in a country, a system of State charity, the period of three weeks will be deemed marvellously short.

In the meanwhile many little English communities had set up relief-depots at their own expense. The civil capital of a Lower Bengal district seldom contains more than seven or eight English families, but the strength of a society of rulers is by no means to be estimated by its numbers. During the summer of 1857, many of these isolated aristocracies had, without the aid of a single regular soldier, overawed populous districts ripe for insurrection, and the story of how one of them defended itself in the station billiard-room against the rebel troops, has been read with pent breath by half the schoolboys in the kingdom. During the summer of 1866 they developed a system of relief which rescued hundreds of thousands from starvation. The sums subscribed sound large, even to ears accustomed to the munificent charities of the English metropolis. County-court judges, whose nett income does not much exceed £2500 a year, and who out of that sum have generally two establishments, one in India, and one in England, to support, gave at the rate of £360 per annum; magistrates on £2000 gave at the rate of £250, and as a rule few gave less than a tithe of their income. The native officials imitated their superiors, and many landholders, while disapproving of the English system of charity, thought it inconsistent with their dignity that their names should be absent from lists so respectably headed. The little civilian oligarchy contributed at the rate of £900 per annum; half as much more might be expected from native subscribers, and the sums thus obtained sufficed to keep 800 persons above starvation. Each relief committee, while making provision for those who

could not labour, aimed rather at supplementing wages than at doing away with the necessity of earning them. The planters and English landholders did for their own neighbourhoods what the officials did for the provincial capitals. Every indigo-factory became a relief-depot, and the only fault that the most prejudiced enemy of British enterprise in Bengal could find with private Englishmen during the famine, was that they gave with too free a hand.

On the bases which these private operations afforded, Government determined to erect a system of State relief. When a committee found itself unable, out of its own funds, to meet the increasing distress, it was instructed to apply for a grant from the Revenue Board, and in this way considerable sums were obtained before the public were aware that anything had been done. During May the authorities resolved that, instead of making the Government grants supplementary to private efforts, the time had come to deal with private efforts as auxiliary to Government grants. A large balance remained over from the fund which England subscribed five years ago for the famine in the North-west Provinces. This was first applied. The previous relief committees continued for the most part unchanged, but several of the members sat in their official capacities. At the end of the month the Lieutenant-Governor and his chief secretary came down to Calcutta from the summer seat of the Government among the hills, to watch the new system through its first difficulties. Instead of rice being dispensed only in the provincial capitals, arrangements were made for organizing relief-depots at convenient spots throughout the whole country. Instead of each local committee proceeding according to its own lights, general rules were laid down. Previously some of the committees gave more liberally than others, and a tide of paupers set in to the favoured spots. Able-bodied men who, by constant work, could earn at home a quantity of food that barely sufficed for their families, had heard that in some relief-depot not far off plenty of food might be had without any labour whatever. Thousands had given up the struggle for independence. In their own villages they had been industrious workmen, in the relief-depot they soon became professional mendicants. But before the middle of June uniformity was introduced so far as uniformity was safe. The Central Government left a wide discretion to the commissioners of divisions, for no two divisions felt the pressure equally, and the commissioners, whilst making allowances for the different circumstances of their several districts, took care that no committee departed from the average scale of rations without sufficient cause.

The population which required relief was found to consist of

three classes : those who could earn wages, but whose wages did not enable them to live ; those who could not earn regular wages, but who were able to do light work ; those who were incapable of labour of any sort. For the last class vast enclosures were erected, where they received daily rations. The second also obtained food at the public expense, but they had to give a small quantity of labour in return ; the first class proved more difficult to deal with. Some committees found work for them, and paid them not in money but in food ; but in most localities their numbers, swollen with ejected cottiers and emigrants from the outlying hill-districts, became too great to be disposed of in this manner. Besides, a considerable wage-fund existed in the hands of private employers, and it had been the object of Government throughout to graft its charity on the natural operation of supply and demand, rather than to supplant it. Previous scarcities had proved, that any interference with the market rates produced panic and flight among those on whom the majority of the people depended for their food. At the beginning of the present famine, the Lieutenant-Governor made a progress through the sea-board districts, and re-assured the corn-dealers, some of whom had already shut up their shops, by promising that Government would not intermeddle with the laws of supply and demand. At the end of May, however, many thinking men had come to consider that these laws could no longer be applied to a section of the community who would die the most cruel of deaths under their operation. The problem was how to interfere with market-rates in favour of a third of the population, and at the same time to leave these rates free as regards the other two-thirds.

This question did not receive a uniform answer till several months after State relief began. The dilemma reproduced itself under a somewhat different form in different districts, and the local officers required the bitter experience of partial measures before they apprehended the precise nature of the operation which was required. A few easy-going committees, indeed, contented themselves with feeding all comers in the meanwhile, without considering the habits of permanent pauperism which would result. But the majority reflected more deeply. Their object was not so much to save the people, as to help the people to save themselves, and several of them without previous communication struck out the same plan. They opened markets at which food might be procured at a price low enough to enable the labourer to live by his wages, but took care that the process of buying should be just sufficiently disagreeable as to deter those who could afford to buy at the regular dealers from frequenting the Government sales. The scheme worked better

than even its projectors had anticipated. The gates of their rice-marts stood open to all; no harshness was needed; the managers had only to arrange that there should be a crowd of unclean and low-caste labourers, in order effectually to exclude the well-to-do section of the community. This they easily effected. Each buyer was permitted to purchase a quantity of rice that would feed him for one day and no more; in order therefore that a family should benefit by the reduced rates, the whole of its members had to attend. Immense numbers of the lowest orders, stained from their daily toil, thronged the approaches, and by opening the market only for a short time in the twenty-four hours, the crowd was never allowed to subside. The scrupulously clean Hindu in easy circumstances, shrank from the contamination of the unwashed rabble, and if he were really to profit by the cheapened prices, the female members of his household would have to appear personally with their copper pieces in their hands. A fashion of secluding the Hindu women, which owed its origin to the licentiousness of the Musulman conquerors, has come down to our own times, and although generally exaggerated by English travellers, has still sufficient force to deter any respectable man from exposing his wife and daughters to be pushed and hustled by a filthy mob. Besides, public opinion declared strongly against any citizen who, without sufficient reason, bought rice at the relief-depot, and public opinion is an all-powerful influence in a little Bengali town.

During the first week of June the people began anxiously to look out for the rains. Before the second week expired the suspense had become insupportable, for the next ten days would decide whether the stricken districts were to reap a harvest in September, or whether they would have to suffer on till the end of the year. Morning after morning the sun blazed forth from the unclouded east; the earth became as one great brick-field; the blood of goats streamed in vain from the altars, and rumours of more terrible sacrifices spread in undertones from ear to ear. The western highlanders still maintain, that if the gods take any delight in sacrifice, the oblation of a man's life is the one most likely to procure their favour. A tribe, consisting of industrious and inoffensive subjects of the Crown, when questioned as to its practice, would only answer, 'How can we poor creatures afford such offerings? Where is a man to be bought cheap in these days?' It was now whispered that dark deeds had been done in the forest, and that the Great Mountain, the national god of the highlanders, would in due time send rain. Nor had the altars of the highly civilized Hindus escaped the taint of human blood. During the progress of the famine sus-

picious attached to more than one shrine, and the Press narrated how, in an important provincial capital within a short journey of the metropolis, the police had burst into a temple, only in time to find a ghastly head and a pool of blood in front of the idol.¹ Many devout Hindus, indeed, believed that all such sacrifices would prove ineffectual. The signs of the times answered to those which their prophetic books foretold would precede the destruction of the world, and the appointed order of things was not to be so stayed. A venerable gentleman, who, after a life of faithful service to our Government, had attained the position of senior native magistrate in the district of Beerbhoom, laboured to convince the writer of the soundness of these views. He was a Brahman of the highest class, and came to the task armed with the learning of his order. Texts from the canonical books were brought forward to prove that the epidemic which had raged during several years in Lower Bengal, that the cyclone and tidal wave, which, in the autumn of 1864, had swept over the sea-board villages, and that the present famine formed a series of divine warnings that the end of the Kalpa was at hand. Nor did the events of the natural world speak alone. Society had reached the stage which had been foretold as the final one in the existing order of things. He cited the Book of the Future (*Purana Bhavishyata*), to show that at the end of the world hereditary distinctions would cease, and that there would be but one caste and one nation. He pointed to the rapidity with which the institutions of caste had during the past few years been breaking up; to the Brahmo-Samaj, a new Hindu sect, which from a small beginning in Calcutta has radiated into the most distant parts of India, and now possesses a congregation in every country town,—a sect whose fundamental tenets are, that there is no god but the One God, and that all men are equal. The sacred writings had clearly foretold the signs; the signs were now accomplished; and it only remained submissively to await the yet more terrible convulsions amid which the day and night of Brahma, which form our era, would expire.

The anxiety of the English officials took a more practical form. In some years the rains approach so regularly, that their line of march can be pretty accurately guessed. Irrigation companies have to prepare for their coming, and generally arrange to telegraph their appearance at various points on their route. In one district last summer a weir was in process of construction; the engineer received constant intelligence as to where the rains had last been heard of, and the spirits of the

¹ No instance of cannibalism, however, or of any approach to cannibalism, was brought to light.

little English community rose or fell according to the character of the morning's telegram. At last the decisive message came. First one district, then another, had had a thunderstorm ; not the brief passionate hurricanes of the hot weather, but a storm of the deliberate sort, which slowly gathers during several hours, and, after the first flood, gradually subsides into a day's steady rain. Before the end of the third week every village knew that the rains had set in ; tears of joy, instead of offerings of blood, poured before the gods, and even students of the Hindu apocalypse admitted that Bengal would in all probability reap a harvest within three months, and that the end of the Kalpa might be postponed for another year.

The demand for agricultural labour instantly trebled. Thousands of small cultivators, who had migrated to the towns in search of employment, now hastened back to their villages. In a fortnight the green blade came up ; in a few days more it gathered strength, and the work of transplanting began. Of the toil of this process no one who has not witnessed it can form a just idea. Saving a few patches of sugar-cane, which is a still more laborious crop, Lower Bengal is one vast rice-field from July to September, and every blade of rice, except the long-stemmed sort that grows in deep swamps, has to be transplanted. The labourers stand up to their knees in tepid puddle, and the intense rays of the sun render long hours of work impossible. In the Scottish Lothians, five *permanent* hinds and a steward, can manage a farm of three hundred acres ; in the lower valley of the Ganges, one man cannot cultivate more than six acres, and the average is five. The rice-crop and *petite culture* of Bengal therefore require ten times more ploughmen than cultivation on a large scale in this country. Even a small extension of agriculture gives work to a multitude of new labourers, and in 1866 the area of cultivation in Lower Bengal made unprecedented strides.

The division between labour and capital has taken place not less thoroughly in India than in England, although in a more cryptic form. An entire village often does not contain a single hired workman, but the whole of the villagers are nevertheless the servants of a single capitalist in as strict a sense as the inhabitants of the little colony which grows up around a cotton-factory in Lancashire are the servants of the mill-owner. The village money-lender forms the basis of the rural industry of Bengal. The day-labourer agrees to do a piece of work for a certain sum. His wages do not come in till he completes his contract, and meanwhile the money-lender, who usually combines corn-dealing with banking, furnishes him with supplies. The artisan works on his own account, but as he has no capital either to buy his raw materials with, or to maintain himself

during the process of manufacture, the money-lender's assistance must be obtained. The substantial peasant farms his ancestral acres, but the money-lender advances the seed for the ground, and a daily subsistence for the husbandman, to be repaid at harvest. In a word, the money-lender supplies the capital, and the villagers supply the labour requisite for industrial enterprise. The petty rural bankers are a shrewd class of men. They foresaw that the scanty harvest of 1865 would render cultivation very profitable in 1866, and made their advances on an unusually liberal scale. Land that had lain so long fallow, that the little ridges between the fields were obliterated, was ploughed up, and four millions of eager husbandmen pushed cultivation up dry elevations, and deep into jungles, which had in more prosperous years lain waste. For this year even a meagre crop would be a profitable one. A low class of land, therefore, that in ordinary seasons did not pay the cost and risks of tillage, might be highly remunerative. Never had the September crop been so widely sown, and the least observant traveller could not help being struck with the boundless expanse of green that everywhere spread before him.

Wherever the Anglo-Saxon goes, he carries with him his respect for precedent. Throughout the scarcity it was deemed of the highest importance to know what measures had been adopted in previous dearths, and the Indian journals from time to time displayed considerable research in their comparisons between the present dearth and the famine of 1769. It did not appear that prices materially differed during the two calamities. Throughout the sea-board districts grain sold, during several months in 1866, at threepence a pound, and this seems to have been the maximum price reached in 1769-70. In several isolated places during both famines food was not to be procured at any prices. In both cases the rural population had flocked towards the great towns, and in 1866, as in 1769, many aged and diseased persons had sunk from exhaustion on the roads.

Here, however, the analogy ceased. Some of the measures for meeting the famine of 1866 had proved inefficient, but in 1769 no measures whatever had been taken. In 1769 the torrent of migration towards the cities had gone on unchecked. Hundreds of thousands had died upon the streets, and thousands had torn one another to pieces in the scramble for food at rich men's doors. In 1866 a series of relief-depots had been organized to act as breakwaters along the routes leading to the capital. Within a hundred miles of Calcutta, on the great north road, three immense hospices had been set up; one at Kaneegunge, one at Burdwan, and one at Hooghly. In order the more effectually to counteract the displacement of the population, a system was also organized for sending back

paupers from Calcutta to their homes, charging their subsistence in the meanwhile partly to the relief committee of their district, partly to the central committee in the capital. But the most conspicuous difference was to be found in the state of agriculture. The famine of 1769 left one-third of the province waste. The uncultivated land speedily relapsed into jungle, the jungle soon teemed with tigers, and the human population, gradually driven in from the outlying parts, gathered together towards the centres of the districts. Every volume of the ancient manuscript records bears witness to the battle that raged between man and the wild beasts. In districts where not even a tiger can now be found, a still more formidable enemy, the wild elephant, roamed in herds from village to village, throwing down the houses, lifting off the roofs of granaries, trampling the crops, and crushing everything that opposed him. Even the charcoal-burners, who for generations had faced the tiger, fled before the rush of the wild elephant, and their forest hamlets appear in the revenue returns subsequent to 1770 as deserted. One magistrate on an official tour casually noticed that forty parishes (*purgunnahs*) had been depopulated by these animals; and a collector plainly told Sir John Shore that, unless their depredations were promptly checked, it would be impossible to collect the land-tax. The lieutenants in charge of the north road drew a certain allowance per mile for keeping it free from tigers, and throughout the districts in the vicinity of the metropolis, the sums disbursed to huntsmen for bringing in the heads of wild beasts formed an important item in the accounts of the local treasuries.

In 1866, on the other hand, the first effect of the famine was greatly to extend cultivation. Square miles of arid country, which up to the spring of that year had borne nothing but sal-scrub, were waving with rice-crops in August, and the prosperity of the husbandmen in the midst of the general distress afforded a plausible argument to the advocate of *petite culture*; for in order that the land might be cultivated, the cultivators had to be fed. The blessed difference between the present and former famines is, that a class of rural capitalists existed to feed them. In 1769 the husbandmen had died of starvation, and his land had gone out of tillage for want of seed; in 1866 money-lenders were anxious to advance food, landlords were willing to remit rents, on consideration of obtaining a share of the crop at harvest time.

Both calamities altered for a time the relation of agricultural labour to capital. The cultivator became a subject of competition. The famine of 1769 left more land than the remnant of the population could till. Landholders began to entice away

tenants from their neighbours' estates. The husbandman could get land at a lower rent from the adjoining proprietors than from the proprietor on whose estate he lived. A numerous class of non-resident tenants developed, each collector espoused the cause of the landholders within his own jurisdiction, and the mutual jealousies which resulted interrupted the execution of writs even during the firm administration of Lord Cornwallis. In the famine of 1866, the village capitalists thought it their interest to extend the area of tillage; the number of husbandmen did not increase with the increased demand for them, and agricultural labour found itself in a position to make its bargain with capital on improved terms.

In truth, the money-lenders had no choice but to support the husbandmen. The failure of the crops of 1865 had rendered it impossible for the cultivator to repay the advances of that year; the few sheaves that he reaped were hypothecated to the landholder for the rent; and the capitalist had the alternative of deserting the husbandman and writing off the advances of 1865 as bad debts, or of continuing to support him for another year, and taking the chance of having the whole repaid, with interest, out of the harvest of 1866.

After July prices gradually declined, but the distress rapidly increased. The September harvest had become a matter of certainty; speculators knew it was useless to hold back on the contingency of higher prices in 1867, and poured their stores into the market. Yet the pauper population grew at a rate that baffled the calculations of the relief committees. Each of these bodies had submitted an estimate of the sum it would require from the public purse. The amount had been placed at its disposal, but many committees now found it necessary to apply for additional grants; and in one case the discrepancy between the estimated and the actual requirements proved so great, that a commissioner was specially deputed to inquire into the causes of the miscalculation. These causes are now clear. The rains had put a stop to most kinds of rural industry. Tank-digging became impossible, when the tanks were filled with ten feet of water. It was useless to work on embankments when the rains washed the earth down faster than it could be heaped up; and out of the question to attempt to clear lands on which a new crop of jungle would grow rank in a week. The impetus that the rains at first gave to husbandry had for a time more than compensated for the cessation of the other undertakings. But before the end of July the ploughing and transplanting had been finished, and the multitude of additional labourers to whom these processes had given employment were again adrift.

Pestilence also began to tell heavily upon the underfed population. The fevers which make their appearance annually at the end of the rains this year assumed a particularly virulent type. The labourer frequently ekes out his wages by boiling up a wild herb with his rice ; but during the famine, while wandering about in search of work, he had eaten the herb raw, along with the parched grain which forms the viaticum of the poor Bengali. In July dysentery broke out and prepared the way for a yet more terrible disease. Cholera always lurks in the densely crowded lanes of a native town. At an early period in the course of the famine, the attention of the authorities was called to the necessity of strict sanitary precautions, precautions which, a few years ago, would have required the sanction of a special law, but for which the municipal institutions that Sir Cecil Beadon has sown broad-cast over Bengal now afford ample machinery. The measures adopted proved successful. The large cities where the disease had been most dreaded, suffered least ; many of them, indeed, escaped altogether, while some of the rural towns in the neighbourhood were decimated. Hundreds of families who might have supported themselves at home, fled from their villages and encamped under trees outside the relief-depots. Throughout the country, schools shut up, and the panic-stricken masters fled ; but not a single instance appears of a school within a municipality closing on account of the disease. In one large town that had not the advantage of municipal institutions, all business, public and private, ceased, the doors of the courts remained shut, and the surrounding villages were filled with refugees from the plague-stricken city.

Before the beginning of August the whole talent and energy of the governing body had gravitated towards the work of dealing with the famine. A magistrate of distinguished reputation was deputed, with several assistants, to the perilous operation of importing grain, during the south-west monsoon, into the seaboard districts, and many a robust young English constitution gave way amid the swamps of Lower Bengal and the solitary jungles of Orissa. The Revenue Board directed the whole relief operations from Calcutta, and found its authority taxed to the utmost in controlling the private inclinations of its local officers. Where no poor-laws exist charity is always a matter of sentiment. No one can help feeling strongly during a famine ; but those who feel most strongly will consider the utmost efforts of the Government niggardly, for no human efforts can altogether avert the inevitable suffering, while men of more moderate humanity will dwell upon the dangers of overdoing State relief. No local committee precisely coincided with the views of another, and

indeed each committee consisted of two parties,—one tending to err on the side of benevolence, the other on the side of economy. Whether Government should or should not import rice, continued a matter of dispute till the end of the famine. Many argued that the State could not bring in grain without striking at the root of private trade, and incurring the risk of a panic among the corn-dealers. To reduce the market rates, by cheap sales, in favour of those who would die if left to those rates, was a duty ; but to do so at the cost of the regular trader would be an injustice. In the end it would be better for Government to buy its rice at whatever rate happened to prevail in the local market, and to leave the internal transit of grain to the laws of supply and demand. The other side replied, that the very fact of a relief-depot having been opened had destroyed the natural operation of these laws, and that the only way by which Government could restore the equilibrium was by importing its own grain. State charity brought crowds of paupers from the surrounding country, and if the new-comers were fed out of the local stock of grain, prices would rise to an alarming height. Besides, the circumstance that a much wider difference existed between the local rates and the prices in the cities than the cost of transit explained, showed that the capital or the enterprise of the small country towns were unequal to the task of importing food. Government, by entering the local market as a large purchaser for its relief-depots, would increase this inequality, and produce an artificial scarcity. On the whole, the arguments for importation prevailed, and the committees bought their supplies in the cheapest markets.

At first the relieving-officers strictly discriminated between necessitous persons and impostors ; but before the end of July it became unsafe to refuse food to any applicant. Cholera made small distinction between the able-bodied and the infirm pauper, so long as his stomach was empty. Most of the committees distributed boiled rice, but in a few localities it appeared better to give the uncooked grain. Each plan lay open to serious objections. The first failed to reach the most respectable classes who required charity ; the second proved ineffectual to relieve the multitude. The Sanscrit canon ordains observances with regard to meats and drinks, more numerous and more minute than all the precepts to be found in the last Four Books of Moses. If a Hindu eats rice which has been cooked by a man belonging to a caste inferior to his own, or which, after cooking, has passed through such a man's hands, he becomes unclean and can regain his position only by costly offerings. Some Brahmans, indeed, claim descent from ancestors of such quality that no breach of the ceremonial code can touch their inherent

purity, and Anglo-Indians were recently amused by the vagaries of a young Bengali nobleman, who ate forbidden meats every evening and purified himself by the mere fiat of his will next morning. But to a respectable Hindu of the middle class, loss of caste has all the terrors that the Interdict had to the Parisian of the reign of Philip Augustus. Even in the jails of Bengal the authorities find it necessary to respect this prejudice, and each caste of felons has a cook for itself. Fortunately, the famine penetrated only a small way upwards among the respectable classes; but those that it did reach suffered much more intensely than the low-born labourer. The well-to-do artisan patiently bore the extremity of hunger rather than permit the boiled rice from the depot to pass his lips. His younger children, who had not been inducted into the caste, might frequent the enclosures, but his wife and grown-up sons were forced rigidly to abstain. Many of the adults got over the difficulty by flying to the cities and merging their individuality among the multitude of paupers; indeed it was no secret that even the Brahmans under such circumstances threw off all restraint; but to the very last, village opinion and ancient prejudice proved too strong for those who remained at home. The writer urged a family in the last stage of voluntary starvation to take advantage of the State charity. 'What!' replied one of them who could not stand erect from weakness, 'shall I eat the impure food in the presence of my wife and of my father?'

On the other hand, if unboiled rice had been distributed, a large proportion of the recipients would have devoured it raw. Most of them were too poor to buy fuel, and some had passed the boundary which divides extreme hunger from mania. Uncooked rice, particularly in stomachs irritated by long-continued fasting, brings on a fatal disease, and it seemed better that the respectable few should endure their voluntary sufferings than that the multitude should die. A middle course existed, indeed, but it does not appear to have been anywhere adopted. The paupers had been classified with respect to their ability to work, they might also have been classified on a basis of caste. The majority consisted of day-labourers, who thankfully accepted food without asking through whose hands it had passed; for the minority, belonging to a more scrupulous rank of life, Brahman cooks might have been provided from the jails.

We have described the measures by which the classes whose earnings proved insufficient to procure their daily food were enabled to live through the famine; it remains to mention a few of the most conspicuous effects of the scarcity on the people at large. The population became visibly weaker. An extensive indigo-planter complained that although he gave his vat-men

rations in addition to their daily wages, they were unable to beat the stalks with the necessary force, and left much of the dye unextracted. The trade in all manner of luxuries ceased, and the artisans whose business it is to produce them found themselves worse off than the unskilled labourer. Silk-weaving communities are numerous throughout the famine-stricken districts, and their beautiful fabrics were altogether unsaleable. A few of them obtained employment, through the relief committees, from benevolent firms in Calcutta, but many fled to the towns, and the money-lenders refused advances upon the implements of manufacture to those who remained ; for if a weaver should eventually migrate, there was no one to take his place, and his loom became valueless. The most painful feature of the famine was the patient despair of these poor artisans.

Crime greatly increased. Throughout the famine every jail was filled to overflowing ; huts had been erected first inside, then outside the walls, but these soon became unable to hold the multitude of prisoners, and a sort of convict camp had to be resorted to. Notwithstanding the increased number of guards, serious outbreaks took place, and the apprehension of a rush against the gates grew so general that in several jails posts were driven into the ground in front of the outer doors. These precautions would have proved less successful than they did but for the Whipping Act. Certain offences may be punished either with imprisonment or flogging, and magistrates took advantage of the alternative to lessen as far as possible the pressure on the jails. Indeed, some Courts appear to have strained the meaning of the law. Rice stealing formed the most numerous class of offences, and theft is one of the crimes for which whipping may be awarded. But the Indian Penal Code makes a distinction if several persons join together in order to steal, and robbery by a gang of five or more individuals is the most serious offence against property known to the law. Persons found guilty of this crime ordinarily receive a sentence of transportation ; last year many of them escaped with a flogging. In several districts the criminal business became so heavy that additional judges had to be appointed, and the Sessions Courts held jail-deliveries for the first time during the great autumn festival of the Hindus.

Before the end of July the famine had developed a slave trade. Parents had ceased to be able to support their children, and they preferred selling them to seeing them starve. Such transactions have always been common in India during seasons of distress ; indeed, John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, wrote to his wife, in a year when prices did not reach one-half the rates of 1866, that he was purchasing black babies every

morning for a few shillings apiece. The buyers generally adopt the children, and with these transactions the law does not interfere; but there is always a proportion of them reserved for a worse fate. One of the many blessings which the transfer to the Crown has wrought for India is the abolition of slavery. The last enactment of the Company on the subject distinctly recognises the existence of slaves, and only forbids the Courts to give effect to contracts for their barter; the code that formed the first great legislative work of the Queen's Government in Bengal pronounced slavery of whatever form illegal. Notwithstanding the severe penalties attached to slave-dealing, however, the nefarious trade revived during the scarcity of 1866. Infamous women went about buying up beautiful girls; in the capital and its suburbs, under the very eye of Government, eleven persons were said to be in prison at one time awaiting trial for the offence, and suspicions of conniving at, if not of actually patronizing the traffic, were mixed up with the name of a noble Mussulman family.

The number of unfortunates who died from hunger will never be accurately known. India wholly lacks the statistical machinery which has been so fruitful of salutary reforms in our own country. Even the official census is the result of an elaborate system of guessing, and many of its returns are ludicrously incorrect. No register is kept of births or deaths; and of the estimates promulgated with regard to the loss of life during the recent famine, one half are the mere conjectures of officials, the other half are the mere conjectures of journalists. The highest computation we have seen returns the deaths at one million, but it makes no attempt to discriminate between those who died from the effects of the famine and those whose death was the natural result of disease. If it include both, we are inclined, from personal observation, to consider it too low. The ordinary mortality of the twenty-seven million inhabitants of the famine-stricken districts, amounts, at the death-rate prevalent in Lower Bengal, to seven hundred and fifty thousand, and the additional deaths brought about, directly and indirectly, by a year of famine, certainly exceed the remaining two hundred and fifty thousand. If the estimate means that one million persons perished from the effects of the famine alone, it is too high. The town in Western Bengal where the mortality reached its climax was Raneegunge. It is situated close to the north road, and received the whole drift of the northern and western parts of Bengal proper and the adjacent hill-country. A depot had been established forty miles to the west, to stem the rush of the highland population, but cholera visited it so severely that the starving crowds endeavoured rather to push

on for Raneegunge. Raneegunge, too, was unfortunate in being the receptacle for all who broke down upon their pilgrimage from the upper provinces to Jagganath, or on the road from the west country to Calcutta. Many of the travellers perished by the wayside, and a still larger number reached Raneegunge in a stage of exhaustion at which relief comes too late. Some of them could not swallow, and died with the rice in their mouths; others could not retain food; and of many the digestive functions had ceased to act, and a hearty meal only hastened death. The magistrate in charge, a gentleman to whose untiring humanity the poor wayfarers from the north-western districts owe much, stated that during a short time eighteen paupers perished every night in and around Raneegunge, and during several months the average was probably not less than ten. The writer twice visited the town, and had an opportunity of classifying the victims. Sixty per cent. were lepers, and persons who had been suffering under scrofulous or chronic diseases not superinduced by hunger; of the remainder, the immediate cause of death was in general fever or an acute bowel-complaint. Very few seemed to have suffered the last pangs of starvation; and it is not too much to say, that of the unhappy sufferers, even in Raneegunge, one half would have died had there been no famine. Indeed, the general effect of the scarcity was rather to accelerate the death of diseased, and, in a political point of view, useless members of the community, than to increase the rate of mortality among the able-bodied labouring classes. Judging from personal observations made during three tours, at the beginning, about the middle, and towards the end of the famine, and from the uncertain official returns now before us, we would estimate that to the ordinary death-rate must be added five hundred thousand deaths caused or accelerated by the famine. Of these, three hundred thousand may be considered to have been accelerated, and two hundred thousand wholly caused, by want of food. Assuming the population of Lower Bengal to be thirty-five millions, and the death-rate to be two and a half per cent., the loss of life caused directly or indirectly by the famine amounts to one-seventieth of the whole inhabitants, and the effect upon the death-rate for the year has been to raise it from eight hundred and seventy-five thousand to thirteen hundred and seventy-five thousand, or rather more than one half. The lowest computation of the deaths in 1769-70 shows a loss, not of one-seventieth, as in 1866, but of one fifth or one sixth part of the population.

That the famine did not reach above a low stratum of society, the progress of education in 1866 abundantly proves. One of the districts which suffered severely was Burdwan. The Maha-

rajah, a lineal descendant of the prince of whom we have spoken in a former page, fed in the chief town alone from eight to nine thousand people every day, and a large proportion of the paupers were so emaciated, that he found it necessary to provide hospitals, doctors, and medical comforts in order to keep them alive. The number of pupils in the four principal schools had increased from 878 in September 1865 to 994 in September 1866, showing an increase of 13 per cent. during the famine months. The quality of the education sought had increased in a still higher ratio. Boys had left the Maharajah's vernacular or lower class school to the number of 27, and gone to his Highness's upper class or English school, which exhibits 811 on the rolls in September 1866, against 683 in September 1865. The increase in higher-class education, therefore, had amounted to nearly 19 per cent. during the scarcity. In the smaller towns, public instruction prospered in an equal degree. Mymaree, a village sixteen miles to the south-east of Burdwan, had suffered so severely that many of its inhabitants deserted their homes, and the district relief committee found it necessary to organize a rice-depot on the spot. Yet the pupils in the Mymaree English school had increased from 81 in September 1865 to 102 in September 1866, or more than 25 per cent., and the lower class vernacular school had increased by more than 12 per cent.

If the famine anywhere affected education, it would certainly have done so in RaneeGUNGE and BISHENPORE. The condition of the first town has already been described. In the midst of the general misery, the attendance on the Government school rose from 114 to 129, or nearly 14 per cent., and the manager thought the time had come to raise the class of the education afforded. The case of Bishenpore was still more striking. This town, once the capital of Western Bengal, and the seat of a flourishing manufacture, had been converted into a pauper city. Its many-coloured silks lay mildewed in the weavers' houses, the artisans had fled to Calcutta, and instead of the ceaseless rattle of the shuttle, stillness reigned in the streets. Those who remained were prevented by their caste from accepting relief at the depot, and shoals of diseased and dying creatures daily poured in from the adjacent hills and jungles. 'Cholera has broken out here,' wrote the relieving-officer in August, 'and bids fair to exterminate the whole of Bishenpore.' As the traveller entered the town, he passed through a belt of ground whitened with skulls. Macaulay relates that after the carnage of Aghrim, the dogs acquired such a taste for human flesh that they fell upon living men. The same thing took place in Bishenpore during the famine, and the houseless paupers slept close to one another in groups for the purpose of

mutual protection. Until 1866, Bishenpore possessed only one school. So backward was education, that even to this single institution Government had not ventured to apply the grant-in-aid system, but defrayed the whole charge itself. In 1866 two new schools were set up in and near Bishenpore by private individuals, the one an English, the other a vernacular institution, and were conducted successfully through the dearth. The English school-house had formerly been a temple, but now the idols were tumbled out into the yard, and the chambers filled with students of Euclid and Smith's History of Rome. Notwithstanding the numbers who flocked to the new institutions, the old Government school held its own. Forty-six boys were present in September 1866, against twenty-eight on the last open day of the previous September.

The truth is, that the few cases in which a respectable man was compelled to withdraw his children from school, were more than compensated by additions from families who had not hitherto sought education. For a famine, like a war, is prolific of new men, and the first thing that a successful speculator in Bengal does is to send his children to school. The writer paid repeated visits to the relief depots in seven districts, and endeavoured to make himself acquainted with the previous circumstances of the paupers. It was impossible to speak to every one in the throng, but as nearly as he could estimate, he came personally into contact with 5000 persons. Each of them had his tale of reverses, a tale which never suffered for want of a little colouring, but we did not meet with a single man who professed to have been in the position of a well-to-do shop-keeper, or of a substantial peasant, holding five acres, nor with a single woman who represented herself as the widow of such a man. Many of them said they had had land, but in very few instances had the quantity exceeded two acres, and nine-tenths of them were professional beggars, leprous and maimed persons, cripples, day-labourers who eked out their wages by means of public charity, the wives and children of artisans who had deserted their homes, aliens from the starved hill-districts, pilgrims who had fallen sick on the high-road, and strays and waifs of various races who, through indolence or misfortune, had drifted into the rice-depots. It was essentially a proletarian famine.

An abundant harvest in September put an end to all apprehensions of another year of distress, and the work of sending back the labouring classes to their former homes and wonted avocations began. This, in order to be done safely, had to be done slowly, and even at the present day the pauper population presents grave difficulties.

The lesson of the scarcity of 1866 is, that a famine, like a pestilence, in order to be dealt with successfully, must be dealt with before its actual presence becomes felt. No specific has been discovered for cholera, but cholera has ceased to make the terrible ravages which it did on its first two raids through the country. We owe our comparative exemption from the epidemic less to medical skill during its visits than to the sanitary precautions which have been taken before it makes its appearance. Nor has any specific yet been discovered for a famine. State charity cannot, even in this country, reach a certain class of the poor, and not a year passes without some sad tale of death from starvation. But State charity in Bengal has to encounter two enemies unknown in England. Time and space are continually frustrating the efforts of the Government, and during the past year, while rice was offered to every one who would take it, half a million of people perished because they could not reach the depots in time. Food could be distributed from the Scilly Islands to the Orkneys in less time than it could be distributed through a single one of the five-and-thirty districts of Lower Bengal. The only remedy for a famine is the progress of civilisation. As capital increases, as roads and railways penetrate the country, as irrigation works extend, famines will become more and more a thing of the past in India. The classes who suffered in 1866 were those whose earnings just sufficed in ordinary seasons to feed them on the cheapest kind of food. As wages rise, the style of living will rise with them, and the day-labourers of India, like the corresponding rank in England, will have some margin to fall back upon in times of scarcity. Orissa, the part of the province on which the famine bore heaviest, is the part which is most isolated, and the only one in which the absence of a permanent arrangement for the land-revenue has kept the proprietors poor, and rendered agricultural improvements impossible. Orissa, however, will shortly be placed on the same footing in this respect as the other districts; and the undertakings which render man independent of nature are making daily strides throughout Bengal. Before the next general failure of the crops, importation from Burmah and improved means of internal distribution will have made famine, in the terrible sense of the word, an impossibility, and a future generation will cite the five hundred thousand victims of 1866 as a proof of the low state of civilisation which must then have prevailed.

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ART. I.—THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES.

THE theory proposed by Mr. Darwin as sufficient to account for the origin of species has been received as probable, and even as certainly true, by many who from their knowledge of physiology, natural history, and geology, are competent to form an intelligent opinion. The facts, they think, are consistent with the theory. Small differences are observed between animals and their offspring. Greater differences are observed between varieties known to be sprung from a common stock. The differences between what have been termed species are sometimes hardly greater in appearance than those between varieties owning a common origin. Even when species differ more widely, the difference, they say, is one of degree only, not of kind. They can see no clear, definite distinction by which to decide in all cases, whether two animals have sprung from a common ancestor or not. They feel warranted in concluding, that for aught the structure of animals shows to the contrary, they may be descended from a few ancestors only, —nay, even from a single pair.

The most marked differences between varieties known to have sprung from one source have been obtained by artificial breeding. Men have selected, during many generations, those individuals possessing the desired attributes in the highest degree. They have thus been able to add, as it were, small successive differences, till they have at last produced marked varieties. Darwin shows that by a process, which he calls natural selection, animals more favourably constituted than their fellows will survive in the struggle for life, will produce descendants resembling themselves, of which the strong will

live, the weak die; and so, generation after generation, nature, by a metaphor, may be said to choose certain animals, even as man does when he desires to raise a special breed. The device of nature is based on the attributes most useful to the animal; the device of man on the attributes useful to man, or admired by him. All must agree that the process termed natural selection is in universal operation. The followers of Darwin believe that by that process differences might be added, even as they are added by man's selection, though more slowly, and that this addition might in time be carried to so great an extent as to produce every known species of animal from one or two pairs, perhaps from organisms of the lowest known type.

A very long time would be required to produce in this way the great differences observed between existing beings. Geologists say their science shows no ground for doubting that the habitable world has existed for countless ages. Drift and inundation, proceeding at the rate we now observe, would require cycles of ages to distribute the materials of the surface of the globe in their present form and order; and they add, for aught we know, countless ages of rest may at many places have intervened between the ages of action.

But if all beings are thus descended from a common ancestry, a complete historical record would show an unbroken chain of creatures, reaching from each one now known back to the first type, with each link differing from its neighbour by no more than the several offspring of a single pair of animals now differ. We have no such record; but geology can produce vestiges which may be looked upon as a few out of the innumerable links of the whole conceivable chain, and what, say the followers of Darwin, is more certain than that the record of geology must necessarily be imperfect? The records we have show a certain family likeness between the beings living at each epoch, and this is at least consistent with our views.

There are minor arguments in favour of the Darwinian hypothesis, but the main course of the argument has, we hope, been fairly stated. It bases large conclusions as to what has happened upon the observation of comparatively small facts now to be seen. The cardinal facts are the production of varieties by man, and the similarity of all existing animals. About the truth and extent of those facts none but men possessing a special knowledge of physiology and natural history have any right to an opinion; but the superstructure based on those facts enters the region of pure reason, and may be discussed apart from all doubt as to the fundamental facts.

Can natural selection choose special qualities, and so breed special varieties as man does? Does it appear that man has

the power indefinitely to magnify the peculiarities which distinguish his breeds from the original stock? Is there no other evidence than that of geology as to the age of the habitable earth? and what is the value of the geological evidence? How far, in the absence of other knowledge, does the mere difficulty in classifying organized beings justify us in expecting that they have had a common ancestor? And finally, what value is to be attached to certain minor facts supposed to corroborate the new theory? These are the main questions to be debated in the present essay, written with a belief that some of them have been unduly overlooked. The opponents of Darwin have been chiefly men having special knowledge similar to his own, and they have therefore naturally directed their attention to the cardinal facts of his theory. They have asserted that animals are not so similar but that specific differences can be detected, and that man can produce no varieties differing from the parent stock, as one species differs from another. They naturally neglect the deductions drawn from facts which they deny. If your facts were true, they say, perhaps nature would select varieties, and in endless time, all you claim might happen; but we deny the facts. You produce no direct evidence that your selection took place, claiming only that your hypothesis is not inconsistent with the teaching of geology. Perhaps not, but you only claim a 'may be,' and we attack the direct evidence you think you possess.

To an impartial looker-on the Darwinians seem rather to have had the best of the argument on this ground, and it is at any rate worth while to consider the question from the other point of view; admit the facts, and examine the reasoning. This we now propose to do, and for clearness will divide the subject into heads corresponding to the questions asked above, as to the extent of variability, the efficiency of natural selection, the lapse of time, the difficulty of classification, and the value of minor facts adduced in support of Darwin.

Some persons seem to have thought his theory dangerous to religion, morality, and what not. Others have tried to laugh it out of court. We can share neither the fears of the former nor the merriment of the latter; and, on the contrary, own to feeling the greatest admiration both for the ingenuity of the doctrine and for the temper in which it was broached, although, from a consideration of the following arguments, our opinion is adverse to its truth.

Variability.—Darwin's theory requires that there shall be no limit to the possible difference between descendants and their progenitors, or, at least, that if there be limits, they shall be at

so great a distance as to comprehend the utmost differences between any known forms of life. The variability required, if not infinite, is indefinite. Experience with domestic animals and cultivated plants shows that great variability exists. Darwin calls special attention to the differences between the various fancy pigeons, which, he says, are descended from one stock; between various breeds of cattle and horses, and some other domestic animals. He states that these differences are greater than those which induce some naturalists to class many specimens as distinct species. These differences are infinitely small as compared with the range required by his theory, but he assumes that by accumulation of successive differences any degree of variation may be produced; he says little in proof of the possibility of such an accumulation, seeming rather to take for granted that if Sir John Sebright could with pigeons produce in six years a certain head and beak of say half the bulk possessed by the original stock, then in twelve years this bulk could be reduced to a quarter, in twenty-four to an eighth, and so farther. Darwin probably never believed or intended to teach so extravagant a proposition, yet by substituting a few myriads of years for that poor period of six years, we obtain a proposition fundamental in his theory. That theory rests on the assumption that natural selection can do slowly what man's selection does quickly; it is by showing how much man can do, that Darwin hopes to prove how much can be done without him. But if man's selection cannot double, treble, quadruple, centuple, any special divergence from a parent stock, why should we imagine that natural selection should have that power? When we have granted that the 'struggle for life' might produce the pouter or the fantail, or any divergence man can produce, we need not feel one whit the more disposed to grant that it can produce divergences beyond man's power. The difference between six years and six myriads, blinding by a confused sense of immensity, leads men to say hastily that if six or sixty years can make a pouter out of a common pigeon, six myriads may change a pigeon to something like a thrush; but this seems no more accurate than to conclude that because we observe that a cannon-ball has traversed a mile in a minute, therefore in an hour it will be sixty miles off, and in the course of ages that it will reach the fixed stars. This really might be the conclusion drawn by a savage seeing a cannon-ball shot off by a power the nature of which was wholly unknown to him, and traversing a vast distance with a velocity confusing his brain, and removing the case from the category of stones and arrows, which he well knows will not go far, though they start fast. Even so do the myriads of years confuse our speculations,

and seem to remove natural selection from man's selection; yet, Darwin would be the first to allow, that the same laws probably or possibly govern the variation, whether the selection be slow or rapid. If the intelligent savage were told, that though the cannon-ball started very fast, it went slower and slower every instant, he would probably conclude that it would not reach the stars, but presently come to rest like his stone and arrow. Let us examine whether there be not a true analogy between this case and the variation of domestic animals.

We all believe that a breeder, starting business with a considerable stock of average horses, could, by selection, in a very few generations, obtain horses able to run much faster than any of their sires or dams; in time perhaps he would obtain descendants running twice as fast as their ancestors, and possibly equal to our race-horses. But would not the difference in speed between each successive generation be less and less? Hundreds of skilful men are yearly breeding thousands of racers. Wealth and honour await the man who can breed one horse to run one part in five thousand faster than his fellows. As a matter of experience, have our racers improved in speed by one part in a thousand during the last twenty generations? Could we not double the speed of a cart-horse in twenty generations? Here is the analogy with our cannon-ball; the rate of variation in a given direction is not constant, is not erratic; it is a constantly diminishing rate, tending therefore to a limit.

It may be urged that the limit in the above case is not fixed by the laws of variation but by the laws of matter; that bone and sinew cannot make a beast of the racer size and build go faster. This would be an objection rather to the form than to the essence of the argument. The existence of a limit, as proved by the gradual cessation of improvement, is the point which we aim at establishing. Possibly in every case the limit depends on some physical difficulty, sometimes apparent, more often concealed; moreover, no one can *a priori* calculate what bone and sinew may be capable of doing, or how far they can be improved; but it is unnecessary further to combat this objection, for whatever be the peculiarity aimed at by fancy-breeders, the same fact recurs. Small terriers are valuable, and the limit below which a terrier of good shape would be worth its weight in silver, perhaps in gold, is nearly as well fixed as the possible speed of a race-horse. The points of all prize cattle, of all prize flowers, indicate limits. A rose called 'Senechal Vaisse' weighs 300 grains, a wild rose weighs 30 grains. A gardener, with a good stock of wild roses, would soon raise seedlings with flowers of double, treble, the weight of his first briar flowers. He or his grandson would very slowly approach the 'Cloth of Gold' or

Senateur Vaisse,' and if the gradual rate of increase in weight were systematically noted, it would point with mathematical accuracy to the weight which could not be surpassed.

We are thus led to believe that whatever new point in the variable beast, bird, or flower, be chosen as desirable by a fancier, this point can be rapidly approached at first, but that the rate of approach quickly diminishes, tending to a limit never to be attained. Darwin says that our oldest cultivated plants still yield new varieties. Granted; but the new variations are not successive variations in one direction. Horses could be produced with very long or with very short ears, very long or short hair, with large or small hooves, with peculiar colour, eyes, teeth, perhaps. In short, whatever variation we perceive of ordinary occurrence might by selection be carried to an extravagant excess. If a large annual prize were offered for any of these novel peculiarities, probably the variation in the first few years would be remarkable, but in twenty years' time the judges would be much puzzled to which breeder the prize should fall, and the maximum excellence would be known and expressed in figures, so that an eighth of an inch more or less would determine success or failure.

A given animal or plant appears to be contained, as it were, within a sphere of variation; one individual lies near one portion of the surface, another individual, of the same species, near another part of the surface; the average animal at the centre. Any individual may produce descendants varying in any direction, but is more likely to produce descendants varying towards the centre of the sphere, and the variations in that direction will be greater in amount than the variations towards the surface. Thus, a set of racers of equal merit indiscriminately breeding will produce more colts and foals of inferior than of superior speed, and the falling off of the degenerate will be greater than the improvement of the select. A set of Clydesdale prize horses would produce more colts and foals of inferior than superior strength. More seedlings of 'Senateur Vaisse' will be inferior to him in size and colour than superior. The tendency to revert, admitted by Darwin, is generalized in the simile of the sphere here suggested. On the other hand, Darwin insists very sufficiently on the rapidity with which new peculiarities are produced; and this rapidity is quite as essential to the argument now urged as subsequent slowness.

We hope this argument is now plain. However slow the rate of variation might be, even though it were only one part in a thousand per twenty or two thousand generations, yet if it were constant or erratic we might believe that, in untold time, it would lead to untold distance; but if in every case we find that

deviation from an average individual can be rapidly effected at first, and that the rate of deviation steadily diminishes till it reaches an almost imperceptible amount, then we are as much entitled to assume a limit to the possible deviation as we are to the progress of a cannon-ball from a knowledge of the law of diminution in its speed. This limit to the variation of species seems to be established for all cases of man's selection. What argument does Darwin offer showing that the law of variation will be different when the variation occurs slowly, not rapidly? The law may be different, but is there any experimental ground for believing that it is different? Darwin says (p. 153), 'The struggle between natural selection, on the one hand, and the tendency to reversion and variability on the other hand, will in the course of time cease, and that the most abnormally developed organs may be made constant, I can see no reason to doubt.' But what reason have we to believe this? Darwin says the variability will disappear by the continued rejection of the individuals tending to revert to a former condition; but is there any experimental ground for believing that the variability *will* disappear; and, secondly, if the variety can become fixed, that it will in time become ready to vary still more in the original direction, passing that limit which we think has just been shown to exist in the case of man's selection? It is peculiarly difficult to see how natural selection could reject individuals having a tendency to produce offspring reverting to an original stock. The tendency to produce offspring more like their superior parents than their inferior grandfathers can surely be of no advantage to any individual in the struggle for life. On the contrary, most individuals would be benefited by producing imperfect offspring, competing with them at a disadvantage; thus it would appear that natural selection, if it select anything, must select the most perfect individuals, having a tendency to produce the fewest and least perfect competitors; but it may be urged that though the tendency to produce good offspring is injurious to the parents, the improved offspring would live and receive by inheritance the fatal tendency of producing in their turn parricidal descendants. Yet this is contending that in the struggle for life natural selection can gradually endow a race with a quality injurious to every individual which possesses it. It really seems certain that natural selection cannot tend to obliterate the tendency to revert; but the theory advanced appears rather to be that, if owing to some other qualities a race is maintained for a very long time different from the average or original race (near the surface of our sphere), then it will in time spontaneously lose the tendency to relapse, and acquire a tendency

to vary outside the sphere. What is to produce this change? Time simply, apparently. The race is to be kept constant, to all appearance, for a very long while, but some subtle change due to time is to take place; so that, of two individuals just alike in every feature, but one born a few thousand years after the other, the first shall tend to produce relapsing offspring, the second shall not. This seems rather like the idea that keeping a bar of iron hot or cold for a very long time would leave it permanently hot or cold at the end of the period when the heating or cooling agent was withdrawn. This strikes us as absurd now, but Bacon believed it possibly true. So many things may happen in a very long time, that time comes to be looked on as an agent capable of doing great and unknown things. Natural selection, as we contend, could hardly select an individual because it bred true. Man does. He chooses for sires those horses which he sees not only run fast themselves, but produce fine foals. He never gets rid of the tendency to revert. Darwin says species of pigeons have bred true for centuries. Does he believe that it would not be easier by selection to diminish the peculiarities of the pouter pigeon than to increase them? and what does this mean, but that the tendency to revert exists? It is possible that by man's selection this tendency may be diminished as any other quality may be somewhat increased or diminished, but, like all other qualities, this seems rapidly to approach a limit which there is no obvious reason to suppose 'time' will alter.

But not only do we require for Darwin's theory that time shall first permanently fix the variety near the outside of the assumed sphere of variation, we require that it shall give the power of varying beyond that sphere. It may be urged that man's rapid selection does away with this power; that if each little improvement were allowed to take root during a few hundred generations, there would be no symptom of a decrease of the rate of variation, no symptom that a limit was approached. If this be so, breeders of race-horses and prize flowers had better change their tactics; instead of selecting the fastest colts and finest flowers to start with, they ought to begin with very ordinary beasts and species. They should select the descendants which might be rather better in the first generation, and then should carefully abstain from all attempts at improvement for twenty, thirty, or one hundred generations. Then they might take a little step forward, and in this way, in time, they or their children's children would obtain breeds far surpassing those produced by their over-hasty competitors, who would be brought to a stand by limits which would never be felt or perceived by the followers of

the maxim, *Festina lente*. If we are told that the time during which a breeder or his descendants could afford to wait bears no proportion to the time used by natural selection, we may answer that we do not expect the enormous variability supposed to be given by natural selection, but that we do expect to observe some step in that direction, to find that by carefully approaching our limit by slow degrees, that limit would be removed a little further off. Does any one think this would be the case?

There is indeed one view upon which it would seem natural to believe that the tendency to revert may diminish. If the peculiarities of an animal's structure are simply determined by inheritance, and not by any law of growth, and if the child is more likely to resemble its father than its grandfather, its grandfather than its great-grandfather, etc., then the chances that an animal will revert to the likeness of an ancestor a thousand generations back will be slender. This is perhaps Darwin's view. It depends on the assumption that there is no typical or average animal, no sphere of variation, with centre and limits, and cannot be made use of to prove that assumption. The opposing view is that of a race maintained by a continual force in an abnormal condition, and returning to that condition so soon as the force is removed; returning not suddenly, but by similar steps with those by which it first left the average state, restrained by the tendency to resemble its immediate progenitors. *A priori*, perhaps, one view is as probable as the other; or in other words, as we are ignorant of the reasons why atoms fashion themselves into bears and squirrels, one fancy is as likely to meet with approval as another. Experiments conducted in a limited time, point as already said to a limit, with a tendency to revert. And while admitting that the tendency to revert may be diminished though not extinguished, we are unaware of any reason for supposing that pouters, after a thousand generations of true breeding, have acquired a fresh power of doubling their crops, or that the oldest breed of Arabs are likely to produce 'sports' vastly surpassing their ancestors in speed. Experiments conducted during the longest time at our disposal show no probability of surpassing the limits of the sphere of variation, and why should we concede that a simple extension of time will reverse the rule?

The argument may be thus resumed.

Although many domestic animals and plants are highly variable, there appears to be a limit to their variation in any one direction. This limit is shown by the fact that new points are at first rapidly gained, but afterwards more slowly, while finally no further perceptible change can be effected. Great, therefore,

as the variability is, we are not free to assume that successive variations of the same kind can be accumulated. There is no experimental reason for believing that the limit would be removed to a greater distance, or passed, simply because it was approached by very slow degrees, instead of by more rapid steps. There is no reason to believe that a fresh variability is acquired by long selection of one form; on the contrary, we know that with the oldest breeds it is easier to bring about a diminution than an increase in the points of excellence. The sphere of variation is a simile embodying this view;—each point of the sphere corresponding to a different individual of the same race, the centre to the average animal, the surface to the limit in various directions. The individual near the centre may have offspring varying in all directions with nearly equal rapidity. A variety near the surface may be made to approach it still nearer, but has a greater tendency to vary in every other direction. The sphere may be conceived as large for some species and small for others.

Efficiency of Natural Selection.—Those individuals of any species which are most adapted to the life they lead, live on an average longer than those which are less adapted to the circumstances in which the species is placed. The individuals which live the longest will have the most numerous offspring, and as the offspring on the whole resemble their parents, the descendants from any given generation will on the whole resemble the more favoured rather than the less favoured individuals of the species. So much of the theory of natural selection will hardly be denied; but it will be worth while to consider how far this process can tend to cause a variation in some one direction. It is clear that it will frequently, and indeed generally, tend to prevent any deviation from the common type. The mere existence of a species is a proof that it is tolerably well adapted to the life it must lead; many of the variations which may occur will be variations for the worse, and natural selection will assuredly stamp these out. A white grouse in the heather, or a white hare on a fallow, would be sooner detected by its enemies than one of the usual plumage or colour. Even so, any favourable deviation must, according to the very terms of the statement, give its fortunate possessor a better chance of life; but this conclusion differs widely from the supposed consequence that a whole species may or will gradually acquire some one new quality, or wholly change in one direction, and in the same manner. In arguing this point, two distinct kinds of possible variation must be separately considered: *first*, that kind of common variation which must be conceived as not

only possible, but inevitable, in each individual of the species, such as longer and shorter legs, better or worse hearing, etc.; and, *secondly*, that kind of variation which only occurs rarely, and may be called a sport of nature, or more briefly a 'sport,' as when a child is born with six fingers on each hand. The common variation is not limited to one part of any animal, but occurs in all; and when we say that on the whole the stronger live longer than the weaker, we mean that in some cases long life will have been due to good lungs, in others to good ears, in others to good legs. There are few cases in which one faculty is pre-eminently useful to an animal beyond all other faculties, and where that is not so, the effect of natural selection will simply be to kill the weakly, and insure a sound, healthy, well-developed breed. If we could admit the principle of a gradual accumulation of improvements, natural selection would gradually improve the breed of everything, making the hare of the present generation run faster, hear better, digest better, than his ancestors; his enemies, the weasels, greyhounds, etc., would have improved likewise, so that perhaps the hare would not be really better off; but at any rate the direction of the change would be from a war of pigmies to a war of Titans. Opinions may differ as to the evidence of this gradual perfectibility of all things, but it is beside the question to argue this point, as the origin of species requires not the gradual improvement of animals retaining the same habits and structure, but such modification of those habits and structure as will actually lead to the appearance of new organs. We freely admit, that if an accumulation of slight improvements be possible, natural selection might improve hares as hares, and weasels as weasels, that is to say, it might produce animals having every useful faculty and every useful organ of their ancestors developed to a higher degree; more than this, it may obliterate some once useful organs when circumstances have so changed that they are no longer useful, for since that organ will weigh for nothing in the struggle of life, the average animal must be calculated as though it did not exist.

We will even go further: if, owing to a change of circumstances some organ becomes pre-eminently useful, natural selection will undoubtedly produce a gradual improvement in that organ, precisely as man's selection can improve a special organ. In all cases the animals above the average live longer, those below the average die sooner, but in estimating the chance of life of a particular animal, one special organ may count much higher or lower according to circumstances, and will accordingly be improved or degraded. Thus, it must apparently be conceded that natural selection is a true cause or agency whereby in some

cases variations of special organs may be perpetuated and accumulated, but the importance of this admission is much limited by a consideration of the cases to which it applies: first of all we have required that it should apply to variations which must occur in every individual, so that enormous numbers of individuals will exist, all having a little improvement in the same direction; as, for instance, each generation of hares will include an enormous number which have longer legs than the average of their parents, although there may be an equally enormous number who have shorter legs; secondly, we require that the variation shall occur in an organ already useful owing to the habits of the animal. Such a process of improvement as is described could certainly never give organs of sight, smell, or hearing to organisms which had never possessed them. It could not add a few legs to a hare, or produce a new organ, or even cultivate any rudimentary organ which was not immediately useful to an enormous majority of hares. No doubt half the hares which are born have longer tails than the average of their ancestors; but as no large number of hares hang by their tails, it is inconceivable that any change of circumstances should breed hares with prehensile tails; or, to take an instance less shocking in its absurdity, half the hares which are born may be presumed to be more like their cousins the rabbits in their burrowing organs than the average hare ancestor was; but this peculiarity cannot be improved by natural selection as described above, until a considerable number of hares begin to burrow, which we have as yet seen no likelihood of their doing. Admitting, therefore, that natural selection may improve organs already useful to great numbers of a species, does not imply an admission that it can create or develop new organs, and so originate species.

But it may be urged, although many hares do not burrow, one may, or at least may hide in a hole, and a little scratching may just turn the balance in his favour in the struggle for life. So it may, and this brings us straight to the consideration of 'sports,' the second kind of variation above alluded to. A hare which saved its life by burrowing would come under this head; let us here consider whether a few hares in a century saving themselves by this process could, in some indefinite time, make a burrowing species of hare. It is very difficult to see how this can be accomplished, even when the sport is very eminently favourable indeed; and still more difficult when the advantage gained is very slight, as must generally be the case. The advantage, whatever it may be, is utterly out-balanced by numerical inferiority. A million creatures are born; ten thousand survive to produce offspring. One of the

million has twice as good a chance as any other of surviving ; but the chances are fifty to one against the gifted individuals being one of the hundred survivors. No doubt, the chances are twice as great against any one other individual, but this does not prevent their being enormously in favour of *some* average individual. However slight the advantage may be, if it is shared by half the individuals produced, it will probably be present in at least fifty-one of the survivors, and in a larger proportion of their offspring ; but the chances are against the preservation of any one 'sport' in a numerous tribe. The vague use of an imperfectly understood doctrine of chance has led Darwinian supporters, first, to confuse the two cases above distinguished ; and, secondly, to imagine that a very slight balance in favour of some individual sport must lead to its perpetuation. All that can be said, is that in the above example the favoured sport would be preserved once in fifty times. Let us consider what will be its influence on the main stock when preserved. It will breed and have a progeny of say 100 ; now this progeny will, on the whole, be intermediate between the average individual and the sport. The odds in favour of one of this generation of the new breed will be, say $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, as compared with the average individual ; the odds in their favour will therefore be less than that of their parent ; but owing to their greater number, the chances are that about $1\frac{1}{2}$ of them would survive. Unless these breed together, a most improbable event, their progeny would again approach the average individual ; there would be 150 of them, and their superiority would be say in the ratio of $1\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 ; the probability would now be that nearly two of them would survive, and have 200 children, with an eighth superiority. Rather more than two of these would survive ; but the superiority would again dwindle, until after a few generations it would no longer be observed, and would count for no more in the struggle for life, than any of the hundred trifling advantages which occur in the ordinary organs. An illustration will bring this conception home. Suppose a white man to have been wrecked on an island inhabited by negroes, and to have established himself in friendly relations with a powerful tribe, whose customs he has learnt. Suppose him to possess the physical strength, energy, and ability of a dominant white race, and let the food and climate of the island suit his constitution ; grant him every advantage which we can conceive a white to possess over the native ; concede that in the struggle for existence his chance of a long life will be much superior to that of the native chiefs ; yet from all these admissions, there does not follow the conclusion that, after a limited or unlimited number of generations, the inhabitants of the island

will be white. Our shipwrecked hero would probably become king; he would kill a great many blacks in the struggle for existence; he would have a great many wives and children, while many of his subjects would live and die as bachelors; an insurance company would accept his life at perhaps one-tenth of the premium which they would exact from the most favoured of the negroes. Our white's qualities would certainly tend very much to preserve him to a good old age, and yet he would not suffice in any number of generations to turn his subjects' descendants white. It may be said that the white colour is not the cause of the superiority. True, but it may be used simply to bring before the senses the way in which qualities belonging to one individual in a large number must be gradually obliterated. In the first generation there will be some dozens of intelligent young mulattoes, much superior in average intelligence to the negroes. We might expect the throne for some generations to be occupied by a more or less yellow king; but can any one believe that the whole island will gradually acquire a white, or even a yellow population, or that the islanders would acquire the energy, courage, ingenuity, patience, self-control, endurance, in virtue of which qualities our hero killed so many of their ancestors, and begot so many children; those qualities, in fact, which the struggle for existence would select, if it could select anything?

Here is a case in which a variety was introduced, with far greater advantages than any sport ever heard of, advantages tending to its preservation, and yet powerless to perpetuate the new variety.

Darwin says that in the struggle for life a grain may turn the balance in favour of a given structure, which will then be preserved. But one of the weights in the scale of nature is due to the number of a given tribe. Let there be 7000 A's and 7000 B's, representing two varieties of a given animal, and let all the B's, in virtue of a slight difference of structure, have the better chance of life by $\frac{1}{7000}$ th part. We must allow that there is a slight probability that the descendants of B will supplant the descendants of A; but let there be only 7001 A's against 7000 B's at first, and the chances are once more equal, while if there be 7002 A's to start, the odds would be laid on the A's. True, they stand a greater chance of being killed; but then they can better afford to be killed. The grain will only turn the scales when these are very nicely balanced, and an advantage in numbers counts for weight, even as an advantage in structure. As the numbers of the favoured variety diminish, so must its relative advantage increase, if the chance of its existence is to surpass the chance of its extinction, until hardly

any conceivable advantage would enable the descendants of a single pair to exterminate the descendants of many thousands if they and their descendants are supposed to breed freely with the inferior variety, and so gradually lose their ascendancy. If it is impossible that any sport or accidental variation in a single individual, however favourable to life, should be preserved and transmitted by natural selection, still less can slight and imperceptible variations, occurring in single individuals, be garnered up and transmitted to continually increasing numbers; for if a very highly-favoured white cannot blanch a nation of negroes, it will hardly be contended that a comparatively very dull mulatto has a good chance of producing a tawny tribe; the idea, which seems almost absurd when presented in connexion with a practical case, rests on a fallacy of exceedingly common occurrence in mechanics and physics generally. When a man shows that a tendency to produce a given effect exists he often thinks he has proved that the effect must follow. He does not take into account the opposing tendencies, much less does he measure the various forces, with a view to calculate the result. For instance, there is a tendency on the part of a submarine cable to assume a catenary curve, and very high authorities once said it would; but, in fact, forces neglected by them utterly alter the curve from the catenary. There is a tendency on the part of the same cables, as usually made, to untwist entirely; luckily there are opposing forces, and they untwist very little. These cases will hardly seem obvious; but what should we say to a man who asserted that the centrifugal tendency of the earth must send it off in a tangent? One tendency is balanced or outbalanced by others; the advantage of structure possessed by an isolated specimen is enormously outbalanced by the advantage of numbers possessed by the others.

A Darwinian may grant all that has been said, but contend that the offspring of 'sports' is not intermediate between the new sport and the old species; he may say that a great number of the offspring will retain in full vigour the peculiarity constituting the favourable sport. Darwin seems with hesitation to make some such claim as this, and though it seems contrary to ordinary experience, it will be only fair to consider this hypothesis. Let an animal be born with some useful peculiarity, and let all his descendants retain his peculiarity in an eminent degree, however little of the first ancestor's blood be in them, then it follows, from mere mathematics, that the descendants of our gifted beast will probably exterminate the descendants of his inferior brethren. If the animals breed rapidly the work of substitution would proceed with wonderful rapidity, although

it is a stiff mathematical problem to calculate the number of generations required in any given case. To put this case clearly beside the former, we may say that if in a tribe of a given number of individuals there appears one super-eminentely gifted, and if the advantage accruing to the descendants bears some kind of proportion to the amount of the ancestor's blood in their veins, the chances are considerable that for the first few generations he will have many descendants; but by degrees this advantage wanes, and after many generations the chances are so far from being favourable to his breed covering the ground exclusively, that they are actually much against his having any descendants at all alive, for though he has a rather better chance of this than any of his neighbours, yet the chances are greatly against any one of them. It is infinitely improbable that the descendants of any one should wholly supplant the others. If, on the contrary, the advantage given by the sport is retained by all descendants, independently of what in common speech might be called the proportion of blood in their veins directly derived from the first sport, then these descendants will shortly supplant the old species entirely, after the manner required by Darwin.

But this theory of the origin of species is surely not the Darwinian theory; it simply amounts to the hypothesis that, from time to time, an animal is born differing appreciably from its progenitors, and possessing the power of transmitting the difference to its descendants. What is this but stating that, from time to time, a new species is created? It does not, indeed, imply that the new specimen suddenly appears in full vigour, made out of nothing; but it offers no explanation of the cause of the divergence from the progenitors, and still less of the mysterious faculty by which the divergence is transmitted unimpaired to countless descendants. It is clear that every divergence is not thus transmitted, for otherwise one and the same animal might have to be big to suit its father and little to suit its mother, might require a long nose in virtue of its grandfather and a short one in virtue of its grandmother, in a word, would have to resume in itself the countless contradictory peculiarities of its ancestors, all in full bloom, and unmodified one by the other, which seems as impossible as at one time to be and not to be. The appearance of a new specimen capable of perpetuating its peculiarity is precisely what might be termed a creation, the word being used to express our ignorance of how the thing happened. The substitution of the new specimens, descendants from the old species, would then be simply an example of a strong race supplanting a weak one, by a process known long before the term 'natural selection' was invented. Perhaps this is the way in

which new species are introduced, but it does not express the Darwinian theory of the gradual accumulation of infinitely minute differences of every-day occurrence, and apparently fortuitous in their character.

Another argument against the efficiency of natural selection is, that animals possess many peculiarities the special advantage of which it is almost impossible to conceive; such, for instance, as the colour of plumage never displayed; and the argument may be extended by pointing how impossible it is to conceive that the wonderful minutiae of, say a peacock's tail, with every little frond of every feather differently barred, could have been elaborated by the minute and careful inspection of rival gallants or admiring wives; but although arguments of this kind are probably correct, they admit of less absolute demonstration than the points already put. A true believer can always reply, 'You do not know how closely Mrs. Peahen inspects her husband's toilet, or you cannot be absolutely certain that under some unknown circumstances that insignificant feather was really unimportant;' or finally, he may take refuge in the word correlation, and say, other parts were useful, which by the law of correlation could not exist without these parts; and although he may have not one single reason to allege in favour of any of these statements, he may safely defy us to prove the negative, that they are not true. The very same difficulty arises when a disbeliever tries to point out the difficulty of believing that some odd habit or complicated organ can have been useful before fully developed. The believer who is at liberty to invent any imaginary circumstances, will very generally be able to conceive some series of transmutations answering his wants.

He can invent trains of ancestors of whose existence there is no evidence; he can marshal hosts of equally imaginary foes; he can call up continents, floods, and peculiar atmospheres; he can dry up oceans, split islands, and parcel out eternity at will; surely with these advantages he must be a dull fellow if he cannot scheme some series of animals and circumstances explaining our assumed difficulty quite naturally. Feeling the difficulty of dealing with adversaries who command so huge a domain of fancy, we will abandon these arguments, and trust to those which at least cannot be assailed by mere efforts of imagination. Our arguments as to the efficiency of natural selection may be summed up as follows:—

We must distinguish several kinds of conceivable variation in individuals.

First, We have the ordinary variations peculiar to each individual. The effect of the struggle for life will be to keep the stock in full vigour by selecting the animals which in the main

are strongest. When circumstances alter, one special organ may become eminently advantageous, and then natural selection will improve that organ. But this efficiency is limited to the cases in which the same variation occurs in enormous numbers of individuals, and in which the organ improved is already used by the mass of the species. This case does not apply to the appearance of new organs or habits.

Secondly, We have abnormal variations called sports, which may be supposed to introduce new organs or habits in rare individuals. This case must be again subdivided: we may suppose the offspring of the sports to be intermediate between their ancestor and the original tribe. In this case the sport will be swamped by numbers, and after a few generations its peculiarity will be obliterated. Or, we may suppose the offspring of the sport faithfully to reproduce the advantageous peculiarity undiminished. In this case the new variety will supplant the old species; but this theory implies a succession of phenomena so different from those of the ordinary variations which we see daily, that it might be termed a theory of successive creations; it does not express the Darwinian theory, and is no more dependent on the theory of natural selection than the universally admitted fact that a new strong race, not intermarrying with an old weak race, will surely supplant it. So much may be conceded.

Lapse of Time.—Darwin says with candour that he ‘who does not admit how incomprehensibly vast have been the past periods of time,’ may at once close his volume, admitting thereby that an indefinite, if not infinite time is required by his theory. Few will on this point be inclined to differ from the ingenious author. We are fairly certain that a thousand years has made no very great change in plants or animals living in a state of nature. The mind cannot conceive a multiplier vast enough to convert this trifling change by accumulation into differences commensurate with those between a butterfly and an elephant, or even between a horse and a hippopotamus. A believer in Darwin can only say to himself, Some little change does take place every thousand years; these changes accumulate, and if there be no limit to the continuance of the process, I must admit that in course of time any conceivable differences may be produced. He cannot think that a thousandfold the difference produced in a thousand years would suffice, according to our present observation, to breed even a dog from a cat. He may perhaps think that by careful selection, continued for this million years, man might do quite as much as this; but he will readily admit that natural selection does take a much longer time, and that a million years must by the true believer

be looked upon as a minute. Geology lends her aid to convince him that countless ages have elapsed, each bearing countless generations of beings, and each differing in its physical conditions very little from the age we are personally acquainted with. This view of past time is, we believe, wholly erroneous. So far as this world is concerned, past ages are far from countless; the ages to come are numbered; no one age has resembled its predecessor, nor will any future time repeat the past. The estimates of geologists must yield before more accurate methods of computation, and these show that our world cannot have been habitable for more than an infinitely insufficient period for the execution of the Darwinian transmutation.

Before the grounds of these assertions are explained, let us shortly consider the geological evidence. It is clear that denudation and deposition of vast masses of matter have occurred while the globe was habitable. The present rate of deposit and denudation is very imperfectly known, but it is nevertheless sufficiently considerable to account for all the effects we know of, provided sufficient time be granted. Any estimate of the time occupied in depositing or denuding a thousand feet of any given formation, even on this hypothesis of constancy of action, must be very vague. Darwin makes the denudation of the Weald occupy 300,000,000 years, by supposing that a cliff 500 feet high was taken away one inch per century. Many people will admit that a strong current washing the base of such a cliff as this, might get on at least a hundred-fold faster, perhaps a thousandfold; and on the other hand, we may admit, that for aught geology can show, the denudation of the Weald may have occupied a few million times more years than the number Darwin arrives at. The whole calculation savours a good deal of that known among engineers as 'guess at the half and multiply by two.'

But again, what are the reasons for assuming uniformity of action, for believing that currents were no stronger, storms no more violent, alternations of temperature no more severe in past ages than at present? These reasons, stated shortly, are that the simple continuance of actions we are acquainted with would produce all the known results, that we are not justified in assuming any alteration in the rate or violence of those actions without direct evidence, that the presence of fossils and the fineness of the ancient deposits show directly that things of old went on much as now. This last reason, apparently the strongest, is really the weakest; the deposits would assuredly take place in still waters, and we may fairly believe that still waters then resembled still waters now. The sufficiency of present actions is an excellent argument in

the absence of all proof of change, but falls to utter worthlessness in presence of the direct evidence of change. We will try to explain the nature of the evidence, which does prove not only that the violence of all natural changes has decreased, but also that it is decreasing, and must continue to decrease.

Perpetual motion is popularly recognised as a delusion; yet perpetual *motion* is no mechanical absurdity, but in given conditions is a mechanical necessity. Set a mass in motion and it must continue to move for ever, unless stopped by something else. This something else takes up the motion in some other form, and continues it till the whole or part is again transmitted to other matter; in this sense perpetual motion is inevitable. But this is not the popular meaning of 'perpetual motion,' which represents a vague idea that a watch will not go unless it is wound up. Put into more accurate form, it means that no finite construction of physical materials can continue to *do work* for an infinite time; or in other words, one part of the construction cannot continue to part with its energy and another part to receive it for ever, nor can the action be perpetually reversed. All motion we can produce in this world is accompanied by the performance of a certain amount of work in the form of overcoming friction, and this involves a redistribution of energy. No continual motion can therefore be produced by any finite chemical, mechanical, or other physical construction. In this case, what is true on a small scale is equally true on a large scale. Looking on the sun and planets as a certain complex physical combination, differing in degree but not in kind from those we can produce in the workshop by using similar materials subject to the same laws, we at once admit that if there be no resistance, the planets may continue to revolve round the sun for ever, and may have done so from infinite time. Under these circumstances, neither the sun nor planets gain or lose a particle of energy in the process. Perpetual motion is, therefore, in this case quite conceivable. But when we find the sun raising huge masses of water daily from the sea to the skies, lifting yearly endless vegetation from the earth, setting breeze and hurricane in motion, dragging the huge tidal wave round and round our earth; performing, in fine, the great bulk of the endless labour of this world and of other worlds, so that the energy of the sun is continually being given away; then we may say this continual work cannot go on for ever. This would be precisely the perpetual motion we are for ever ridiculing as an exploded delusion, and yet how many persons will read these lines, to whom it has occurred that the physical work done in the world requires a motive power, that no physical motive

power is infinite or indefinite, that the heat of the sun, and the sum of all chemical and other physical affinities in the world, is just as surely limited in its power of doing work as a given number of tons of coal in the boiler of a steam-engine. Most readers will allow that the power man can extract from a ton of coals is limited, but perhaps not one reader in a thousand will at first admit that the power of the sun and that of the chemical affinities of bodies on the earth is equally limited.

There is a loose idea that our perpetual motions are impossible because we cannot avoid friction, and that friction entails somehow a loss of power, but that nature either works without friction, or that in the general system, friction entails no loss, and so her perpetual motions are possible; but nature no more works without friction than we can, and friction entails a loss of available power in all cases. When the rain falls, it feels the friction as much as drops from Hero's fountain; when the tide rolls round the world it rubs upon the sea-floor, even as a ball of mercury rubs on the artificial inclined planes used by ingenious inventors of impossibilities; when the breeze plays among the leaves, friction occurs according to the same laws as when artificial fans are driven through the air. Every chemical action in nature is as finite as the combustion of oxygen and carbon. The stone which, loosened by the rain, falls down a mountain-side, will no more raise itself to its first height, than the most ingeniously devised counterpoise of mechanism will raise an equal weight an equal distance. How comes it then that the finite nature of natural actions has not been as generally recognised as the finite nature of the so-called artificial combinations? Simply because, till very lately, it was impossible to follow the complete cycle of natural operations in the same manner as the complete cycle of any mechanical operations could be followed. All the pressures and resistances of the machine were calculable; we knew not so much as if there were analogous pressures and resistances in nature's mechanism. The establishment of the doctrine of conservation of energy, showing a numerical equivalence between the various forms of physical energy exhibited by *vis viva*, heat, chemical affinity, electricity, light, elasticity, and gravitation, has enabled us to examine the complete series of any given actions in nature, even as the successive actions of a train of wheels in a mill can be studied. There is no missing link; there is no unseen gearing, by which, in our ignorance, we might assume that the last wheel of the set somehow managed to drive the first. We have experimentally proved one law,—that the total quantity of energy in the universe is constant, meaning by energy something perfectly intelligible and inensurable, equivalent in all

cases to the product of a mass into the square of a velocity, sometimes latent, that is to say, producing or undergoing no change ; at other times in action, that is to say, in the act of producing or undergoing change, not a change in amount, but a change of distribution. First, the hand about to throw a ball, next, the ball in motion, lastly, the heated wall struck by the ball, contain the greater part of the energy of the construction ; but, from first to last, the sum of the energies contained by the hand, the ball, and the wall, is constant. At first sight, this constancy, in virtue of which no energy is ever lost, but simply transferred from mass to mass, might seem to favour the notion of a possible eternity of change, in which the earlier and later states of the universe would differ in no essential feature. It is to Professor Sir W. Thomson of Glasgow that we owe the demonstration of the fallacy of this conception, and the establishment of the contrary doctrine of a continual dissipation of energy, by which the available power to produce change in any finite quantity of matter diminishes at every change of the distribution of energy. A simple illustration of the meaning of this doctrine is afforded by an unequally heated bar of iron. Let one end be hot and the other cold. The total quantity of heat (representing one form of energy) contained by the bar is measurable and finite, and the bar contains within itself the elements of change,—the heated end may become cooler, and the cold end warmer. So long as any two parts differ in temperature, change may occur ; but so soon as all parts of the bar are at one temperature, the bar *quoad* heat can produce no change in itself, and yet if we conceive radiation or conduction from the surface to have been prevented, the bar will contain the same total energy as before. In the first condition, it had the power of doing work, and if it had not been a simple bar, but a more complex arrangement of materials of which the two parts had been at different temperatures, this difference might have been used to set wheels going, or to produce a thermo-electric current ; but gradually the wheels would have been stopped by friction producing heat once more, the thermo-electric current would have died out, producing heat in its turn, and the final quantity of heat in the system would have been the same as before. Its distribution only, as in the simple case, would have been different. At first, great differences in the distribution existed ; at last, the distribution was absolutely uniform ; and in that condition, the system could suffer no alteration until affected by some other body in a different condition, outside itself. Every change in the distribution of energy depends on a difference between bodies, and every change tends, on the whole, to diminish this difference, and so render the total future possible

change less in amount. Heat is the great agent in this gradual decay. No sooner does energy take this form than it is rapidly dissipated, *i.e.*, distributed among a large number of bodies, which assume a nearly equal temperature; once energy has undergone this transformation, it is practically lost. The equivalent of the energy is there; but it can produce no change until some fresh body, at a very different temperature, is presented to it. Thus it is that friction is looked upon as the grand enemy of so-called perpetual motion; it is the commonest mode by which *vis viva* is converted into heat; and we all practically know, that once the energy of our coal, boiling water, steam, piston, fly-wheel, rolling mills, gets into this form, it is simply conducted away, and is lost to us for ever; just so, when the chemical or other energies of nature, contained, say, in our planetary system, once assume the form of heat, they are in a fair way to be lost for all available purposes. They will produce a greater or less amount of change according to circumstances. The greater the difference of the temperature produced between the surrounding objects, the greater the physical changes they will effect, but the degradation is in all cases inevitable. Finally, the sun's rays take the form of heat, whether they raise water or vegetation, or do any other work, and in this form the energy quits the earth radiated into distant space. Nor would this gradual degradation be altered if space were bounded and the planets enclosed in a perfect non-conducting sphere. Everything inside that sphere would gradually become equally hot, and when this consummation was reached no further change would be possible. We might say (only we should not be alive) that the total energy of the system was the same as before, but practically the universe would contain mere changeless death, and to this condition the material universe tends, for the conclusion is not altered even by an unlimited extension of space. Moreover, the rate at which the planetary system is thus dying is perfectly mensurable, if not yet perfectly measured. An estimate of the total loss of heat from the sun is an estimate of the rate at which he is approaching the condition of surrounding space, after reaching which he will radiate no more. We intercept a few of his rays, and can measure the rate of his radiation very accurately; we know that his mass contains many of the materials our earth is formed of, and we know the capacity for heat and other forms of energy which those materials are capable of, and so can estimate the total possible energy contained in the sun's mass. Knowing thus approximately, how much he has, and how fast he is losing it, we can, or Professor Thomson can, calculate how long it will be before he will cool down to any given temperature. Nor is

it possible to assume that, *per contra*, he is receiving energy to an unlimited extent in other ways. He may be supplied with heat and fuel by absorbing certain planetary bodies, but the supply is limited, and the limit is known and taken into account in the calculation, and we are assured that the sun will be too cold for our or Darwin's purposes before many millions of years—a long time, but far enough from countless ages; quite similarly past countless ages are inconceivable, inasmuch as the heat required by the sun to have allowed him to cool from time immemorial, would be such as to turn him into mere vapour, which would extend over the whole planetary system, and evaporate us entirely. It has been thought necessary to give the foregoing sketch of the necessary gradual running down of the heavenly mechanism, to show that this reasoning concerning the sun's heat does not depend on any one special fact, or sets of facts, about heat, but is the mere accidental form of decay, which in some shape is inevitable, and the very essential condition of action. There is a kind of vague idea, when the sun is said to be limited in its heating powers, that somehow chemistry or electricity, etc., may reverse all that; but it has been explained that every one of these agencies is subject to the same law; they can never twice produce the same change in its entirety. Every change is a decay, meaning by change a change in the distribution of energy.

Another method by which the rate of decay of our planetary system can be measured, is afforded by the distribution of heat in the earth. If a man were to find a hot ball of iron suspended in the air, and were carefully to ascertain the distribution in the ball, he would be able to determine whether the ball was being heated or cooled at the time. If he found the outside hotter than the inside, he would conclude that in some way the ball was receiving heat from outside; if he found the inside hotter than the outside, he would conclude that the ball was cooling, and had therefore been hotter before he found it than when he found it. So far mere common sense would guide him, but with the aid of mathematics and some physical knowledge of the properties of iron and air, he would go much further, and be able to calculate how hot the ball must have been at any given moment, if it had not been interfered with. Thus he would be able to say, the ball must have been hung up less than say five hours ago, for at that time the heat of the ball would have been such, if left in its present position, that the metal would be fused, and so could not hang where he saw it. Precisely analogous reasoning holds with respect to the earth; it is such a ball; it is hotter inside than outside. The distribution of the heat near its surface is approximately known.

The properties of the matter of which it is composed are approximately known, and hence an approximate calculation can be made of the period of time within which it must have been hot enough to fuse the materials of which it is composed, provided it has occupied its present position, or a similar position, in space. The data for this calculation are still very imperfect, but the result of analogous calculation applied to the sun, as worked out by Professor Sir W. Thomson, is five hundred million years, and the results derived from the observed temperatures of the earth are of the same order of magnitude. This calculation is a mere approximation. A better knowledge of the distribution of heat in the interior of the globe may modify materially our estimates. A better knowledge of the conducting powers of rocks, etc., for heat, and their distribution in the earth, may modify it to a less degree, but unless our information be wholly erroneous as to the gradual increase of temperature as we descend towards the centre of the earth, the main result of the calculation, that the centre is gradually cooling, and if uninterfered with must, within a limited time, have been in a state of complete fusion, cannot be overthrown. Not only is the time limited, but it is limited to periods utterly inadequate for the production of species according to Darwin's views. We have seen a lecture-room full of people titter when told that the world would not, without supernatural interference, remain habitable for more than one hundred million years. This period was to those people ridiculously beyond anything in which they could take an interest. Yet a thousand years is an historical period well within our grasp,—as a Darwinian or geological unit it is almost uselessly small. Darwin would probably admit that more than a thousand times this period, or a million years, would be no long time to ask for the production of a species differing only slightly from the parent stock. We doubt whether a thousand times more change than we have any reason to believe has taken place in wild animals in historic times, would produce a cat from a dog, or either from a common ancestor. If this be so, how preposterously inadequate are a few hundred times this unit for the action of the Darwinian theory!

But it may be said they are equally inadequate for the geological formations which we know of, and therefore your calculations are wrong. Let us see what conclusions the application of the general theory of the gradual dissipation of energy would lead to, as regards these geological formations. We may perhaps find the solution of the difficulty in reconciling the results of the calculation of the rate of secular cooling, with the results deduced from the denudation or deposition of strata in the

following consideration. If there have been a gradual and continual dissipation of energy, there will on the whole have been a gradual decrease in the violence or rapidity of all physical changes. When the gunpowder in a gun is just lighted, the energy applied in a small mass produces rapid and violent changes; as the ball rushes through the air it gradually loses speed; when it strikes rapid changes again occur, but not so rapid as at starting. Part of the energy is slowly being diffused through the air; part is being slowly conducted as heat from the interior to the exterior of the gun, only a residue shatters the rampart, and that residue, soon changing into heat, is finally diffused at a gradually decreasing rate into surrounding matter. Follow any self-contained change, and a similar gradual diminution on the whole will be observed. There are periods of greater and less activity, but the activity on the whole diminishes. Even so must it have been, and so will it be, with our earth. Extremes tend to diminish; high places become lower, low places higher, by denudation. Conduction is continually endeavouring to reduce extremes of heat and cold; as the sun's heat diminishes so will the violence of storms; as inequalities of surface diminish, so will the variations of climate. As the external crust consolidates, so will the effect of internal fire diminish. As internal stores of fuel are consumed, or other stores of chemical energy used up, the convulsions or gradual changes they can produce must diminish; on every side, and from whatever cause changes are due, we see the tendency to their gradual diminution of intensity or rapidity. To say that things must or can always have gone on at the present rate is a sheer absurdity, exactly equivalent to saying that a boiler fire once lighted will keep a steam-engine going for ever at a constant rate; to say all changes that have occurred, or will occur, since creation, have been due to the same causes as those now in action; and further, that those causes have not varied in intensity according to any other laws than they are now varying, is, we believe, a correct scientific statement, but then we contend that those causes must and do hourly diminish in intensity, and have since the beginning diminished in intensity, and will diminish, till further sensible change ceases, and a dead monotony is the final physical result of the mechanical laws which matter obeys.

Once this is granted, the calculations as to the length of geological periods, from the present rates of denudation and deposit, are blown to the winds. They are rough, very rough, at best. The present assumed rates are little better than guesses; but even were these really known, they could by no means be simply made use of in a rule-of-three sum, as has

generally been done. The rates of denudation and deposition have been gradually, on the whole, slower and slower, as the time of fusion has become more and more remote. There has been no age of cataclysm, in one sense, no time, when the physical laws were other than they now are, but the results were as different as the rates of a steam-engine driven with a boiler first heated to 1500 degrees Fahrenheit, and gradually cooling to 200.

A counter argument is used, to the effect that our argument cannot be correct, since plants grew quietly, and fine deposits were formed in the earliest geological times. But, in truth, this fact in no way invalidates our argument. Plants grow just as quietly on the slope of Vesuvius, with a few feet between them and molten lava, as they do in a Kentish lane; but they occasionally experience the difference of the situation. The law according to which a melted mass cools would allow vegetation to exist, and animals to walk unharmed over an incredibly thin crust. There would be occasional disturbances; but we see that a few feet of soil are a sufficient barrier between molten lava and the roots of the vine; each tendril grows not the less slowly and delicately because it is liable in a year or two to be swallowed up by the stream of lava. Yet no one will advance the proposition that changes on the surface of a volcano are going on at the same rate as elsewhere. Even so in the primeval world, barely crusted over, with great extremes of climate, violent storms, earthquakes, and a general rapid tendency to change, tender plants may have grown, and deep oceans may have covered depths of perfect stillness, interrupted occasionally by huge disturbances. Violent currents or storms in some regions do not preclude temperate climates in others, and after all the evidence of tranquillity is very slight. There are coarse deposits as well as fine ones; now a varying current sifts a deposit better than a thousand sieves, the large stones fall first in a rapid torrent, then the gravel in a rapid stream, then the coarse sand, and finally, the fine silt cannot get deposited till it meets with still water. And still water might assuredly exist at the bottom of oceans, the surface of which was traversed by storms and waves of an intensity unknown to us. The soundings in deep seas invariably produce samples of almost intangible ooze. All coarser materials are deposited before they reach regions of such deathlike stillness, and this would always be so. As to the plants, they may have grown within a yard of red-hot gneiss.

Another class of objections to the line of argument pursued consists in the suggestion that it is impossible to prove that since the creation things always have been as they are. Thus, one man says,—‘Ah, but the world and planetary system may have

passed through a warm region of space, and then your deductions from the radiation of heat into space go for nothing ; or, a fresh supply of heat and fuel may have been supplied by regular arrivals of comets or other fourgons ; or the sun and centre of the earth may be composed of materials utterly dissimilar to any we are acquainted with, capable of evolving heat from a limited space at a rate which we have no example of, leaving coal or gunpowder at an infinite distance behind them. Or it may please the Creator to continue creating energy in the form of heat at the centre of the sun and earth ; or the mathematical laws of cooling and radiation, and conservation of energy and dissipation of energy may be actually erroneous, since man is, after all, fallible.' Well, we suppose all these things *may* be true, but we decline to allow them the slightest weight in the argument, until some reason can be shown for believing that any one of them is true.

To resume the arguments in this chapter :—Darwin's theory requires countless ages, during which the earth shall have been habitable, and he claims geological evidence as showing an inconceivably great lapse of time, and as not being in contradiction with inconceivably greater periods than are even geologically indicated,—periods of rest between formations, and periods anterior to our so-called first formations, during which the rudimentary organs of the early fossils became degraded from their primeval uses. In answer, it is shown that a general physical law obtains, irreconcilable with the persistence of active change at a constant rate ; in any portion of the universe, however large, only a certain capacity for change exists, so that every change which occurs renders the possibility of future change less, and, on the whole, the rapidity or violence of changes tends to diminish. Not only would this law gradually entail in the future the death of all beings and cessation of all change in the planetary system, and in the past point to a state of previous violence equally inconsistent with life, if no energy were lost by the system, but this gradual decay from a previous state of violence is rendered far more rapid by the continual loss of energy going on by means of radiation. From this general conception pointing either to a beginning, or to the equally inconceivable idea of infinite energy in finite materials, we pass to the practical application of the law to the sun and earth, showing that their present state proves that they cannot remain for ever adapted to living beings, and that living beings can have existed on the earth only for a definite time, since in distant periods the earth must have been in fusion, and the sun must have been mere hot gas, or a group of distant meteors, so as to have been incapable of fulfilling its present functions as the

comparatively small centre of the system. From the earth we have no very safe calculation of past time, but the sun gives five hundred million years as the time separating us from a condition inconsistent with life. We next argue that the time occupied in the arrangement of the geological formations need not have been longer than is fully consistent with this view, since the gradual dissipation of energy must have resulted in a gradual diminution of violence of all kinds, so that calculations of the time occupied by denudations or deposits based on the simple division of the total mass of a deposit, or denudation by the annual action now observed, are fallacious, and that even as the early geologists erred in attempting to compress all action into six thousand years, so later geologists have outstepped all bounds in their figures, by assuming that the world has always gone on much as it now does, and that the planetary system contains an inexhaustible motive power, by which the vast labour of the system has been, and can be maintained for ever. We have endeavoured to meet the main objections to these views, and conclude, that countless ages cannot be granted to the expounder of any theory of living beings, but that the age of the inhabited world is proved to have been limited to a period wholly inconsistent with Darwin's views.

Difficulty of Classification.—It appears that it is difficult to classify animals or plants, arranging them in groups as genera, species, and varieties; that the line of demarcation is by no means clear between species and sub-species, between sub-species and well-marked varieties, or between lesser varieties and individual differences; that these lines of demarcation, as drawn by different naturalists, vary much, being sometimes made to depend on this, sometimes on that organ, rather arbitrarily. This difficulty chiefly seems to have led men to devise theories of transmutation of species, and is the very starting-point of Darwin's theory, which depicts the differences between various individuals of any one species as identical in nature with the differences between individuals of various species, and supposes all these differences, varying in degree only, to have been produced by the same causes; so that the subdivision into groups is, in this view, to a great extent arbitrary, but may be considered rational if the words variations, varieties, sub-species, species, and genera, be used to signify or be considered to express that the individuals included in these smaller or greater groups, have had a common ancestor very lately, some time since, within the later geological ages, or before the primary rocks. The common terms, explained by Darwin's principles, signify, in fact, the more or less close blood-relationship of the

individuals. This, if it could be established, would undoubtedly afford a less arbitrary principle of classification than pitching on some one organ and dragging into a given class all creatures that had this organ in any degree similar. The application of the new doctrine might offer some difficulty, as it does not clearly appear what would be regarded as the sign of more or less immediate descent from a common ancestor, and perhaps each classifier would have pet marks by which to decide the question, in which case the new principle would not be of much practical use; yet if the theory were really true, in time the marks of common ancestry would probably come to be known with some accuracy, and meanwhile the theory would give an aim and meaning to classification, which otherwise might be looked upon as simply a convenient form of catalogue.

If the arguments already urged are true, these descents from common ancestors are wholly imaginary. 'How, then,' say the supporters of transmutation, 'do you account for our difficulty in distinguishing, *a priori*, varieties from species? The first, we know by experience, have descended from a common ancestor; the second you declare have not, and yet neither outward inspection nor dissection will enable us to distinguish a variety from what you call a species. Is not this strange, if there be an essential difference?'

No, it is not strange. There is nothing either wonderful or peculiar to organized beings, in the difficulty experienced in classification, and we have no reason to expect that the differences between beings which have had no common ancestor should be obviously greater than those occurring in the descendants of a given stock. Whatever origin species may have had, whether due to separate creation or some yet undiscovered process, we ought to expect a close approximation between these species, and difficulty in arranging them as groups. We find this difficulty in all classification, and the difficulty increases as the number of objects to be classified increase. Thus the chemist began by separating metals from metalloids, and found no difficulty in placing copper and iron in one category, and sulphur and phosphorus in the other. Now-a-days, there is or has been a doubt, whether hydrogen gas be a metal or no. It probably ought to be so classed. Some physical properties of tellurium would lead to its classification as a metal; its chemical properties are those of a metalloid. Acids and bases were once very intelligible headings to large groups of substances. Now-a-days there are just as finely drawn distinctions as to what is an acid, and what a base, as eager discussions which substance in a compound plays the part of acid or base, as there can possibly be about the line of demarcation between

animal or vegetable life, and any of the characteristics used to determine the group that shall claim a given shell or plant. Nay, some chemists are just as eager to abandon the old terms altogether, as Darwin to abolish species. His most advanced disciple will hardly contend that metals and metalloids are the descendants of organic beings, which, in the struggle for life, have gradually lost all their organs; yet is it less strange that inorganic substances should be hard to class, than that organic beings, with their infinitely greater complexity, should be difficult to arrange in neat, well-defined groups? In the early days of chemistry, a theory might well have been started, perhaps was started, that all metals were alloys of a couple of unknown substances. Each newly discovered metal would have appeared to occupy an intermediate place between old metals. Alloys similarly occupied an intermediate place between the metals composing them; why might not all metals be simply sets of alloys, of which the elements were not yet discovered? An alloy can no more be distinguished by its outward appearance than a hybrid can. Alloys differ as much from one another, and from metals, as metals do one from another, and a whole set of Darwinian arguments might be used to prove all metals alloys. It is only of late, by a knowledge of complicated electrical and other properties, that we could feel a certainty that metals were not alloys.

Other examples may be given, and will hereafter be given, of analogous difficulties of classification; but let us at once examine what expectations we might naturally form, *a priori*, as to the probable ease or difficulty in classifying plants and animals, however these may have originated. Are not animals and plants combinations, more or less complex, of a limited number of elementary parts? The number of possible combinations of a given number of elements is limited, however numerous these elements may be. The limits to the possible number of combinations become more and more restricted, as we burden these combinations with laws more and more complicated,—insisting, for instance, that the elements shall only be combined in groups of threes or fives, or in triple groups of five each, or in n groups, consisting respectively of $a, b, c, d, \dots n$ elements arranged each in a given order. But what conceivable complexity of algebraic arrangement can approach the complexity of the laws which regulate the construction of an organic being out of inorganic elements? Let the chemist tell us the laws of combination of each substance found in an organized being. Let us next attempt to conceive the complexity of the conditions required to arrange these combinations in a given order, so as to constitute an eating, breathing, moving,

feeling, self-reproducing thing. When our mind has recoiled baffled, let us consider whether it is not probable, nay certain, that there should be a limit to the possible number of combinations, called animals or vegetables, produced out of a few simple elements, and grouped under the above inconceivably complex laws. Next, we may ask whether, as in the mathematical permutations, combinations, and arrangements, the complete set of possible organized beings will not necessarily form a continuous series of combinations, each resembling its neighbour, even as the letters of the alphabet grouped say in all possible sets of five each, might be arranged so as to form a continuous series of groups, or sets of series, according as one kind of resemblance or another be chosen to guide us in the arrangement. It is clear that the number of combinations or animals will be immeasurably greater when these combinations are allowed to resemble each other very closely, than when a condition is introduced, that given marked differences shall exist between them. Thus, there are upwards of 7,890,000 words or combinations of five letters in the English alphabet. These are reduced to 26 when we insert a condition that no two combinations shall begin with the same letter, and to 5 when we stipulate that no two shall contain a single letter alike. Thus we may expect, if the analogy be admitted, to find varieties of a given species, apparently, though not really, infinite in number, since the difference between these varieties is very small, whereas we may expect that the number of well-marked possible species will be limited, and only subject to increase by the insertion of fresh terms or combinations, intermediate between those already existing. Viewed in this light, a species is the expression of one class of combination; the individuals express the varieties of which that class is capable.

It may be objected that the number of elements in an organized being is so great, as practically to render the number of possible combinations infinite; but unless infinite divisibility of matter be assumed, this objection will not hold, inasmuch as the number of elements or parts in the germ or seed of a given animal or plant appears far from infinite. Yet it is certain that differences between one species and another, one variety and another, one individual and another, exist in these minute bodies, containing very simple and uniform substances if analysed chemically. Probably, even fettered by these conditions, the number of possible animals or plants is inconceivably greater than the number which exist or have existed; but the greater the number, the more they must necessarily resemble one another.

It may perhaps be thought irreverent to hold an opinion that

the Creator could not create animals of any shape and fashion whatever; undoubtedly we may conceive all rules and all laws as entirely self-imposed by him, as possibly quite different or non-existent elsewhere; but what we mean is this, that just as with the existing chemical laws of the world, the number of possible chemical combinations of a particular kind is limited, and not even the Creator could make more without altering the laws he has himself imposed, even so, if we imagine animals created or existing under some definite law, the number of species, and of possible varieties of one species, will be limited; and these varieties and species being definite arrangements of organic compounds, will as certainly be capable of arrangement in series as inorganic chemical compounds are. These views no more imply a limit to the power of God than the statement that the three angles of a triangle are necessarily equal to two right angles.

It is assumed that all existing substances or beings of which we have any scientific knowledge exist under definite laws. Under any laws there will be a limit to the possible number of combinations of a limited number of elements. The limit will apply to size, strength, length of life, and every other quality. Between any extremes the number of combinations called animals or species can only be increased by filling in gaps which exist between previously existing animals, or between these and the possible limits, and therefore whatever the general laws of organization may be, they must produce results similar to those we observe, and which lead to difficulty in classification, and to the similarity between one species or variety and another. Turning the argument, we might say that the observed facts simply prove that organisms exist and were created under definite laws, and surely no one will be disposed to deny this. Darwin assumes one law, namely, that every being is descended from a common ancestor (which, by the way, implies that every being shall be capable of producing a descendant like any other being), and he seems to think this the only law which would account for the close similarity of species, whereas any law may be expected to produce the same results. We observe that animals eat, breathe, move, have senses, are born, and die, and yet we are expected to feel surprise that combinations, which are all contrived to perform the same functions, resemble one another. It is the apparent variety that is astounding, not the similarity. Some will perhaps think it absurd to say that the number of combinations are limited. They will state that no two men ever were or will be exactly alike, no two leaves in any past or future forest; it is not clear how they could find this out, or how they could prove it. But as already explained, we quite admit that by allowing closer and closer similarity, the

number of combinations of a fixed number of elements may be enormously increased. We may fairly doubt the identity of any two of the higher animals, remembering the large number of elements of which they consist, but perhaps two identical foraminiferæ have existed. As an idle speculation suggested by the above views, we might consider whether it would be possible that two parts of any two animals should be identical, without their being wholly identical, looking on each animal as one possible combination, in which no part could vary without altering all the others. It would be difficult to ascertain this by experiment.

It is very curious to see how man's contrivances, intended to fulfil some common purpose, fall into series, presenting the difficulty complained of by naturalists in classifying birds and beasts, or chemists in arranging compounds. It is this difficulty which produces litigation under the Patent Laws. Is or is not this machine comprised among those forming the subject of the patent? At first sight nothing can be more different than the drawing in the patent and the machine produced in court, and yet counsel and witnesses shall prove to the satisfaction of judge, jury, and one party to the suit, that the essential part, the important organ, is the same in both cases. The case will often hinge on the question, What is the important organ? Just the question which Darwin asks; and quite as difficult to answer about a patented machine as about an organic being.

This difficulty results from the action of man's mind contriving machines to produce a common result according to definite laws, the laws of mechanics. An instance of this is afforded by the various forms of bridge. Nothing would appear more distinct than the three forms of suspension-bridge, girder, and arch; the types of which are furnished by a suspended rope, a balk of wood, and a stone arch; yet if we substitute an iron-plate girder of approved form for the wooden balk, and then a framed or lattice girder for the plate-iron girder, we shall see that the girder occupies an intermediate place between the two extremes, combining both the characteristics of the suspension and arched rib,—the upper plates and a set of diagonal struts being compressed like the stones of an arch, the lower plates and a set of diagonal ties being extended like a suspended rope. Curve the top plates, as is often done, and the resemblance to an arch increases, yet every member of the girder remains. Weaken the bracing, leaving top and bottom plates as before, the bridge is now an arched bridge with the abutments tied together. Weaken the ties gradually, and you gradually approach nearer and nearer to the common arch with the usual abutments. Quite similarly the girder can be trans-

formed into a suspension-bridge by gradual steps, so that none can say when the girder ends and the suspension-bridge begins. Nay, take the common framed or lattice girder, do not alter its shape in any way, but support it, first, on flat stones like a girder, then wedge it between sloping abutments like an arch, and lastly, hang it up between short sloping links like those of a suspension-bridge, attached to the upper corners at the end,—you will so alter the strains in the three cases that in order to bear the same load, the relative parts of the framework must be altered in their proportions in three distinct ways, resembling in the arrangement of the strongest parts, first a girder, next an arch, and finally a suspension-bridge. Yet the outline might remain the same, and not a single member be removed.

Thus we see, that though in three distinct and extreme cases it is easy to give distinctive names with clear characteristics, it is very difficult as the varieties multiply to draw distinct lines between them. Shall the distribution of strains be the important point? Then one and the same piece of framework will have to be included under each of three heads, according to the manner in which it is suspended or supported. Shall form be the important point? We may construct a ribbed arch of string, of a form exactly similar to many compressed arches, we may support this from below, and yet the whole arch shall be in tension, and bear a considerable load. Shall the mode of support be the important point? It would be an odd conclusion to arrive at, that any stiff beam hung up in a particular way was a suspension-bridge. Nor is this difficulty simply a sophistical one invented for the occasion; the illustration was suggested by a practical difficulty met with in drawing up a patent; and in ordinary engineering practice, one man will call a certain bridge a stiffened arch, while another calls it a girder of peculiar form; a third man calls a bridge a strengthened girder, which a fourth says differs in no practical way from a suspension-bridge. Here, as in the case of animals or vegetables, when the varieties are few, classification is comparatively easy; as they are multiplied it becomes difficult; and when all the conceivable combinations are inserted it becomes impossible. Nor must it be supposed that this is due to the suggestion of one form by another in a way somewhat analogous to descent by animal reproduction. The facts would be the same however the bridges were designed. There are only certain ways in which a stream can be bridged; the extreme cases are easily perceived, and ingenuity can then only fill in an indefinite number of intermediate varieties. The possible varieties are not created by man, they are found out, laid bare. Which are laid bare will frequently depend on suggestion or associa-

tion of ideas, so that groups of closely analogous forms are discovered about the same time; but we may *a priori* assert that whatever is discovered will lie between the known extremes, and will render the task of classification, if attempted, more and more difficult.

Legal difficulties furnish another illustration. Does a particular case fall within a particular statute? is it ruled by this or that precedent? The number of statutes or groups is limited; the number of possible combinations of events almost unlimited. Hence, as before, the uncertainty which group a special combination shall be classed within. Yet new combinations, being doubtful cases, are so, precisely because they are intermediate between others already known.

It might almost be urged that all the difficulties of reasoning, and all differences of opinion, might be reduced to difficulties of classification, that is to say, of determining whether a given minor is really included in a certain major proposition; and of discovering the major proposition or genus we are in want of. As trivial instances, take the docketing of letters or making catalogues of books. How difficult it is to devise headings, and how difficult afterwards to know under what head to place your book. The most arbitrary rule is the only one which has a chance of being carried out with absolute certainty.

Yet while these difficulties meet us wherever we turn, in chemistry, in mechanics, law, or mere catalogues of heterogeneous objects, we are asked to feel surprise that we cannot docket off creation into neat rectangular pigeon-holes, and we are offered a special theory of transmutation, limited to organic beings, to account for a fact of almost universal occurrence.

To resume this argument:—Attention has been drawn to the fact, that when a complete set of combinations of certain elements is formed according to a given law, they will necessarily be limited in number, and form a certain sequence, passing from one extreme to the other by successive steps.

Organized beings may be regarded as combinations, either of the elementary substances used to compose them, or of the parts recurring in many beings; for instance, of breathing organs, apparatus for causing blood to circulate, organs of sense, reproduction, etc., in animals. The conclusion is drawn that we can feel no reasonable surprise at finding that species should form a graduated series which it is difficult to group as genera, or that varieties should be hard to group into various distinct species.

Nor is it surprising that newly discovered species and varieties should almost invariably occupy an intermediate position between some already known, since the number of varieties of one species, or the number of possible species, can only be in-

definitely increased by admitting varieties or species possessing indefinitely small differences one from another.

We observe that these peculiarities require no theory of transmutation, but only that the combination of the parts, however effected, should have been made in accordance with some law, as we have every reason to expect they would be.

In illustration of this conclusion, cases of difficult classification are pointed out containing nothing analogous to reproduction, and where no struggle for life occurs.

Observed Facts supposed to support Darwin's Views.—The chief arguments used to establish the theory rest on conjecture. Beasts may have varied; variations may have accumulated; they may have become permanent; continents may have arisen or sunk, and seas and winds been so arranged as to dispose of animals just as we find them, now spreading a race widely, now confining it to one Galapagos island. There may be records of infinitely more animals than we know of in geological formations yet unexplored. Myriads of species differing little from those we know to have been preserved, may actually not have been preserved at all. There may have been an inhabited world for ages before the earliest known geological strata. The world may indeed have been inhabited for an indefinite time; even the geological observations may perhaps give a most insufficient idea of the enormous times which separated one formation from another; the peculiarities of hybrids may result from accidental differences between the parents, not from what have been called specific differences.

We are asked to believe all these maybe's happening on an enormous scale, in order that we may believe the final Darwinian 'maybe,' as to the origin of species. The general form of his argument is as follows:—All these things may have been, therefore my theory is possible, and since my theory is a possible one, all those hypotheses which it requires are rendered probable. There is little direct evidence that any of these maybe's actually *have been*.

In this essay an attempt has been made to show that many of these assumed possibilities are actually impossibilities, or at the best have not occurred in this world, although it is proverbially somewhat difficult to prove a negative.

Let us now consider what direct evidence Darwin brings forward to prove that animals really are descended from a common ancestor. As direct evidence we may admit the possession of webbed feet by unplumed birds; the stripes observed on some kinds of horses and hybrids of horses, resembling not their parents, but other species of the genus; the generative vari-

ability of abnormal organs; the greater tendency to vary of widely diffused and widely ranging species; certain peculiarities of distribution. All these facts are consistent with Darwin's theory, and if it could be shown that they could not possibly have occurred except in consequence of natural selection, they would prove the truth of this theory. It would, however, clearly be impossible to prove that in no other way could these phenomena have been produced, and Darwin makes no attempt to prove this. He only says he cannot imagine why unplumed birds should have webbed feet, unless in consequence of their direct descent from web-footed ancestors who lived in the water; that he thinks it would in some way be derogatory to the Creator to let hybrids have stripes on their legs, unless some ancestor of theirs had stripes on his leg. He cannot imagine why abnormal organs and widely diffused genera should vary more than others, unless his views be true; and he says he cannot account for the peculiarities of distribution in any way but one. It is perhaps hardly necessary to combat these arguments, and to show that our inability to account for certain phenomena, in any way but one, is no proof of the truth of the explanation given, but simply is a confession of our ignorance. When a man says a glowworm must be on fire, and in answer to our doubts challenges us to say how it can give out light unless it be on fire, we do not admit his challenge as any proof of his assertion, and indeed we allow it no weight whatever as against positive proof we have that the glowworm is not on fire. We conceive Darwin's theory to be in exactly the same case; its untruth can, as we think, be proved, and his or our own inability to explain a few isolated facts consistent with his views would simply prove his and our ignorance of the true explanation. But although unable to give any certainly true explanation of the above phenomena, it is possible to suggest explanations perhaps as plausible as the Darwinian theory, and though the fresh suggestions may very probably not be correct, they may serve to show that at least more than one conceivable explanation may be given.

It is a familiar fact that certain complexions go with certain temperaments, that roughly something of a man's character may be told from the shape of his head, his nose, or perhaps from most parts of his body. We find certain colours almost always accompanying certain forms and tempers of horses. There is a connexion between the shape of the hand and the foot, and so forth. No horse has the head of a cart-horse and the hind-quarters of a racer; so that, in general, if we know the shape of most parts of a man or horse, we can make a good guess at the probable shape of the remainder.

All this shows that there is a certain correlation of parts, leading us to expect that when the heads of two birds are very much alike, their feet will not be very different. From the assumption of a limited number of possible combinations or animals, it would naturally follow that the combination of elements producing a bird having a head very similar to that of a goose, could not fail to produce a foot also somewhat similar. According to this view, we might expect most animals to have a good many superfluities of a minor kind, resulting necessarily from the combination required to produce the essential or important organs. Surely, then, it is not very strange that an animal intermediate by birth between a horse and ass should resemble a quagga, which results from a combination intermediate between the horse and ass combination. The quagga is in general appearance intermediate between the horse and ass, therefore, *a priori*, we may expect that in general appearance a hybrid between the horse and the ass will resemble the quagga, and if in general appearance it does resemble a quagga, we may expect that owing to the correlation of parts it will resemble the quagga in some special particulars. It is difficult to suppose that every stripe on a zebra or quagga, or cross down a donkey's back, is useful to it. It seems possible, even probable, that these things are the unavoidable consequences of the elementary combination which will produce the quagga, or a beast like it. Darwin himself appears to admit that correlation will or may produce results which are not themselves useful to the animal; thus how can we suppose that the beauty of feathers which are either never uncovered, or very rarely so, can be of any advantage to a bird? Nevertheless those concealed parts are often very beautiful, and the beauty of the markings on these parts must be supposed due to correlation. The exposed end of a peacock's feather could not be so gloriously coloured without beautiful colours even in the unexposed parts. According to the view already explained, the combination producing the one was impossible unless it included the other. The same idea may perhaps furnish the clue to the variability of abnormal organs and widely diffused species, the abnormal organ may with some plausibility be looked upon as the rare combination difficult to effect, and only possible under very special circumstances. There is little difficulty in believing that it would more probably vary with varying circumstances than a simple and ordinary combination. It is easy to produce two common wine-glasses which differ in no apparent manner; two Venice goblets could hardly be blown alike. It is not meant here to predicate ease or difficulty of the action of omnipotence; but just as mechanical laws allow one form

to be reproduced with certainty, so the occult laws of reproduction may allow certain simpler combinations to be produced with much greater certainty than the more complex combinations. The variability of widely diffused species might be explained in a similar way. These may be looked on as the simple combinations of which many may exist similar one to the other, whereas the complex combinations may only be possible within comparatively narrow limits, inside which one organ may indeed be variable, though the main combination is the only possible one of its kind.

We by no means wish to assert that we know the above suggestions to be the true explanations of the facts. We merely wish to show that other explanations than those given by Darwin are conceivable, although this is indeed not required by our argument, since, if his main assumptions can be proved false, his theory will derive no benefit from the few facts which may be allowed to be consistent with its truth.

The peculiarities of geographical distribution seem very difficult of explanation on any theory. Darwin calls in alternately winds, tides, birds, beasts, all animated nature, as the diffusers of species, and then a good many of the same agencies as impenetrable barriers. There are some impenetrable barriers between the Galapagos Islands, but not between New Zealand and South America. Continents are created to join Australia and the Cape of Good Hope, while a sea as broad as the British Channel is elsewhere a valid line of demarcation. With these facilities of hypothesis there seems to be no particular reason why many theories should not be true. However an animal may have been produced, it must have been produced somewhere, and it must either have spread very widely, or not have spread, and Darwin can give good reasons for both results. If produced according to any law at all, it would seem probable that groups of similar animals would be produced in given places. Or we might suppose that all animals having been created anywhere or everywhere, those have been extinguished which were not suited to such climate; nor would it be an answer to say that the climate, for instance, of Australia, is less suitable now to marsupials than to other animals introduced from Europe, because we may suppose that this was not so when the race began; but in truth it is hard to believe any of the suppositions, nor can we just now invent any better; and this peculiarity of distribution, namely, that all the products of a given continent have a kind of family resemblance, is the sole argument brought forward by Darwin which seems to us to lend any countenance to the theory of a common origin and the transmutation of species.

Our main arguments are now completed. Something might be said as to the alleged imperfection of the geological records. It is certain that, when compared with the total number of animals which have lived, they must be very imperfect; but still we observe that of many species of beings thousands and even millions of specimens have been preserved. If Darwin's theory be true, the number of varieties differing one from another a very little must have been indefinitely great, so great indeed as probably far to exceed the number of individuals which have existed of any one variety. If this be true, it would be more probable that no two specimens preserved as fossils should be of one variety than that we should find a great many specimens collected from a very few varieties, provided, of course, the chances of preservation are equal for all individuals. But this assumption may be denied, and some may think it probable that the conditions favourable to preservation only recur rarely, at remote periods, and never last long enough to show a gradual unbroken change. It would rather seem probable that fragments, at least, of perfect series would be preserved of those beings which lead similar lives favourable to their preservation as fossils. Have any fragments of these Darwinian series been found where the individuals merge from one variety insensibly to another?

It is really strange that vast numbers of perfectly similar specimens should be found, the chances against their perpetuation as fossils are so great; but it is also very strange that the specimens should be so exactly alike as they are, if, in fact, they came and vanished by a gradual change. It is, however, not worth while to insist much on this argument, which by suitable hypotheses might be answered, as by saying, that the changes were often quick, taking only a few myriad ages, and that then a species was permanent for a vastly longer time, and that if we have not anywhere a gradual change clearly recorded, the steps from variety to variety are gradually being diminished as more specimens are discovered. These answers do not seem to us sufficient, but the point is hardly worth contesting, when other arguments directly disproving the possibility of the assumed change have been advanced.

These arguments are cumulative. If it be true that no species can vary beyond defined limits, it matters little whether natural selection would be efficient in producing definite variations. If natural selection, though it does select the stronger average animals, and under peculiar circumstances may develop special organs already useful, can never select new imperfect organs such as are produced in sports, then, even though eternity were granted, and no limit assigned to the possible

changes of animals, Darwin's cannot be the true explanation of the manner in which change has been brought about. Lastly, even if no limit be drawn to the possible difference between offspring and their progenitors, and if natural selection were admitted to be an efficient cause capable of building up even new senses, even then, unless time, vast time, be granted, the changes which might have been produced by the gradual selection of peculiar offspring have not really been so produced. Any one of the main pleas of our argument, if established, is fatal to Darwin's theory. What then shall we say if we believe that experiment has shown a sharp limit to the variation of every species, that natural selection is powerless to perpetuate new organs even should they appear, that countless ages of a habitable globe are rigidly proven impossible by the physical laws which forbid the assumption of infinite power in a finite mass? What can we believe but that Darwin's theory is an ingenious and plausible speculation, to which future physiologists will look back with the kind of admiration we bestow on the atoms of Lucretius, or the crystal spheres of Eudoxus, containing like these some faint half-truths, marking at once the ignorance of the age and the ability of the philosopher. Surely the time is past when a theory unsupported by evidence is received as probable, because in our ignorance we know not why it should be false, though we cannot show it to be true. Yet we have heard grave men gravely urge, that because Darwin's theory was the most plausible known, it should be believed. Others seriously allege that it is more consonant with a lofty idea of the Creator's action to suppose that he produced beings by natural selection, rather than by the finikin process of making each separate little race by the exercise of Almighty power. The argument, such as it is, means simply that the user of it thinks that this is how he personally would act if possessed of almighty power and knowledge, but his speculations as to his probable feelings and actions, after such a great change of circumstances, are not worth much. If we are told that our experience shows that God works by laws, then we answer, 'Why the special Darwinian law?' A plausible theory should not be accepted while unproven; and if the arguments of this essay be admitted, Darwin's theory of the origin of species is not only without sufficient support from evidence, but is proved false by a cumulative proof.

ART. II.—A DUTCH POLITICAL NOVEL.

Officer. My Lord, this is the man who killed little Barbara.

Judge. To the gallows with him! How did he do it?

Officer. He cut her to pieces and pickled the body.

Judge. Infamous! To the gallows with him!

Lothario. My Lord, I did not murder little Barbara. I fed, and clothed, and provided for her. I can bring witnesses to prove me a good man, and no murderer.

Judge. You are to be hanged. You aggravate your crime by your arrogance. It is not becoming in a man, accused of any crime, to consider himself a virtuous being.

Lothario. But, my Lord, there are witnesses to confirm it, and as I am now accused of murder—

Judge. You will be hanged. You cut little Barbara to pieces, and pickled the body, and hold no small opinion of yourself; three capital crimes. Who are you, woman?

Woman. I am little Barbara.

Lothario. Heaven be praised! You see, my Lord, I am not her murderer.

Judge. Hem! yes, hem! But,—as to the pickling?

Barbara. No, my Lord, he did not pickle me; on the contrary, he has done me a great deal of good; he is the kindest of human beings.

Lothario. My Lord, you hear how she declares me to be a good man.

Judge. Hem; but the *third* crime allows of no exculpation. Officer, away with that fellow and hang him! He is guilty of self-conceit. And, clerk, be sure to quote in his sentence the jurisprudence of Lessing's *Patriarch*.—*From an Unpublished Tragedy.*

THE above was the rather startling motto prefixed to a novel published exactly seven years ago at Amsterdam by an author styling himself 'Multatuli,' and who gave his book the singular title of *Max Havelaar; or, The Coffee Sales of the Dutch East India Company*.

There was certainly nothing very attractive in this title, but it had the charm of novelty, and suggested, too, the possibility of its containing some allusion to the great question of the day in the Netherlands,—the government of the Dutch colonies,—which has for so many years agitated the country, and been the lever used by all parties in political warfare,—either as a means of raising themselves, or of upsetting their adversaries.

In order fairly to judge the question as it now stands, it is decidedly necessary to have some insight into the general state of the Dutch colonies, and it will soon become evident that a more intricate problem is scarcely to be conceived than the one still puzzling the brains of our Dutch neighbours. A bird's-eye

view of their chief colonies in India will enable us to appreciate in some measure the difficulties to be overcome in legislating for these islands from the other side of the globe, and, with all due respect for the Dutch Chambers, by a set of legislators, but few of whom are well versed, either by study or personal experience, in colonial affairs.

Java, the principal island of the great Soenda group,¹ is itself four times as large as the kingdom of the Netherlands; and whilst the mother country counts about 3½ million inhabitants, above thirteen millions are spread over the surface of Java.

Of these, in round numbers, some twelve millions are Javanese, cultivators of the soil,—an agrarian population, quiet, inoffensive, much attached to their home, and to native customs and traditions; Mohammedans, intellectual to a certain degree, the higher classes refined even, to some extent, but addicted to all the vices of the Asiatic temperament; fond of gaming, uxorious, vain and dissipated, greatly inclined to imitate the European in superficial acquirements, but without the tenacity of purpose or the energy only found in northern climes. The inferior classes are simple-minded peasants, easily contented, if only well fed, and in the darkest ignorance of everything beyond their immediate neighbourhood, living as serfs to their lords and masters, whose word is a law, and possessing so little individuality that distinctive family names are almost unknown among them.

Next to the natives in importance are the Chinese settlers, some 150,000 in number, all busily occupied in commercial affairs, victimizing the natives, cheating the Europeans, and thriving by their intelligence—and want of principle. Their influence on the Javanese is so much dreaded by the Dutch Government, that they are not allowed to settle in the interior of the island, but are strictly confined to the townships along the coasts. There 'the Chinese Camp,' as it is styled, stands in its own quarter of the place, under its own jurisdiction, the Chinese 'Captain' or 'Major' being the responsible personage to the Dutch authorities for the acts of all his fellow-countrymen in those parts.

A mixed race of Arabs and Malays crowd the numerous ports; Madurese, Alfoers, or Harafoers, from the Moluccas, serve as sailors, or, when occasion offers, turn pirates, enlist as soldiers in the Dutch regiments, perform the work of coolies, and, mingling with numerous other tribes from the surrounding islands, are looked down on as rude barbarians by the Javanese themselves, but highly esteemed by the Europeans for the execution of the

¹ We follow the Dutch orthography in all the names.

rougher work, for which the more effeminate native is less fitted, and never inclined.

Politically viewed, the island offers a varied aspect. Western Java, the Soenda districts, is scarcely more like the eastern extremity of the island in aspect or in institutions than France is to Switzerland. By far the greater part of the Europeans residing on the island are crowded together in Batavia, Buitenzorg, Soerabaya, and the other larger towns along the northern coast. Few and far between are scattered the dwellings of some settlers in the interior, or along the southern bays. Two small states retain here, nominally, a semi-independence; the Sultans of Djocjokarta and Soerakarta govern in their own names, and adjudicate by their own laws, though under supervision of the Dutch Resident, who in all other districts reigns supreme, and dictates despotically to the native prince. The latter bears the title of Regent, is a man of high caste and ancient descent, and the instrument by whose means the native is directly ruled and held under the strictest subservience to his foreign conquerors, of whom, in many parts, he has very little or no personal knowledge.

The Regent himself, but indifferently salaried by the Dutch Government, sets the inhabitants of whole districts to work, according to the orders given him by the Resident; and the peasant, besides what he has to pay, either in cash, in work, or in substance, to the Regent for the foreign Government, has likewise to provide for all that is requisite to keep up the magnificence of his own prince's court, whose beggarly pittance would otherwise barely suffice to keep him from starvation. 'Forced labour' is one of the most efficient means of supplying the sums required by both parties. For instance, the Dutch desire the cultivation of coffee in the one or other district, either for the Government or for European landholders, with or without Government contracts; the Resident mentions his wish to the Regent, who gives his orders in consequence, and *coffee-gardens*, as they are termed, soon cover the whole surface of the country.

Of course but little prosperity can fall to the share of the peasant where such a system prevails, and but a minimum of wages is paid to the labourer. Whatever riches the soil or his own work produces pass into others' hands, and a bare subsistence is all he reaps from the rich harvest, sown and garnered by himself for the benefit of others.

A general feeling of discontent, of passive resignation, reigns in all these districts. It may well be supposed that the Regent throws the blame on the strangers; that the native serf, whilst obeying, and even often loving, his own lord, hates the foreign

conqueror; that sooner or later an end must come to this preposterous and monstrous state of affairs; and that meanwhile the liberals in colonial politics call out loudly for radical reform.

Their cry is: Give the peasant his own plot of ground, recognise his individuality and his rights; let there be free labour and no tyrannical oppressions;—and though our returns may be less for some years, eventually all the profit will be ours.

It is but fair to state the arguments of their opponents. If we give the Javanese, they say, his own farm and plot of ground, what will be the case? He has no family name by which he can be designated in the registers; he has no idea of property, or its sacred rights, beyond the privilege of dwelling on the homestead of his fathers—the open grounds belonging to his race in general. He will neither understand nor attach any value to the legal possession of what he already regards as sufficiently his own. Within a few months he will thus be ruined,—the victim of the first speculator, Chinese or European, who settles in the neighbourhood, and chooses to become proprietor of a whole district for a very trifling sum.

As for free labour,—it is only by forcing him to work that the Javanese can be brought to renounce his sloth. Leave him free, and he will just cultivate rice enough for himself and family, and pass the rest of his time in gambling or in idleness.

The only 'free labourers,' too, to be had in most parts of Java, are, for the greater part, vagabonds; men without a home, and criminals,¹ who, having been obliged to leave their own villages, lead a nomade life,—earn a bare subsistence by their manual labour, sleep at nights where they best can find a resting-place, and gamble away every farthing they lay hand on as soon as possible,—if they do not spend it on opium. The great dearth of labourers has led many owners of sugar-mills and coffee-plantations to pander to the lusts of these wretches, rather than miss their co-operation.

The reformers, or liberal party, would remedy these evils, by raising the salaries of the Regents, and enabling them to live according to their high rank on the income granted them by Government; by augmenting the rate of wages paid to the labourer, and thus encouraging his efforts; and by severely punishing every attempt of the Regent to extort anything to which he has no positive claim from the peasant. This latter measure is subject to the greatest difficulty in its execution: a buffalo, even a wife, is often required by the prince, and the submissive peasant bows his head and gives up his dearest possessions with a sigh, but without resistance, to his lord and

¹ *Vide Hasselman, Mijne evaring, enz.* p. 27, seq.

master. The great argument against the proposed reforms is, that whatsoever price be offered, free labour is not obtainable; that, by raising the pay of the Regents and the wages of the labourer, the Indian Archipelago, instead of remunerating the home Government as it now does, say to an extent of some twenty millions of florins per annum, will cost the mother country annually large sums; and that, in the end, no advantage will be obtained, as all the profits will still flow into the hands of the native princes and foreign traders, Chinese, Malays, and Arabs, who live on the spoils of the natives.

For many years thus all complaints on the above subjects were carefully suppressed by the Indian and the home Governments. The Residents reported favourably (in their official and published documents) on the state of their provinces; the Governor-General sent home flaming accounts,—and, better still, bags full of gold; and any man who had the courage, or the imprudence, to complain of the existing system, was carefully ‘put down;’ or, if a Government officer, quietly shelved.

But, as always will be the case, *magna est veritas*, and by degrees the truth oozed out. A sort of uneasiness began to spread about the state of the colonies, or rather about the state of affairs in Java; the other islands are too remote, too thinly colonized to be of such preponderating importance; whispers and reports circulated to an alarming extent; ‘understood relations revealed the secretest’ extortions; some men, such as the Baron von Hoevell, were not to be put down; and loud and long murmurs were heard in all quarters, though but few efficacious steps were taken to examine into or reform the grievances complained of.

This was the general aspect of the question when Multatuli’s book appeared. The sensation it made was unequalled by anything of the sort ever printed in the Netherlands; and though some years have passed since the publication of the work, the state of the question remains, in its principal features, unaltered and undecided, owing to the frequent changes of Ministry, and the other difficulties to which we have slightly alluded, and which will be further elucidated in the course of this paper.

Before analysing the book itself, we have a few words to say about its author. It was soon discovered that the pseudonym ‘Multatuli’ had been selected by M. Douwes Dekker, ex-Assistant-Resident of Lebak, in Java, a highly-gifted but eccentric personage,—the friend of the native *par excellence*,—but rather a sentimental, fantastic, and irritable character than a practical statesman. M. Douwes Dekker had quarrelled with

the Indian authorities; he had, in short, advocated the interests of the natives much too powerfully to please his superiors. He had objected very strongly to the system of cooked reports, always representing everything to be in the most flourishing state, *dans ce meilleur des mondes*; he had become violent and disrespectful in tone and language; and the result was, that he was obliged to throw up his situation in disgust, and return home in disgrace. On the part of the Indian Government, there had been the desire to get rid of a troublesome official, who would neither hold his tongue nor yield an inch of the ground on which he had chosen to establish himself; there was no doubt, too, of his capacity for exciting awkward discussions and much trouble to the Government; and unless he could be reduced to silence before his influence made itself felt in the colonies, there would be no possibility of prolonging the old and vicious system, which time and custom had hallowed. Instead, then, of looking into the complaints, serious as they were, so loudly uttered by Multatuli, he was, as we have hinted, sent home in disgrace.

In so far the Indian Government was decidedly to be blamed. It is not improbable, that some partial reforms, some very necessary improvements, in the spirit required by M. Dekker, would have satisfied both him and his friends, and been of infinite service to all parties. On the other hand, M. Dekker lost his temper, and instead of maintaining a dignified silence until he had tried what the home-authorities thought of his ideas, he clamoured loud and long, with so much personal virulence that the really good cause advocated by him was greatly damaged by his petulant pleading.

So M. Dekker seized his pen and published his book, a beautifully written—novel. From what we have said, it will be inferred that its subject is, of course, the ill-treatment to which the natives of Java are subjected by the European authorities. He himself is the idealized hero of his own tale, in which the Indians are depicted in the same glowing, but certainly exaggerated colours as their tyrants. At the same time, his personal adversaries are cut up in such a merciless manner, so ridiculed and held up to public contempt and aversion, that whilst some chapters of the book rise to the height of really sublime poetry, others can scarcely be otherwise qualified than as clever but virulent satirical attacks on his personal adversaries.

The form in which the book was presented to the reader was equally original and striking, and its contents can scarcely be better illustrated than by inviting our readers to follow us in a rapid survey of the subjects treated in the several chapters,

together with such extracts as are peculiarly suited to our purpose.

For instance, the very first page of the book :—

‘ I am a broker,—in coffee, and I dwell on the *Laurier’s Gracht* (one of the canals in Amsterdam), No. 37. It is not in my way to write novels or the like stuff, and it cost me some time to make up my mind to order an extra ream of paper, and to begin the book, which you ought to read, whether you be a broker—or anything else. Not only did I never write a novel, but, as a man of business, I do not like reading such sorts of books. For years I have been busy with the query as to the utility of such things, and am surprised at the impudence of poets and novelists, who are always bothering people with long stories about things that have never really happened, and mostly never could have happened. . . . I have to observe, too, that the greater part of those occupied with such work generally go to the dogs. I am now in my forty-fourth year, have been twenty years on ‘Change, and have acquired the experience which gives a man a right to hold an opinion. Many a firm has been ruined in my time, and, for the greater part, the cause of their fall, in my opinion, must be attributed to the perverse tendency given to people in their youth. I, myself, stand to *truth* and sound *good sense*,—that is what I swear by. . . .’

Mr. Droogstoppel (whose name we shall translate ‘Stubbles’) goes on for some pages in the same style. Poetry is humbug, history little better, and as for the tender passion :—

‘ A girl is an angel. The man who discovered that was never blessed with sisters ! Love is supreme bliss,—one flies to the ends of the earth with the adored object. Now the earth is round, and has no ends, and such love is all nonsense. Nobody can accuse me of not living in a proper manner with my wife (she is a daughter to Last and Co.,—in coffee). I am a member of our Zoological Gardens, and she wears a shawl that cost ninety-two florins, and there has never passed one word between us about such nonsensical love as the poets rant of. When we were married, we made a trip to the Hague, where she bought some flannel—I wear the waistcoats still,—and love never drove us farther. . . .’

‘ As for poetry, I do not object to verses if people choose to stick up their syllables in a certain order ; but confine themselves strictly to *truth*. “ *The clock strikes eight, the milkman’s late,*” is not objectionable, if really and truly it be not a quarter after seven. . . .’

‘ And then the moral of all plays and novels : virtue rewarded ! For instance, there is Lucas, our man-of-all-work in the storehouse ; he was at any rate a virtuous man. Not a single bean was ever lost ; he was a steady church-goer, and never drank a drop too much. When my father-in-law was in the country, he had the keys of the house and the office and everything. Once the bank paid him seventeen florins more than they ought to have done, and he brought them the money

back. Now he is old and gouty, and must give up work. He has not saved a farthing, for our expenses are heavy, and we have much to do, and want younger and stronger men. Now, say I, this Lucas is a virtuous man:—and pray, what is his reward? I have never seen a prince appear to give him a handful of diamonds, nor a fairy to cut his bread and butter. He is poor and remains poor, and that is just as it should be. . . . Where would be his real virtue if he had been sure of reward, and could have led an easy life in his old age? In that case all the men we employ would be virtuous, and everybody else besides, which was clearly never intended, or what would be the use of rewards in another and a better world?’

This Mr. Stubbles forms the contrast to the hero of the work, Multatuli himself. The two have been school-fellows, and the broker meets his old friend in the streets, in a shabby dress and in dejected spirits, and the worldly wise man gets rid of the worldly silly one very soon. He feels his ‘respectability’ endangered by the seedy looks of his former school friend, and shakes him off, rather roughly. A few days after, however, he receives a note, together with a bulky parcel of papers, from the poor man, who, having no other connexions left, invokes his influential friend’s assistance in finding a publisher for what he has written at diverse periods.

The puzzled broker finds a great deal about ‘coffee’ in the papers, mixed up with a quantity of what he calls ‘trash,’ and ‘sentimental rubbish,’ and at length makes up his mind, with the help of one of his clerks, to publish a book, in which compensation will be found for his poor friend’s rubbish in his own profound speculations.

Multatuli’s tale is thus a romantic-historical version of his own doings in Java, interspersed with the most curious episcodical reflections of Mr. Stubbles, and of course the question of Colonial Government forms the pith of the work.

Let us now see what Multatuli says of the position of the Javanese in respect to the mother-country, whilst we beg to remind the reader that his opinions are those of the ultra-liberal party, highly coloured by his very lively fancy:—

‘The Javanese is a Dutch subject. The King of the Netherlands is *his* king. The descendants of his former princes and lords are *Dutch* officials; they are appointed, removed, promoted, or disgraced by the Governor-General, who *reigns* in the King’s name. The criminal is tried and sentenced by laws promulgated at the Hague. The taxes paid by the Javanese flow into the *Dutch* treasury.’

Now, these assertions must be taken *cum grano salis*, of course, as the reader will understand on referring to what is stated in the beginning of this paper about the personal knowledge possessed by the native of his European conquerors:—

‘The Governor-General is assisted by a Council, which, however, has no *decisive* influence on his resolutions. At Batavia the different branches of the administration are confided to the directors of departments, forming the link between the Governor-General and the Residents in the provinces. But in all *political* matters the Residents correspond directly with the Governor-General himself.

‘The title of Resident dates from the time when the Netherlands were only the liege lords and *indirect* masters of the country, and their government was represented by these agents at the Courts of the several reigning princes. These princes are now no longer in existence; the Residents are provincial governors, prefects. Their sphere of action has altered; only their title has remained unchanged. The Resident is the real representative of the Dutch Government in the eyes of the native. The people know nothing of the Governor-General, nor of his councillors, nor of the directors at Batavia; they only know the Resident and his inferior officers. The residencies, some of them contain nearly a million inhabitants, are divided into three or four parts, or regencies, governed by an Assistant-Resident. Under his tutelage we find Comptrollers, Inspectors, and a number of other officials, for the collection of the taxes, etc.

‘A native of high rank, the Regent is the next in authority to the Assistant-Resident. It was good policy to employ their feudal authority in the support of the foreign government, and by turning them into paid officers of the crown, a sort of hierarchy was established, at the head of which stands the Dutch Government itself.’

Multatuli goes on to compare this state of affairs, not inaptly, to the feudal system of the middle ages in Europe, as even the hereditary right to the office of Regent is tacitly acknowledged by the Dutch Government.

The position of the Assistant-Resident with regard to the Regent is one of great delicacy. The European is the responsible party; he has his ‘instructions,’ and must act up to them. Nevertheless the Regent is, in the eyes of the Colonial Government, a much more important personage. The Assistant-Resident can be ‘shelved,’ or otherwise disposed of, on the slightest emergency. The Regent cannot be got rid of so readily. Any slight put on him, any punishment or degradation inflicted on this eminent personage, is very likely to rouse the indignation of the whole population, and to incite them to open rebellion.

The Assistant-Resident must therefore unite great firmness of purpose with no less suavity of form, and is officially ordered—we give the letter of his instructions—‘to treat the native officer placed at his side like a *younger brother*.’

For the above-stated reasons, it is evident that the elder brother is very often exposed to be kicked out, if the younger

one should complain of him. And besides this virtual superiority in influence, the native has the advantage over the European officer in respect to wealth.

The European is barely paid enough to maintain his rank ; his object is to save as much as possibly can be scraped together in order to get home again, or, at any rate, to obtain some higher and more profitable appointment ; whilst the native prince generally spends his income, and all he can lay hands on, in the most extravagant manner. It is by no means a rare case to find one of these potentates, in the enjoyment of some twenty or thirty thousand pounds a year, in very great pecuniary difficulties, caused by inordinate love of display, excessive negligence in all matters of business, and by the reckless way in which he allows himself to be plundered by European adventurers of every description.

The incomes of the native princes are chiefly derived from four sources :—Their Government monthly pay ; a fixed sum granted by the Dutch as an indemnity for some of the rights and claims ceded to the European Government ; a certain extra remuneration, dependent on the quantity of sugar, coffee, etc., cultivated in their province ; and lastly, their arbitrary disposal over the *labour* and *property* of their subjects.

We have mentioned the way in which the Regent forces the population to work for the European's profit ; we have still to elucidate the manner in which he considers himself the proprietor of everything possessed by the peasant. According to the almost universal idea in Eastern Asia, the subject, and all he holds, is the lawful property of his *sovereign* ; and the Javanese of the inferior classes never ventures to doubt or dispute these rights of his feudal lord. It would, too, in his own eyes, be wanting in respect on his part, if he ever entered the prince's palace without some present or tribute to the great man. It is likewise customary for the prince's neighbours to keep in order the grounds near his dwelling, and this is voluntarily done, and only considered a fitting mark of their goodwill. But, at the same time, the population of whole villages is often *ordered* out by the Regent to cultivate lands of his own, lying at some distance from the peasant's home ; and whilst the poor wretches are working for their prince, their own rice-fields are left uncared for.

It is the duty of the Assistant-Resident to remedy such abuses ; he is even enjoined to do so by his instructions ; but, besides the difficulties already alluded to, there are others almost insurmountable. If, for instance, the Government be from time to time inclined, in some very flagrant cases, to support the Resident and to punish the Regent, the European will

generally find himself without the means of bringing witnesses to support his accusations. The native neither will nor dares side openly with the foreigner against his native prince. He will whisper his complaints boldly enough in the Resident's ear, but in public deny with equal boldness ever having been ill-treated by the Regent.

Max Havelaar, the hero of the book, in whom Multatuli has depicted his own character, has, at the beginning of the work, just been appointed Assistant-Resident of Lebak, and has to deal, besides all the difficulties we have mentioned, with others of no less importance which will be gradually developed.

‘Havelaar was thirty-five years of age. He was slender and active, . . . sharp as a file and tender as a girl, always himself the first to feel the wound inflicted by his bitter words, and a greater sufferer than the person attacked. He was quick of apprehension,—seized the highest or most complicated questions at first sight; amused himself with the solution of the most intricate problems, and was very often incapable of comprehending the simplest matters, which a child could have explained to him. Love of truth and justice caused him often to neglect his more immediate duties, in order to remedy some more remote evil, to which he was probably attracted by the greater effort requisite for accomplishing his purpose. . . . A second Don Quixote, he often wasted his courage on a windmill. His ambition was not to be satisfied, and he considered all social distinctions little better than trifles, whilst he loved a quiet and peaceful home. He was a poet, whose lively fancy created and peopled worlds. He could dream away hours, and return to the most prosy details of business with equal facility. . . . He was modest and kind to those who acknowledged his intellectual superiority, but intolerant of opposition to it. . . . Though timid and awkward towards those who did not seem to understand him, he grew eloquent as soon as he met with encouragement. He was honest, even to magnanimity, but would leave hundreds unpaid in order to give away thousands.’

These, in a more concise form than that adopted by the writer, are some of the more salient traits of his hero's character, to whom (in contradistinction) is opposed his superior officer, the Resident, the formalist, the man who places a full-stop after every word he uses; so slow in his utterance and his thoughts, that both seem always followed by a herd of stragglers, long after the subject in discussion has been exhausted. ‘People who knew him called him “Slimy,”’ says Multatuli, ‘and that was his chief characteristic;’ and such is the name given in the book to Havelaar's well-known superior officer.

Max Havelaar himself, accompanied by his wife and child,—beautifully drawn pictures,—astonishes the Comptroller and all

his inferiors by his perfect acquaintance with the state of the country he is called on to govern and by his eccentric ideas of improving the position of the native; and is soon looked upon half as a madman, half as a fool, by the officials who have for a long series of years been accustomed to 'red-tape' in all its varieties, and are terrified by the revolutionary system their new chief seems inclined to introduce. At the same time he is accused of irreligion, because he opposes the missionaries, and asserts that civilisation must precede conversion, as the mere Christian in name among the natives is not a whit better than the infidel. His manner of reasoning on all sorts of subjects, too, discomfits friend and foe, whilst his official reports, in which no veil is thrown over existing grievances and evils, only annoy his superiors. And no wonder, if the following account of the manner in which these documents are prepared and 'got up' be not greatly exaggerated:—

'It is in general disagreeable to be the bearer of evil tidings, and their communicator seems always responsible for some part of the unfavourable impression produced. . . . The Indian Government likes writing home to the effect that everything is prospering. The Residents like to write in the same strain to the Government. The Assistant-Residents, who scarcely ever receive any but favourable reports from the Comptrollers, dislike sending, on their own account, bad news to the Residents. Hence, in all official correspondence, we find an artificial optimism, not only violating truth, but directly in contradiction with the convictions of these optimists themselves when expressed by word of mouth, and even with the statistics and figures accompanying their reports. Examples of this sort might be adduced, which, were the case not so very serious, would raise a laugh at the expense of the writers. . . . I shall confine myself to one instance. . . . The annual report of a certain residency is now in my hands. The Resident is greatly pleased with the commercial prosperity of the country, and asserts everything to be progressing favourably. A little farther on, speaking of the insufficient means at his disposal to restrain the smuggling propensities of the natives, but at the same time wishing to prevent the Government being unfavourably impressed by the idea of the losses inflicted on the treasury by the smugglers, he says:—"These are but very trifling, indeed; scarcely any smuggling goes on in this residency, where there is very little trade, as none of the people risk their capital in commercial undertakings. . . ."

'Another of these reports began literally:—"Last year the *tranquillity* in this residency remained *tranquil*. . . ."

'When the population has not increased, this is ascribed to faults in the last census; when the taxes are not more productive, this circumstance must be attributed to the necessity of low taxation in order to encourage field-labour, which will eventually—that is to say, after the Resident's retiring from office,—be sure to produce millions. . .

Disaffection and revolt, when they cannot be passed over in silence, are only the work of a few malcontents,—rendered harmless in future,—as universal satisfaction with the Government is everywhere observable; and when the population has been thinned by famine, this sad misfortune is, of course, the result of crops failing, of drought, or too heavy rains,—of everything but ill-management.

‘In one word, the official reports of the Government officers, and those based upon them sent home, are for the greater and more important part *falsehoods*.’

This very serious accusation was one of the subjects which naturally gave rise to violent discussions both in Holland and India. The picture, though highly coloured, was found, in its outline, to contain no violation of the truth.

Max Havelaar goes on:—

‘Every Resident sends in a monthly report of the rice imported or exported in his districts. The tables state how much of this rice is grown in *Java itself*, or comes from other parts. On comparing the quantity of rice, according to these accounts, transported *from* residencies in Java to residencies on the same island, it will be found that it greatly exceeds (by some thousand *pikols*) the quantity of rice, according to these same tables, ever received in the residencies on Java from residencies on that island.

‘Without speaking of the blindness of a Government receiving and publishing such reports, we will proceed to show what is their tendency.

‘European and native officials are paid a certain percentage on products raised for the European marts; and the cultivation of rice was consequently so much neglected, that in many parts a famine ensued, which could not be officially concealed. . . . Orders were given to prevent the like disasters in future, and the above-mentioned reports were intended to keep the Government *au fait*, by a comparison between the exports and imports of the different residences. *Exportation* naturally represented plenty; *importation*, want. We repeat—the tables we allude to only refer to rice *grown on the island*, and their figures state, *that all the residencies together export more rice than all the residencies together import*; . . . in other words, *there is more home-raised rice in Java than is grown on the island*.’

This is but one of the many examples adduced of the gift possessed by the Indian Government, of looking on the bright side of things and ignoring the dark one.

Now M. Douwes Dekker, or Max Havelaar, or Multatuli, set vigorously to work to oppose this system. No one can doubt for one moment, either his really good intentions, or his very imprudent way of acting, from the very beginning. Multatuli, after sowing his wild oats at the University of Leyden, set out for India. He married a lady of rank, but, like him-

self, without fortune; ran into debt, was continually 'in hot water,' first with an old general, represented as a tyrant and a bully of the worst description, on the west coast of Sumatra, got into fresh difficulties about irregularities in his accounts at Natal (Sumatra), wrote squibs on his superiors, fought duels without end, and soon made a reputation as a dangerous, clever, dare-devil sort of personage, who, under proper guidance, might have turned out a first-rate man; but, exposed as he was to temptations of all sorts, and consorting chiefly with his inferiors in mind and talent, was rather feared as a dangerous character than respected for the genius he certainly had shown. He found his Assistant-Residency in a sad state. His predecessor had *spoken*, but not *written*, officially to the Resident (for the reasons above stated) about many grievances against the Regent; they had been ignored, as usual—or 'smoothed over.'

An oral complaint of some act of oppression was at best followed by a lengthy conversation with the native prince, who always denied everything, and asked for 'proofs.' The plaintiffs were summoned, and, kneeling at the prince's feet, implored his mercy. 'No, their buffalo had not been stolen; they felt quite sure the prince intended to pay at least double the price.' 'No, they had not been forced away from their own fields, in order to work for nothing at all on the Regent's lands; he intended to pay them high wages; of that they were firmly convinced.' 'They had been certainly out of their wits, when they had stated to the contrary; and begged now to be forgiven their heinous offence.' And the Resident, who knew but too well the real state of the case, was saved the trouble of complaining of the Regent to the higher authorities. Next day, perhaps, the same complaints were renewed,—and with the same result. Grievous punishment, however, awaited in many instances the 'rebels.' Many fled to other districts; others were found strangely murdered. But redress for the victims of this abominable system there was none.

Max Havelaar went seriously to work to reform these grievances. In his *novel* he inserts an official letter of his own to the Comptroller serving under his orders, in which he desires him to conceal nothing in his correspondence, to give utterance to the truth and nothing but the truth, and to give up boldly and at once the system of prevarication and subterfuge which had been the cause of so many calamities.

In so far, Max Havelaar acted as a brave and honourable man; but at the same time he committed grievous errors. He could neither give up his custom of laughing at his superior, nor of, in our opinion, confounding persons with systems. Aged and respectable men, who had grown grey in the service, and

distinguished themselves in many ways, were represented, not as what they in fact were, the instruments of a Government working by a vicious system, but as vicious in themselves, fools and idiots, to be scoffed at and ridiculed by all who were blessed with a little common sense. His book is full of portraits, or caricatures of well-known personages in the Dutch East Indian islands; and the piquancy of his details, naturally deprived of some part of their interest for those unacquainted with the characters introduced,—enhanced their value for the Dutch reader.

Another grave fault of the author's is, that whilst drawing the European in the blackest colours, he idealizes the native to an extent that would literally be incredible, were it not that Max Havelaar, amongst his other talents, possesses the poet's gift of a lively fancy in no common degree.

The fact, however, is that the Javanese, like most Asiatics, is in no respect the equal of the European, and it may be fairly doubted if he ever will become so. But this does not seem to be acknowledged by Max Havelaar. His pictures of the native peasant are drawn with inimitable talent, regarded as works of fiction, as poetical sketches, in the style of Chateaubriand's *Atala*, and Mrs. Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom*; but in point of fact, they will not stand the test of serious inquiry, and carry their own condemnation with them very plainly for the serious reasoner. Himself democratically inclined, Max Havelaar represents the native of the humbler ranks as the most innocent and virtuous of human beings, a fit subject for an idyll, the victim of his oppressors—Europeans and Indian princes,—and only waiting to be emancipated from his thralls in order to rise to the rank of the sublimest of human beings.

The seventeenth chapter of his book offers one of the most striking proofs of his way of writing; it is perhaps the most popular part of the whole work, and, as a work of art, a prose poem unequalled by anything of the description ever written in Holland. It contains the story of Saïdjah, and we give it without hesitation, as an excellent specimen of the author's style and manner, with some few abridgments, in order not to occupy more space than we can here lay claim to:—

' Saïdjah's father had a buffalo, with which he ploughed his fields. When the buffalo was taken from him by the chief of the district of P—k—ng, he grew sick at heart, and not a word passed his lips for many days. For ploughing-time was drawing near, and it was to be feared if the *Sawah* were not soon ploughed, sowing-time would pass away, and there would be no rice to be garnered up in his house. . . .

' Saïdjah's father grew sadder and sadder. His wife would have no rice, nor Saïdjah himself, who was still a child, nor his little brothers and sisters. And complaints would be made of him to the Assistant-

Resident for not paying his taxes, and he would be liable to punishment. But Saïdjah's father took a *kris* (a sword) that he had inherited from his fathers, and there were silver bands round the sheath and at its extremity, and he sold it to a Chinese for two-and-twenty florins, and bought himself another buffalo.

'Saïdjah, then about seven years of age, had soon made friends with the new buffalo. I say expressly "made friends," for it is indeed touching to see how greatly attached the buffalo grows to the child that takes care of him. The big and heavy brute bends his strong neck, to the right or the left, up and down, at the slightest finger-touch of the child he knows and understands, and that grows up with him. . . .

'Adjoining to Saïdjah's field were the lands of Adinda's father (the little girl who was destined to become Saïdjah's wife), and when Adinda's little brothers met Saïdjah on the limits of their grounds, the children chatted with each other, and boasted of the good qualities of their buffaloes. But, I believe, Saïdjah's was the best, because he was most kindly treated; the buffalo is very sensible to kind treatment.

'Saïdjah was nine, and Adinda six, when the second buffalo was carried off by the chief of the district of P—k—ng. Saïdjah's father, who was very poor, sold to a Chinese two silver *Klamboe-hooks*, inherited from his wife's parents, and bought another buffalo for eighteen florins.

'Little Saïdjah was very sad, for he had heard from Adinda's brothers that his buffalo had been driven to the chief town of the district, and he was afraid it had been slaughtered, like all the other cattle taken away from the peasants.

'And Saïdjah wept long and in silence, and refused his meals, and grieved for his buffalo, for Saïdjah was but a child.

'But soon the new buffalo, though not so beautiful as the one that had been killed, gained the boy's love, . . . and one day saved his life, by boldly attacking and ripping up a tiger's belly that lay in wait for Saïdjah.

'And when this buffalo was driven off and butchered—my tale is monotonous, gentle reader,—Saïdjah was twelve, and Adinda wove her own *sarongs* in dark colours, for she had seen Saïdjah grieve, . . . but his mother had grieved more sorely than he, for the buffalo had saved her child's life, and had surely understood by her tears, when he was led away to be slaughtered, that she was guiltless of his death.

'Then Saïdjah's father fled the country, for he could neither pay his taxes, nor find anything to sell for which to purchase a new buffalo. . . . Saïdjah's mother died of distress, and Saïdjah's father was laid hold of by the police for leaving his home without a passport, and he was severely beaten and shut up in prison, and treated as a madman, probably not without reason. But he soon got free again—by dying.

'What became of Saïdjah's brothers and sisters I never learnt. The house they had inhabited remained for some time empty, and then tumbled to pieces, for it was only built of cane, and thatched

with long grass. A little heap of dust and rubbish served to mark the spot of so much suffering. There are a great many of the like landmarks in Lebak.'

Saïdjah, the author goes on to relate, was fifteen at the time of his father's death, and set forth to seek his fortune. He takes leave of his promised bride, and promises to return at the expiration of three times twelve months exactly. The lovers are to meet under a large tree on the borders of the forest. He bears a flower in his hand as a pledge of her love and constancy, and leaves her a strip of the blue kerchief bound round his own head. On his way to Batavia, Saïdjah's thoughts are duly registered by the author, who, breaking into verse, gives a beautiful poem, but of a romantic, sentimental character we hardly can imagine to be really descriptive of the feelings of a Javanese peasant.

The last lines refer to the wanderer's return, unknown and dying:—

'If I die at Badoer, they will bury me outside the village,' says he, 'to the east, where the hill rises and the long grass grows, and Adinda will sometimes pass there, and the skirt of her *sarong* will rustle gently among the leaves, and I shall hear her.'

Such is the tone of the whole poem, which we should characterize rather as German than Javanese.

Saïdjah reaches the capital of Dutch India, serves three years, faithfully, a kind master, saves his wages, and, true to his word, starts on his return home in due time. On reaching the place of meeting at the appointed hour, Saïdjah breaks out again into song, this time anticipating the bliss awaiting him in his mistress's love and constancy,—another very beautiful poem, but liable to the same objection as the former one.

He is doomed to a cruel disappointment. After waiting in vain for the girl's appearance, he hastens to the village to seek her. Her father's house is in ruins. It is the old story, the monotonous tale of the buffalo retold, and the whole family have fled. The despairing lover succeeds in learning Adinda has remained faithful to him, and traces the family to the south coast of Sumatra, where they have joined the rebels against the Dutch Government. We give the conclusion of the sad tale in the author's own words:—

'One day the rebels had suffered a new defeat, and Saïdjah remained wandering about amongst the ruins of a village just mastered by the Dutch troops, and set fire to by them. He knew that the band, then and there destroyed, had consisted chiefly of people from his own home. He stalked like a ghost from one burning house to another, and found the body of Adinda's father, with a bayonet wound in the

breast. Near him lay Adinda's three murdered brothers, youths, children, and a little to one side he discovered Adinda's body—uncovered and horribly mutilated. There was a strip of blue cotton pressed into the gaping wound on her bosom, which had ended her sufferings.

'And Saïdjah rushed on some soldiers who were driving the last remaining rebels at the point of the bayonet into the flames; he seized the threatening blades in his arms, cast himself on their points, and held back the soldiers with a last effort, till the hilts of their weapons struck against his breast.

'A short time after there were great rejoicings in Batavia at the new victory, which had added so many laurels to those already reaped by the Dutch-Indian army. The Governor-General wrote home that tranquillity was restored in the Lampongs, and the King of the Netherlands, advised by his Ministers, rewarded as usual the heroism of his soldiers by the distribution of a number of crosses. And most likely thanks were rendered to Heaven by the pious, in churches and meeting-houses, that "the Lord of Hosts" had sided again with the banners of the Netherlands.'

Now this style of writing, though perhaps admissible in fiction, is gravely reprehensible in all serious controversy. The poetical fiction, by which the victim of oppression is always virtuous and innocent, is equally false as the theory that the instruments by which a vicious system is worked must necessarily be wicked and cruel.

The contrary is often the case, and it is a well-known fact that the Dutch soldier, exposed to innumerable hardships in the tropic clime, is patient, well-behaved, and by no means unworthy the well-earned rewards not too liberally conferred by the home Government.

That facts of the description on which Max Havelaar's fiction is founded may have occurred, no one would venture to deny. By generalizing isolated cases, and by exaggeration in a really sound and worthy cause, Max Havelaar in some measure defeated his own purpose. Instead of a calmly written, business-like book on the subject he has taken to heart, M. Douwes Dekker, doubtless 'shelved' in a very off-hand and even unmerited manner by the Indian authorities, produced a sensational romance, in which he treated the subject of Indian reform in the manner sketched by us in this paper, and whilst acquiring numerous admirers of his novel, and rousing public attention to the matter, of course excited a storm of indignation in the bosom of the Conservative party, and of those whose friends and relations were so cruelly derided by the gifted author. The end of the work is the greatest mistake he made:—

'This book,' cries he, 'is but an introductory chapter. . . . I shall augment my strength and sharpen my weapons with the growing need.

Please God that this may be spared me! . . . No, it will *not* be needful! For to you do I dedicate my book, to you, William III., King, Grand-Duke, Prince, . . . more than Prince, Grand-Duke, and King, . . . EMPEROR of the fair empire of Insulinda, that is wound about the equator like an emerald girdle! . . . Of you I demand, trustfully, if it be your imperial will, that Havelaar's words be trampled under foot by *Slijmerings* and *Droogstopples*?¹ and that yonder more than thirty millions of your subjects be maltreated and beggared in your name?'

It is but natural that such an appeal to the *Crown* in a constitutional State, and in the form selected by M. Douwes Dekker, should meet with no response.

But a sensation was made the like of which had never been witnessed before, and high and low talked for some time of scarcely anything but Max Havelaar. The Colonial question came *en evidence* again; the Conservative party got frightened, and odd stories were circulated as to attempts made to bribe the writer to keep silence in future. His public and private life were freely discussed, and he himself grew more and more indignant, and obstinately refused to accept the reputation as a gifted novelist, which he only claimed as an Indian reformer.

Within a few weeks the first edition of his work was exhausted, and a second one, though loudly called for, never appeared. The story of its suppression is a sad one, told in very few words. M. Dekker had, it seems, disposed of the copyright of his book to a gentleman of high reputation in the country, himself a gifted author, who found a publisher for the then unknown writer. But the offence given by the personal attacks contained in it, and the sensation it had made, caused the *owner* of the manuscript to refuse allowing a second edition, and a court of law ruled in his favour.

Meanwhile M. Douwes Dekker continued his eccentric but talented writings. *Multatuli's Ideas* and a crowd of short but pithy pamphlets followed, until, by degrees, the fertile vein seemed to be exhausted, and some time passed without any sign being made by the man whose genius had seemed to promise so much. But a few weeks ago, he again issued a pamphlet in his old clever but eccentric style, though on a subject entirely irrelevant to our present purpose.

Has the Indian question progressed in all these years? We fear but very, very little. A short-lived Conservative Ministry was succeeded by a Liberal Cabinet. M. Thorbecke, the Minister

¹ The reader will remember that *Slijmering* is the nickname, the 'Slimy one,' of Havelaar's chief, the Resident, and that *Droogstoppel* is the *Mr. Stubbles* referred to in our paper.

of whom Lord Palmerston is said to have affirmed 'he is too great a man for so small a country,' was virtually Premier—the title itself is unknown in Holland—and at his side M. Fransen van der Putte was the Liberal Minister for Colonial affairs, of whom great things were expected, and perhaps not without cause, as long as he was supported by the Premier. But the Conservative party, weak in numbers and weaker in their cause, were strengthened by dissensions spreading among the Liberals.

Thorbecke was called a tyrant, and unable to bear with an equal; the fact was, his equals in rank, but his inferiors in capacity and statesmanship, could not endure a master-spirit at their side, and forcing M. Thorbecke to resign, M. van der Putte became Premier of the new Cabinet. As all had foreseen, it was but a short-lived one. The Colonial Budget met with so much opposition that the new Minister, with his colleagues, retired from office, and the Liberals, weakened and divided among themselves, were turned out by the Conservative party now holding the reins of government. The Colonial portfolio passed into the hands of M. P. Myer, an ultra-Conservative; the partial reforms already proposed or introduced were threatened with annihilation, and for the moment the state of affairs in India seemed so hopeless to the Liberals, that though they were at variance on all other points, they were ready to unite against their common adversaries in colonial policy. A report, too, was widely spread that M. Myer had only accepted the portfolio temporarily in order to get a provisional budget passed by the Chamber, and that as soon as he had succeeded in doing so he was to be rewarded by the Governor-Generalship of the Colonies. This was most positively denied by himself and his friends, not only in private circles, but even in the Chambers, and as the Liberal party was, at the moment, utterly disorganized, and the new Minister's tone was conciliatory, hinting at concessions, and even giving promises to that effect, his first measures met with little or no opposition. Not a week after carrying them he was gazetted as Governor-General, and sailed as soon as he possibly could for India, leaving his portfolio in the hands of the present Minister, M. Trahraney. The indignation of the Chamber, and of the public in general, needs no description. One of the *Conservative* members, M. Keuchenius, an eloquent speaker, boldly attacked the whole Cabinet, and a vote of non-confidence in the Ministry was passed.

The Conservatives, but a few weeks in power, seemed on the point of being thrown out again. But they were not inclined to give up the fight so easily. Acting on the principle of *aux grands maux les grands remèdes*, they actually dissolved the Second Chamber, declaring the vote of blame thrown on M. Myer's appointment to be a breach of the Royal prerogative,

which gives the Crown the right of appointing all officials. The King himself was thus rendered responsible for the act and deed of the Cabinet, and for the countersign of his own Colonial Minister. We refrain from all comment on these circumstances, only sketched by us in so far as they serve to elucidate the subject of this paper. The next measure taken by the Minister was still more extraordinary in a Constitutional State. Elections in Holland are not in the least like what they are in Britain. Generally *at least* one-third of the total number of electors of the lower class of people remain quietly at home. They know very little about politics, and take no share in them.

Among the higher classes so much disgust was felt at what had been done by the Ministers, that it was necessary for them to take extraordinary measures in order to assure the return of a Conservative majority at the approaching elections for the new Chamber. No better plan could be devised than the issuing of a Royal proclamation, summoning the electors to appear at the poll, and to return members who would insure the existence of a Cabinet, and not endanger the public welfare by constant changes of Ministry. This was interpreted to the ignorant voters as an expression of the King's personal wish to retain his present advisers; the theme was duly wrought out by the Conservative papers, the leading men of the Liberal party were branded as rebels and traitors, as the most dangerous enemies to their King and country, and the result was that a great many of them were not re-elected, whilst a small majority was obtained for the present Ministers—still holding their ground rather owing to the continued dissensions among the Liberals than to the strength of their own party. Proofs of this fact are not wanting. A revision of the educational law on primary instruction is impatiently desired by the ultra-Conservative and orthodox party. It was only by positively refusing to grant it that the whole Cabinet, supported on this question by the Liberals, was enabled to hold its ground in the Chamber. In like manner the Colonial Minister has been obliged to make so many concessions to the Liberals, that, but a few weeks ago, his budget passed through the Chamber by their support, whilst the leading men of the party who brought him into power voted against it. At the present moment there is thus a split in the Cabinet, of which the result must be either the retirement of M. Trahraney in favour of a rigorously Conservative Minister, or the fall of the whole Ministry, brought about by the Liberals. Either way it seems likely that the Colonial questions will come to an issue, and that at least the temporary triumph of one or other of the two Colonial systems, of which we have now to recapitulate and elucidate the chief points as briefly as possible, will be insured.

The Conservatives advocate 'forced labour' and the maintenance of the rights of the native princes to claim certain services for their own advantage from the peasant. They insist, too, on upholding the old system of 'Government cultures,'—the yearly cultivation of certain products of the soil, in certain quantities, at such places as the Government shall please to determine.

The Liberals demand 'free labour,' a fixed rate of taxation, the undisputed possession of the soil for the free native, who is to be exempted from the personal services claimed by his prince, and grants of the large tracts of land still lying uncultivated to private individuals, with a guarantee that no Government interference shall impede the settlers' efforts for the encouragement of free labour. This was the system favoured so many years ago by Sir Stamford Raffles, and imperfectly understood and partially followed by some of the more liberally inclined Dutch Ministers in later times. The property of the soil was granted to the *Dessas*, or townships, as they may be termed, instead of being given to the individual, and the consequence was that the peasant remained as dependent as ever on the great man of the place, instead of being raised to the dignity of a freeholder, as had been intended.

On the other hand, the system of Government cultures, as we have said, is still in vigour, so that, in point of fact, two theories, entirely adverse in their tendencies, have for a long course of years been militating against each other in Java, till a state of affairs has been brought about for which it will not be easy to find a remedy. Other difficulties, too, of a more serious character, occur in the government of the Dutch colonies. Not more than, in round numbers, 25,000 Europeans, a great many of whom are not Dutch subjects, reside on the island of Java, and have, with perhaps scarcely 20,000 troops, to overawe or coerce a native population of more than thirteen millions of souls. This comparative scarcity of European settlers is attributable to several reasons. Formerly, the Dutch Government was excessively and unreasonably jealous and suspicious even of its own subjects,—perhaps more so than of foreigners,—and great difficulties were laid in the way of those who wished to establish themselves at Java. The most arbitrary powers were granted to the Residents, and very few capitalists ventured to settle in a district whence they themselves might be banished, or their business completely ruined, by even any inferior Government official who chose to take offence at anything said or done against his pleasure. In those days the island was considered a real gold mine for the friends of the Government. Needy adventurers blessed with 'good connexions,' officials fit for little or nothing at home, but men of good birth, the prodigal son, the widow's offspring, were all sent out to India by their kind

friends, who provided them with well-salaried situations, and ample opportunities of making a fortune,—and at that time, the lapse of a few years sufficed for that purpose, and the wealthy man came home, and saw his place in India refilled by one as needy as he himself had been, and equally desirous of filling his purse and getting back to Europe as soon as possible.

But little encouragement was thus given to commercial or other undertakings, only in the hands of the Government. The favoured few got the good things to be had, and kept them very carefully in their own hands; and though this evil policy has been entirely given up, its results are still felt in the present generation. Mayhap the reader will say: '*Tout comme chez nous.*'

Now-a-days, any Dutchman (or, in fact, any European) who goes out to Java with a good constitution, clear brain, and due amount of energy, is sure to prosper in course of time. He is not likely to make a fortune in two, but pretty safe to secure a competency in ten, years; and to grow a millionaire if he will only remain where he is, and take what is offered him. But, somehow or other, few people remain in Java longer than they absolutely must, in order to secure the means of living at home in comfort. The climate is in most parts of the country enervating; there is a dearth of intellectual food, and an excess of dainty dishes; children must be sent to Europe for education; liver-complaints and longing for home increase day by day; and thus, though every facility be now granted to the Dutch emigrant, the number of residents on the island is but increasing at a slow ratio. Latterly, measures have been framed to improve the schools, to offer many inducements, formerly wanting, to every one who will remain a resident,—but with little result, as was to be expected from half-measures in which the settler finds but few guarantees for his permanent advantage and security.

The Indian army, which has nothing at all in common with the home service, is composed of elements but little adapted to promote the moral supremacy of the European, though its ranks contain a brave and hardy set of soldiers, who rendered invaluable services to the Government. The officers may be divided into two distinct classes: those brought up with the cadets for the home service at the military college of Breda, entirely at the Government expense, in every respect well-educated young men; and those promoted from the ranks, selected from among the men who are sent out to India as privates, or exchange, as commissioned, or even non-commissioned officers, from the home into the colonial army. The greater part of the rank and file of the European soldiers who enlist in Holland for India belong to the very worst set

imaginable of the natives, to whom are added in great numbers the outcasts of all nations, who can find no other means of escaping disgrace or starvation. The Dutch student, ruined by profligacy, the German fraudulent bankrupt, the French gambler, the discharged soldiers of the foreign legions of other nations, who fought in the Crimea, who were Zouaves in Africa, in Italy, or in Mexico, stand beside each other in the ranks, and share together the hardships of the campaign. Most of these men are of a dare-devil character, excellently adapted for the field, but entirely unfit for a peaceful home, or for exercising any wholesome influence on the native Indian population. The Liberals desire a union of the home and colonial branches of the service, in order to improve both armies. At the same time, they demand that greater care shall be taken than hitherto of the northern coast defences, and that some safe ports be armed for the protection of the Dutch merchant vessels in case of war. The southern coasts offer but few convenient spots for a hostile landing. Another reform, of entirely different description, loudly cried for, not only by the Liberals, but even by the more moderate Conservatives themselves, regards the criminal laws. Whilst the mother country adopted, many years ago, the French code, the ancient criminal code, a compilation of all that is practically deficient and theoretically false in our days, is still in vigour in the colonies, and though a new one was promised long ago, so little progress has been made, that people are growing impatient on that score.

We have now terminated our sketch of the state of Colonial affairs in the Netherlands at the present date. It will be seen they centre in the policy to be followed with regard to Java; and as to the lengthy debates which must ensue ere the question is finally decided,—ending as we began with a quotation from the work that gave us occasion to write this paper,—we venture to predict that matters are now so far advanced, that his assertion will no longer hold ground, that, ‘generally, an important question is tested not so much by its own intrinsic merits, as by the importance attached to the opinion of the member speaking on the subjects; and as this person mostly passes for a “*spécialité*,”—“a man who has held a high position in the colonies,”—the result of a division in the Chamber is usually influenced by the errors seemingly inherent to the “high position” of the orator.’

The systems and partisans of both the adverse parties are too clearly defined, too widely separated, for such a result; and at the present moment it seems probable that a decisive struggle for the mastery will take place within a comparatively very short period.

- ART. III.—1. *The Nature of the Atonement, and its Relation to Remission of Sins and Eternal Life.* By JOHN M'LEOD CAMPBELL. Macmillan, 1856.
2. *The Vicarious Sacrifice grounded on Principles of Universal Obligation.* By HORACE BUSHNELL, D.D. A. Strahan, 1866.
3. *The Life and Light of Men: An Essay.* By JOHN YOUNG, LL.D. A. Strahan, 1866.
4. *Cur Deus Homo; or, Why God was made Man.* By ST. ANSELM. Translated by a CLERGYMAN. J. H. & J. Parker, 1865.

IT is a sign of a healthy activity of mind in relation to theology, when writers of more than common ability and thoughtfulness devote themselves to the expansion or elucidation of single subjects in separate and elaborate treatises. Great and varied as are the requirements for a good commentator on Holy Scripture, the development of a particular doctrine demands a stronger concentration of thought, and more profound and continued meditation. So many and various are the relations of all great Christian truths, that it needs time and patient dwelling on them, one by one, to gain even that conception of their significance which the human mind may be reasonably expected to attain. Such persevering attention cannot perhaps be afforded by those whose duties require of them the constant composition of sermons. For although a good sermon always contains true and solid thought, still the thought has to be presented with an immediate view to its practical effect, and this is not favourable to profound inquiry, continued meditation, or close reasoning. Rather it is the province of the theologian to apply these instruments, uninterrupted by practical digressions, to his sacred subject. In proportion as his meditation is profound and true, it will be fruitful indeed in practical edification; for nothing is so immediately edifying as Divine truth. But he will leave it to work there by its own suggestive power, knowing that as his readers follow him into its depths, trace its manifold relations, and become bathed (as it were) in its living waters, so it will unfold its great proportions, and issue, of necessity, in practical effects.

Of all qualities which the theologian must possess, it need hardly be said that a devotional spirit is the chief. For the soul is larger than the mind, and the religious emotions lay hold on the truths to which they are related on many sides at once. They embrace the facts of revelation, as the ivy clings to the elm, by many tendrils and delicate instruments of appre-

hension. A powerful understanding, on the other hand, seizes strongly on single points, and however enlarged in its own intellectual sphere, is of itself never safe from narrowness of view. For its very office is to analyse and to elucidate, which implies that the thought is fixed down to particular relations of the subject. It is obvious that no mental conception, still more no expression in words, can give the full significance of any fact, least of all of a Divine fact. Hence it is that mere reasoning is found such an ineffectual weapon against simple piety, and devotion is such a safeguard against intellectual error. The less powerful but more devout mind feels that an objection may be difficult to answer, yet that its faith is not shaken, since it is conscious of touching the truth assailed at many other points besides the one attacked. Hence also the disinclination felt by the same class of persons to narrow, especially to negative dogmatic statements. They know by experience that the intellect is apt to deceive itself in expecting to exhaust the truth which it contemplates, or to condense its import into short statements. They know that the more powerful the mind, and the more eager, the greater is the danger of its binding itself in its own chain, perhaps of worshipping its own thought as the truth itself.

But if the devotional spirit is the first qualification of the theologian, there are intellectual talents which are scarcely secondary. He must possess the clearness of apprehension which can separate the essence of a truth from what is accidental to it, and must be able to contemplate with fixed attention particular parts of an idea, without forgetting that they are only parts of it. In relation to Holy Scripture, he must have the habit of dwelling on its statements by contemplation, letting them possess his mind, and become, as it were, a part of it; and at the same time, he must have the critical faculty to see how far its modes and figures of representation are intended as vehicles of inner truth, or are of the very essence of the truth itself. He must be familiar with theological language, and able to trace the history of its terms, otherwise he will be apt to confound human thought with Divine faith. He must be acquainted with the controversies which have moved the mind of Christendom, else he will not know the grounds on which the doctrines of the Church are based. He must guard, above all things, against precipitate conclusions, being ever conscious of the vastness of his subject and its infinite relations. And he must have that intellectual courage, which is but another form of moral courage, in a thinker, the courage not to take for granted received opinions, but to sift them; and that faith in truth and in the human mind, duly prepared and sanctified, as its organ, which

will make him welcome every contribution of thought and science as part of the Divine gift, the full import of which will only be known hereafter.

If these qualities are needed for the theologian generally, they are especially called into action when he deals with a central doctrine of the Christian faith, such as is the doctrine of the Atonement. The witness of Holy Scripture to this great subject may be treated under two divisions,—as it bears on the Divine relations of the Atonement, and on its human side. Under the former head it reveals to us, in a real but limited measure, the working of the mind and will of God in the redemption of man, informing us on such points as the following,—how God contemplates the sacrifice of His Son, and with what mind He regards those who believe in Him. The testimony of Holy Scripture on such points, all-important as it is, is comprised in a few great truths, which as they are derived directly from inspiration, and touch upon the Divine aspect of the mystery, so they must be received as revealed facts, to be understood only so far as the Word of God, properly interpreted, admits us to their true significance. Yet even in its witness to this Divine and most mysterious side of the doctrine, the interpretation of Holy Scripture varies, to some extent, with the conception of the nature of God formed in the mind of the interpreter. Differences in this conception are probably at the bottom of whatever variety of opinion exists on this aspect of the subject; differences which themselves probably are grounded in the various degrees of religious culture (if the word may be used in its true sense), and of depth of feeling, characterizing individual men or individual ages.

But if the varieties of human thought and feeling affect the interpretation of Holy Scripture in those passages which reveal truths concerning the Divine Being, there is still more room for this influence on that side of the doctrine of the Atonement where it is related to mankind, and touches upon human life. The Atonement, indeed, is but another name for the Gospel: it is the working of God in Christ to bring back to Him those who believe. Now, this working is almost infinitely varied, according to the mind and character of those upon whom the truth lays hold. The history of the Atonement, could it be known in full, would be the history of the salvation of every human soul which has been brought to God in Christ. The words of the inspired apostles tell us, with a depth and power that no other words contain, how the Atonement worked on them, and supply, perhaps, types of its efficacy on mankind to the end of time. But the spiritual experience of the Church, and of individual souls, from time to time, enlarges and deepens

our knowledge of the doctrine on this its human side. Particular points are brought out with a vividness or force unknown before, in the records left of their religious life by the saints of God,—Augustine, à Kempis, Luther, Brainerd. The witness of Scripture stands out in new light, when interpreted by the spiritual experience of successive ages; and the collective Church gathers the result of all, and grows from age to age in knowledge of Him with whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom.

We are not therefore of those who look with suspicion on all attempts to elucidate afresh, in some degree, the great doctrines of the Christian faith, especially that of the Atonement. Nor do we regard such attempts as hopeless, on the ground that the faith once revealed to the saints admits of no change, by increase or diminution. In one sense this is true, in another it is a mistake. The objective facts on which it reposes are the same for ever and ever; but even they, as we have intimated, are regarded from different points of view, while their subjective relations to the mind of man admit of indefinite variety. We do not complain of Augustine or Anselm for having enlarged the horizon of theological speculation, nor do we believe that its limits have been fixed by past inquirers. The movement of devotional thought surely is not chained and fettered to these conclusions; the Holy Spirit still guides the minds of Christians in their inquiries: He still takes the things of Christ and shows them to His disciples, shows them in fresh aspects and relations; and it is the part of the theologian to welcome every ray of light which is thrown upon the Divine objects which he contemplates, the full significance of which no speculation however profound, and no piety however intense, will ever be able to exhaust.

The writers whom we have named at the head of this article have devoted much care and profound thought to their great subject. In endeavouring to estimate with what success they have attempted its elucidation, it will be convenient first to give a brief account of each work, so far, at least, as to point out its characteristic features. We shall then be prepared to examine their statements by the touchstone of the Word of God, inquiring whether they give the latter its full significance, or add anything to our previous conception of its meaning.

We begin with Mr. Campbell's work, which, in some respects, possesses the highest claims to the reader's attention, on account of the profound piety by which it is pervaded, and the depth of meditative thought which is its characteristic. It is evidently the fruit of a long contemplation of its sacred subject,

and of an interest in it deeper than any merely intellectual activity could produce. Mr. Campbell has long been known in Scotland, our readers may be aware, as a friend and contemporary of Irving, though not partaking in his later peculiarities of belief. We have, in his treatise, no crude speculations, but the results of a matured, perhaps almost a lifelong, study of the doctrine which he treats with unusual intellectual grasp, as well with the light derived from a deep spiritual experience. There is, indeed, a certain cumbrousness and complexity in the style of his book, which makes it often difficult to read, but does not diminish the impression made upon the attentive reader, for it seems to proceed, not from carelessness or want of power of expression, but from the habit of following out trains of close thought, and wrapping the process in single sentences in order to preserve its connexion, rather than breaking these up into short clauses. The mind of the writer seems to labour with its thought; but it is with real thought, not the pretence of it. Every original thinker has indeed his peculiar style, nor would we readily consent to exchange Mr. Campbell's involved periods for one less expressive of his mind. There is also an appearance of repetition in his book; we say an appearance of it,—for this often arises in thoughtful writers from their habit of presenting ideas in various aspects, and viewing them, so to speak, from different sides; as, for instance, is the case with Bishop Butler. But neither this peculiarity, nor the complexity of its style, prevents Mr. Campbell's work from being, in our opinion, one of the most interesting and important treatises on theology which have been published in this generation in England.

The author naturally begins by referring to conceptions of the Atonement put forth by former writers since the Reformation, particularly by Luther and the Calvinistic school. Although he agrees with neither of these forms of doctrine as completely true or adequate expressions of what Scripture and conscience jointly reveal (for in that case his own work would be unnecessary), he acknowledges the elements of truth which they contain, and the depth of personal religion which, in the discussion of the subject, has been evinced by some in every class of writers.

'Two rays of Divine light,' especially, 'have been shed on the spirits of all who have believed in the Atonement, in whichever of the forms of thought which we have been considering, or in whatever kindred form of thought it has been present to their minds,—viz., 1st, the exceeding evil and terrible nature of sin; and 2d, the pure and free nature, as well as the infinite greatness of the love of God. I mean that the human spirit that saw the Atonement in relation to itself,

has, of necessity, been filled with an awful sense of the evil of sin, and with an overwhelming sense of the love of God.'

He also fully admits that an admixture of error in men's intellectual conceptions of Divine truth is often counteracted, both by the light of God in the conscience and by a reverent reception of Holy Scripture, which is so varied in its mode of teaching, that a misconception or perversion of this teaching on some points is frequently neutralized by a due acceptance of it upon others; as we see antinomian systems combined with tenderness of conscience, and the belief that Christ died only for the elect practically contradicted by love to all men. Yet he does not on this account set a light value on a complete intellectual apprehension of the Atonement, but rather believes that if it has such power over men's spirits when partially understood, still greater blessings may be expected when the great work of God in Christ is apprehended, not in any artificial relation to justification, adoption, and sanctification, but in the fullness and the simplicity of revelation.

Mr. Campbell's sympathies are evidently drawn out more towards Luther's conception of the Atonement than towards that of the Calvinistic school, whether represented by Owen and President Edwards in its earlier form, or modified by Dr. Pye Smith, Chalmers, and other contemporary writers. But even in the teaching of Luther, it is the depth and strength of his spiritual convictions by which Mr. Campbell is attracted more than by his exact verbal statements, which are sometimes exaggerated. The 'root-conception,' in the great reformer's mind, from which his teaching on the Atonement grows both in its retrospective and its prospective aspects (that is, as regards the deliverance from past evil and the positive blessings which it confers), is the complete identification of Christ with man. To express this he selects the strongest words: 'refusing to understand "*was made sin for us*," in 2 Cor. v. 21, as meaning a sacrifice for sin (while he admits that the word used will bear that meaning), choosing rather to insist that He was made sin for us in some more absolute way of identifying Himself with us and our sin.' Mr. Campbell quotes, among others, the following words of Luther: 'Because in the self-same person, *which is the highest, the greatest, and the only sinner*, there is also an everlasting and invincible righteousness; therefore these two do encounter together,—*the highest, the greatest, and the only sin*, and the highest, the greatest, and the only righteousness. . . . So in Christ all sin is vanquished, killed, and buried, and righteousness remaineth a conqueror, and reigneth for ever.' Again: 'When a sinner cometh to the knowledge of himself, indeed, he feeleth not only that he is miserable, but misery itself; not

only that he is a sinner and accursed, but even sin and malediction itself. For it is a terrible thing to bear sin, the wrath of God, malediction, and death. *Wherefore, that man which hath a true feeling of these things, as Christ did truly and effectually feel them for all mankind, is made even sin, death, malediction.*

In virtue also of this identification of Christ with man, we are to look upon as our own that freedom, righteousness, and life which were in Him, to conceive of ourselves as endowed with them, and to live in and by them. We do this by faith, by which we are lifted into Christ, and made one with Him, both in our own conscience and in God's judgment of us; that is, sanctified and justified. But the faith being in us but a germ, a feeble dawn of perfect righteousness, God 'imputes to us' that of which it is the germ: 'God covereth and pardoneth the remnant of sin' in us; 'that is to say, *because of that faith wherewith I began to lay hold upon Christ, He accepteth my imperfect righteousness even for perfect righteousness, and counteth my sin for no sin, which, notwithstanding, is sin indeed.*

Another feature in Luther's doctrine (and one with which Mr. Campbell has complete sympathy) is the personal appropriation by which each Christian is taught to lay hold of this righteousness of Christ as *his own*. In this consists the power and difficulty of faith, that when we read the words 'who gave Himself for our sins,' we especially mark this pronoun *our*. 'Learn this definition diligently, and especially to exercise this pronoun *our*, that this one syllable being believed may swallow up all thy sins.'

When we add to this, that in the work of Christ, Luther sees God appearing as He is in Himself, and that here only do we really know God in His true nature and character, we have mentioned the main points in the reformer's doctrine which Mr. Campbell's purpose leads him to remark. 'In the matter of justification,' Luther teaches in the strongest language, 'know thou that there is no other God besides this man Christ Jesus.' 'When any of us wrestle with sin and death, and all other evils, we must look on no other God but this God incarnate, and clothed with men's nature. . . . Thus doing, thou shalt perceive the love, goodness, and sweetness of God: thou shalt see His wisdom, power, and majesty, tempered to thy capacity.' 'Men ought to abstain from the curious searching of God's majesty, . . . for true Christian divinity setteth not God forth unto us in His majesty, as these and other doctors do. It commandeth us not to search out the nature of God; but to know His will set out to us in Christ. . . . The world is ignorant of this, and therefore it searcheth out the will of God, setting aside the promise of Christ, to its great destruction:—"For no man

knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal Him."'

That many of these elements of Luther's doctrine enter into that of our author will be manifest immediately, when we state the substance of the latter. Meantime, it need only be observed, that even Luther does not seem to him to offer much help towards a clear intellectual apprehension of his particular subject, the nature of the Atonement. Nay, whatever spiritual truth they had in his own mind, 'interpreted according to their plain grammatical meaning, the words by which he expresses Christ's relation to our sins *cannot be true*,' and 'the use of them is not to be defended.' Christ bore our sins on His spirit in some other way, not as being really the object of God's malediction and wrath.

The language of the Calvinistic writers is at first sight still more opposed to what Mr. Campbell holds to be true on this point. The older Calvinists held that Christ underwent the same punishment which the elect were bound to undergo, the same (that is) 'essentially in weight and pressure, though not in all accidents of duration and the like.' Therefore it would be unjust that the elect should suffer punishment again, and unjust that they should not inherit the eternal blessedness which Christ merited for them. But it is not a little remarkable that when these same writers endeavour to describe more particularly in what the sufferings of Christ consisted, they explain away the essence of their peculiar doctrine. President Edwards is careful to state that Christ throughout His sufferings 'knew that God was not angry with Him, knew that God did not hate Him, but infinitely loved Him,' while yet he speaks of 'revenging justice spending all its force upon Him.' His sufferings arose 'from a clear view of the hatefulness of sin, and the evil of punishment, brought close to His soul by His love, which fixed the idea of the elect in His mind, as if He *had really been they*; and *fixed their calamity in His mind, as though it really were His*.' Now this refers the suffering of Christ, and His identification with man (or, according to the Calvinistic school, with the elect), to the power of His intense and infinite sympathy, and, as Mr. Campbell remarks, it is indeed a great relief to find this great and good man so explaining his words. A similar view is expressed by Dr. Pye Smith, who teaches that Christ's suffering arose 'from holiness and love realizing the evil of sin, and intensely interested in those who were its victims.' In short, on weighing fully all that either school of Calvinists has taught on this subject, it appears that when they explain themselves particularly they do not assume anything either in the consciousness of Christ in suffering, or as to the

mind of the Father towards Him, which at all accords with the idea of guilt imputed to Him, or wrath going forth upon Him, or even with the newer idea of His being treated as if He were guilty. The sacrificial atoning suffering which He underwent, Mr. Campbell does not admit, when thus closely explained, to have had in it a *penal character*.

But we hasten to give an account of the author's own explanation of what it was in which the Atonement of Christ consisted. He prepares his way for this explanation by referring to two passages of Scripture, both of which lead our thoughts to dwell on the moral and spiritual element in the Atonement as of chief importance. The first contains the expressions used of Phinehas (in Numbers xxv. 10-13), who turned away the wrath of God 'from the children of Israel' by his zeal. 'Wherefore say, Behold, I give unto him my covenant of peace: and he shall have it, and his seed after him, even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood; because he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for the children of Israel.' Hence the essence of the atonement which Phinehas made was his condemnation of sin, and zeal for the glory of God. The other passage, on which Mr. Campbell lays greater stress, and which is more closely related to his subject, is the words of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ch. x. 4-10) where, after saying 'For it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins,' he adds, 'Wherefore, when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me: in burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hast had no pleasure: then said I, *Lo, I come* (in the volume of the book it is written of me) *to do thy will, O God.*' These last words Mr. Campbell takes as the great keynote on the subject of the Atonement. This was the essence of the work of Christ. The fulfilment of this purpose, the relation in which Christ was thus placed to God and men, to men's sins and their punishment,—how, in fulfilling it, He was an atoning and accepted sacrifice, and obtained for us everlasting redemption,—he then proceeds to consider. In this inquiry he treats the Atonement under the two heads above mentioned, in its retrospective aspect, as delivering men from sin and its evil, and its prospective aspect, as conferring on them eternal life. Its nature cannot be understood until both these aspects of it have been dwelt on, but in discussing the first, the retrospective one, he deals with that part of the subject which presents, to many minds, the chief difficulty, namely, in what sense Christ bore our sins upon Him. We shall endeavour to condense the author's profound reasoning, and to present his system in our own words, at the risk of losing some points of view in which

he places it, so long as we can state its main and salient features.

Coming into the world to do the Father's will, Christ presented the Father to mankind by His own life of filial love. For this perfect life of Sonship gave glory to the Father, called men to trust Him as Christ trusted Him, to be dear sons as He was a dear Son. Doubtless a joy and peace deeper than sorrow were part of His human experience in thus witnessing for His Father, and these were occasionally manifested, and were promised as His legacy to His disciples. But it also caused Him to be above all others a man of sorrows, not only from the constant pressure of our sin and misery on His spirit, but also from the treatment which, in consequence of His thus witnessing for the Father, He met with from men, who threw back His love upon Him, repaid Him with hatred and dishonour. These sufferings were truly a sacrifice, and the painful path by which Christ was led, developing as it did the fulness of His self-sacrificing love to men and love to the Father, was permitted and ordered by the Father; but there was nothing *penal* in these sufferings, since they were endured in sympathy with God.

Coming still more closely to the point on which the difficulty is felt, consider next how Christ dealt with God on man's behalf. Here, if anywhere, is the place for the outcoming of wrath upon the Mediator, and for penal infliction. But the latter notion is neither necessary nor consistent with Christ's nature and work. Being one in mind with the Father, and feeling towards Him as a perfect son, He could not but feel a holy sorrow for the sins of men towards His Father, a sorrow proportioned in its intensity to His own Divine purity and His knowledge of the Father's love for men, and proportioned also to the exceeding greatness of men's sins. Approaching the Father in the perfection of humanity, and in oneness of mind with Him, Christ could not but make a perfect confession of our sins, as the first step in His intercession for us. '*This confession was a perfect Amen in humanity to the judgment of God on the sin of man.*' Responding thus, and assenting to the Divine wrath against sin, Christ received the full apprehension and realization of that wrath, as well as of the sin against which it comes forth, into His soul and spirit, *and in that perfect response He absorbed it.* He presented to God a contrition and repentance in humanity, not, indeed, for any personal sin of His own, but for that of mankind, a repentance adequate to the greatness of human sin. This adequate repentance was a moral and spiritual expiation for human sin.

At this point Mr. Campbell refers again to President Edwards

as bearing out the truth of his explanation ; for this writer had said that there were only two ways in which atonement could be made for sins, either by the Mediator enduring an equivalent punishment, or offering an equivalent repentance for them. Not seeing how the latter could be the case (while yet he would have admitted that it would have been sufficient if it could have been rendered), he adopted the former alternative, that Christ suffered a punishment equivalent to that due to men's sin. Mr. Campbell's view teaches us to look on Christ's sufferings not as penal, nor as the effect of sin imputed to Him, but as showing the grief of God on account of man's sin. And thus they awaken in the mind a higher spiritual feeling, since to believe that God grieves infinitely for sin is not so soon received into the heart, yet has more power to work holiness in us, than to believe that He punishes sin. Nor is any violence put upon the language of Scripture when it speaks of Christ 'making His soul an offering for sin,' 'putting away sin by the sacrifice of Himself,' 'by Himself purging our sins,' by this explanation, while it represents His sufferings as in a true sense vicarious, expiatory, an atonement—'an atonement for sin, as distinguished from the punishment of sin.' The great advantage of it is that it implies no 'fiction,' no imputation to the sufferer of the guilt of the sin for which He suffers, but only the oneness of the Saviour with His brethren, and the oneness of His mind with the Father.

We remarked that for the full understanding of Christ's atonement, as thus explained, we must bear in mind not only its retrospective purpose as delivering us from the evil of our sins, but also its prospective object, 'that we might receive the adoption of sons,' and be made partakers of eternal life. Christ offered, indeed, to God an adequate confession, and, in this, an expiation for the sins of men, and God accepted it on our behalf. But in order that this may avail for us individually, we must in our measure enter into the mind of Christ, in making the confession, 'enter into the Amen of faith to the voice that is in the blood of Christ.' More than this, we must enter, in our measure, into the faith and hope (for ourselves) which Christ had for mankind, and which sustained Him in His sufferings, the faith (namely) and hope that we have in Him eternal life, not in the future but now, that we are restored to sonship with the Father of spirits, and are called to partake in the filial righteousness which was in Him, yielding our will to be guided by the law of the spirit of life that was in Christ, the life of sonship. The test whether we have part in the Atonement, as saving to ourselves, is not whether we think of it as setting us free from punishment, but whether it brings us into communion with the Father through the Son,

although the first dawnings of holiness, truth, and righteousness in us must be as confessions of sin. As God accepted in our behalf the expiatory confession of sin which Christ made for us, so He accepts in our behalf the righteousness of Christ, as that mind in humanity with which alone He is pleased, and in which we must partake. Thus Christ's righteousness becomes ours, and His intercession is effectual in its twofold aspect.

Nor must it be supposed that in thus dwelling upon the Fatherhood of God more than upon His character as Lawgiver, there is danger of losing sight of His holiness, or introducing into our ideas of Him any notion of 'easiness' in respect of what He must require. Rightly thought of, the love of the Father of spirits is seen to be more exacting than the will of an Infinite Ruler. For the latter may be conceived to bend and make allowances, but the former cannot be satisfied, from its very nature, and in proportion to its greatness, without lifting His children into communion with Him; nor is it possible that He can receive us unless we come to Him in the fellowship of that expiation which Christ made, that is, of His confession. We extract here a passage from Mr. Campbell's work expressing this last thought:—

“No man cometh unto the Father, but by me”—these words raise us up to a region in which there is, there can be, nothing arbitrary. A sovereign lord and moral governor, appointing laws and enforcing them by the administration of a system of rewards and punishments, may be contemplated as severe and uncompromising in the exercise of his righteous rule,—but he also may be thought of as merciful and considerate of individual cases; and the outward and arbitrary nature of the rewards and punishments which he is believed to dispense makes his awarding the former on easier terms, and withholding or mitigating the latter according to circumstances,—and, it may be, under the influence of mercy,—what can be supposed, and what, in thinking of God as such a Governor and Lord, and of ourselves as the subjects of His rule, we can turn to the thought of with a vague hope. And such a Governor and Lord God is in the ordinary thoughts of men, and such a vague hope towards God is the ordinary hope of men. And on such a conception of their relation to God have men ignorantly engrafted the gospel—conceiving of it as giving a special and definite form to the indefinite combination of judgment and mercy, which has sustained that vague hope of salvation which they had cherished. But the gospel, truly apprehended, raises us into another and a higher region—a region, indeed, in which Divine mercy, or clemency, as previously conceived of, is felt to have been but as the dimmest twilight of kindness and goodwill towards men, in comparison of the noonday light of the love of the Father of spirits to His offspring,—a region also in which no arbitrary dealing with us can find a place. In the light

that shines in that region it is clear to us that the relation between the blessedness that is seen there, and the rightness that is recognised there, is fixed and immutable. So that the liberty, which, in the lower region, we ascribed to mercy, is here found not to belong to love; nor the discretion which we ventured to attribute to the righteous Governor, found to pertain to the loving Father; but, on the contrary, the law of the Father—the principle on which happiness is dispensed by Him to His offspring, as His offspring—is found to be fixed and altogether unbending, incapable of accommodation in a way of pity, or indulgence, or consideration of circumstances. “No man cometh unto the Father but by the Son.” All modification of the law is impossible; for Sonship and Fatherhood are mutually related in an eternal relation. The Father, as the Father, can only receive His offspring to himself as coming to Him in the spirit of sonship; neither otherwise than as coming in the spirit of Sonship can they in spirit and in truth draw near to Him.’

In what has been hitherto said we believe that the main elements of Mr. Campbell's doctrine are contained; in the latter half of his work these are drawn out in important particulars and illustrated by new and weighty thoughts, but it will not be necessary for our immediate purpose to enlarge upon these so fully as we have done upon the root-ideas of his teaching. It must be remarked, however, that any condensation of his treatise, even though presented as nearly as possible in the author's own words, can only give a very imperfect conception of its peculiar character. Not but that the style is susceptible of improvement, at least, certainly, of increased clearness; but it gives, even in its occasional obscurity, an impression of piety, devout meditation, and profound spiritual experience more strongly than any modern theological treatise which we remember. In order to appreciate this, the reader must be referred to the work itself, as well as for an adequate apprehension of the high standard of Christian life (perhaps we should rather say the high idea of the Divine gift bestowed in Christ) which it everywhere expresses, and the spiritual affections which it both appeals to and awakens. If any words of ours could persuade the reader to give his attention to this writer himself, we should feel satisfied to have done more than we can hope to do by any remarks or criticism of our own.

The high idea of redemption to which we have alluded, and the elevated point at which the author would fix the religious emotions and aspirations, are manifested nowhere more than in a chapter in which he treats, at large, of the nature and character of salvation, and of justification. That redemption consists not in being put at ease as regards the punishment of past sins, but in being brought, in the mind of sons, into communion with

the Father ; that this is the meaning of those passages of Scripture which speak of reconciliation with God, of Christ being our propitiation, our peace, in whose blood we are cleansed ; that the moral and spiritual effect of the Atonement, as a means of imparting the life of sonship, includes all that we really need for peace of conscience, and in our apprehension of it ought to take precedence (both in time and in value) of its legal effect, as obtaining pardon ; that, indeed, whatever the import of Christ's work, it must necessarily have left undissolved the connexion between sin and suffering, since the righteousness of that connexion remains unchanged ;—these are some of the positions which are maintained in this chapter. We shall refer hereafter to the witness of Scripture upon this subject, but we must be satisfied now with remarking that Mr. Campbell does not seem to give that prominence to the blessing of forgiveness, as part of redemption, which it has both in God's Word and in the needs of conscience. This is not, however, from not knowing, or from forgetting, what these needs are, since the author is fully aware of the states of feeling, and the mental conceptions of redemption answering to them, which yet he considers inadequate to the truth. It seems to him that there is something artificial in the theory that the awakened sinner cannot come straight to God, drawn by the revelation of the Father's heart which the Son has made, without thinking of himself as clothed by imputation in a perfect righteousness. And there is certainly force in his argument, as regards justification, that righteousness is demanded in us by God in no other sense than holiness, and therefore no 'question need be introduced to give a character of perfection to our individual righteousness before God, which has no place in relation to our part in the other elements of the perfection that is in Christ.' With respect indeed to all these, 'the demand for legal perfection is altogether foreign to that with which we are occupied.' What God looks for, and cannot but accept, is the faith in Him as revealed by His Son, which includes at once contrition for sin, and confidence in His Fatherliness. Nor, even though we may not agree with the author in the prominence due to the various elements which meet in our apprehension of redemption, do we see that any objection can be rightly made to such statements of atonement and justification as the following:—

'Justifying faith, in trusting God, does so in response to that mind of God in relation to man, which is revealed to us in our being (by the grace of God) *embraced in Christ's expiatory confession of our sins*, when by the grace of God He tasted death for every man, and embraced in that perfect righteousness of sonship in humanity which Christ presented to the Father *in behalf of all humanity* as the true righteous-

ness of man, and which, in raising Him from the dead, the Father has sealed to us as the true righteousness. This gracious mind of God, in relation to us, it is that our faith accepts and responds to; for our faith is, in truth, the Amen of our individual spirits to that deep, multiform, all-embracing, harmonious Amen of humanity, in the person of the Son of God, to the mind and heart of the Father in relation to man—the Divine wrath and the Divine mercy which is in the Atonement. . . . And this *justification is not only pronounced in the mind of God, who accepts the confidence towards Himself, which the faith of His grace in Christ has quickened in us, imputing it to us as righteousness, but is also testified to by the Spirit of truth in the conscience of him in whom this Amen is a living voice.*

We draw attention to the words which we have italicized, that the reader may remark that Mr. Campbell's view of justification through Christ admits, after all, of being presented in what we suppose to be a not uncommon form, if we leave out of consideration, for the present, his teaching as to the *penal* element in the Atonement. For, prepared as we are to find in so devout and gifted a writer some modification of the views which Christians have generally held on this great subject; prepared to learn from him, especially, deeper and more quickening apprehensions of the Fatherliness of God, and the Divine life to which we are called; prepared also to vary, as intimated before, the prominence given in our minds to the different elements in the Atonement, if Scripture and the truth of the case so require; it would still be startling to find that we were called upon to suppose that the Churches had been essentially in error on so cardinal a point as the ground of our acceptance with God in Christ. Therefore we have pleasure in quoting the following passage also, with which the author concludes a chapter on the Atonement considered as prayer, which however (though it contains much that is profound both on prayer generally, and in this relation) does not add anything, that we need notice, to the general argument:—

'We may indeed go further back; we may contemplate the mere capacity of redemption that was in humanity as a cry, a mute cry, but which still entered into the ear and heart of God; we may contemplate the gift of Christ as the Divine answer to this cry; but it is not the less true that when Christ, under our burden and working out our own redemption, confesses before the Father the sin of men, and presents to the Father His own righteousness as the Divine righteousness for men, and the Father in response grants to men remission of sins and eternal life, *that confession which humanity could not have originated, but which the Son of God has made in it and for it, and that righteousness which humanity could not itself present, but which the Son of God has presented in it and for it, are the grounds on which God really puts His own acting in the history of redemption.*'

Nor is this gratifying conviction, that in its essential features Mr. Campbell's doctrine is not opposed to the common belief of Christians, weakened, but rather it is much strengthened, when he proceeds to examine, more clearly and particularly, the import of the sufferings and death of Christ in relation to the Atonement. Although he consistently declines to say that Christ endured them as the penalty of sin, or as Himself our substitute,—not as a substitute, otherwise He alone would have died; nor as a punishment, since the favour of God rested on Him throughout,—his account does not, to our view, deprive them of any portion of their significance, or put them into the background in our thoughts, but rather enhances and brings out their meaning. But, as regards the sufferings which He bore during His life, he remarks that there are three periods in the latter, mentioned in the Gospels; the first, of which we have nothing recorded,—the term before His ministry, when He grew in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man; the second, the larger part of His ministry, during which, although exposed to the machinations of His enemies, He was still so high in favour with the people generally, that the hatred felt against Him could find no opportunity to wreak itself; the third, and much the briefest portion of His life on earth, 'its darkest portion, to be measured by days, or rather by hours,' when this enmity, being fully developed, found vent in His last sufferings and death. Through all these periods, the Divine life that was in Christ continued to be developed, and with this the elements of the Atonement. For although the Sonship in Him was always perfect Sonship, yet it was manifested in His own consciousness, as well as in the Father's sight and in real fact, through the successive steps of the path by which He was led by the Father, making the Captain of our salvation perfect through suffering. This revelation of the Father which He made during His life, and this brotherly love which was but another aspect of the same life, He completed in His last suffering and death. These are not to be separated from His life as a different kind, but as a more perfect development and manifestation of that faith which was the expression of His Sonship.

Enough perhaps has been said to give the reader some idea of Mr. Campbell's teaching. Indeed, when we find him admitting that the death of Christ, though not a punishment on Himself personally, was yet accepted consciously by Him as the righteous sentence of God against human sin, as thus perfecting the expiatory confession of our sin which He made, the shade of thought which separates this doctrine from that of penal atonement seems to resolve itself into a difference as to

the *mind of the Father* in contemplating Christ's sufferings. And yet no school of theology, as we have seen, not even the most typical Calvinistic writers, as Edwards, will assert that God was angry with Christ personally, but rather that 'He knew that God did not hate Him, but infinitely loved Him.' We are grateful to Mr. Campbell for clearing up this point, and for showing that the elements of the Atonement are seen to be present, in a spiritual way indeed, but not less truly, and with a deeper moral significance, without that conception of 'substitution' and 'transferred punishment' to which he objects.

No one can doubt that the removal of anything artificial or unreal from our conceptions of Divine truth, especially of those parts of it which relate to God's dealings with our souls, and our own consequent attitude towards Him in the most vital interests of our spiritual life, must be of great benefit. It is not only that objections felt against artificial statements of doctrine, and so against Christianity generally, are thus obviated, but it is of immense importance that no unnecessary veil shall be drawn between the soul and its heavenly Father, but that its access to Him shall be as direct and untrammelled by intellectual embarrassment as revelation has made it. And surely, when we remember how little capable of intellectual activity the vast majority of men are, and always have been, for whom yet the salvation of the gospel has been provided, we cannot but feel a strong conviction that any subtlety or complexity of idea which is a hindrance even to the educated, must and can have no place at all in those great truths, the reception of which into the heart and mind may almost be said to constitute salvation. Nor, whatever is the danger of self-deceit in mistaking intellectual conviction for a quickening of spiritual life, will any thoughtful Christian undervalue that increase of light, and with light of strength, which is from time to time poured into the soul through the understanding, when a truth of God, often perhaps heard before, and partially apprehended, is presented in a clearer, fuller, deeper way, and lays hold upon the mind with a grasp which seems to lift it towards heaven, so much of supporting power and of help there is in this augmented light. That is the high office of great teachers of theology, who by study, or by spiritual experience, or by high gifts of intellect, or by all combined, have been led more deeply than others into the mysteries of Faith. As the poets quicken our apprehension of the beauty and the truth of Nature through the communion which they hold with her in virtue of their inward gift, so it is given to theologians to shed the light which they have received on the expression of Revealed Truth, which henceforth shines to the eyes of common men with increased clearness, and more

than its former glory; for the highest work of the theologian must be, after all, to help us in attaining a *more adequate* apprehension of truth revealed in Scripture and in conscience, and to clear away the illusions with which human prejudice or false science have surrounded it.

The superiority which Mr. Campbell feels that his doctrine on the Atonement has over that of 'penal suffering' and 'substitution,' lies in several points, some of which may have been suggested to the reader even in the foregoing abstract. It exhibits the central truth of Christianity not as darkness, but as light; it enables us to conceive of the elements present in our Lord's sufferings as not in their nature transcending all possible experience in humanity, but within the reach of that experience; it gives a unity and simplicity to the whole range of sacred facts which it contemplates, such as naturally belong to a life led in conformity to the purpose, 'Lo, I come to do thy will, O God,'—a purpose in the development of which suffering and sorrow take their place as necessary elements in the Son's glorifying the Father while bearing the burden of our sins; whereas the doctrine, that at a certain point He passed out of the Father's favour into His wrath, or was always the object of His wrath, even while His favour rested on Him, seems to destroy this natural harmony. But especially (and this brings us close to the central idea of his treatise) it throws a strong light, in the author's view, on the union of Christians with the Redeemer, by which the elements of the Atonement are reproduced in them; for they being the branches of Him the Vine, and the life which was in Him being derived to them, they become, in their measure, in actual consciousness 'crucified with Him,' while they enter into the confession of sin which He made for them, and lay hold on that Fatherliness in God on which He laid hold. As we understand Mr. Campbell, it is not that the righteousness of Christ, as something external to us, is imputed to us, our sins imputed to Him, but that we have the real elements of that righteousness which in Him so pleased the Father (namely of Sonship) actually implanted in us by faith, and *thus* through Him have access to the Father. 'As it is no depreciation of the life seen in the plant, while yet a single stem, to say that that same life is the contemplated life of its future branches, so neither is it a depreciation of the Atonement to say, that that eternal life which glorified God, and wrought redemption for many in the personal work of Christ on earth, is the same that is to be seen bearing fruit to the glory of God in us in our participation in redemption. Such conceptions neither depreciate the Atonement nor affect the absoluteness of our dependence on Christ; on the contrary, the

relation of the branch to the vine alone represents that dependence adequately.' Yet, 'failing this dependence in its true sense, we easily receive the statement, that pardon of past sin, and prospective blessings, are all *given to us for Christ's sake*, and because of the perfect atonement which Christ has made, and God's delight in Him; and this, *if we are in the light of God in the matter, we cannot do too readily or too confidently.*'

Lastly, it is a commendation of the author's view that it brings us straight into the Father's presence, not representing the Atonement as something that moved Him to have mercy on us, but teaching us to have faith in that Fatherliness which moved Him to give us the Atonement. Mr. Campbell is not afraid to say that as men have perverted creation, and instead of using it as a glass through which to see God, have turned it into a veil to hide God, so the greater work of the Atonement has been the subject of a similar perversion, which has hid God's Fatherhood from the eyes of men, and taught that we must first have a legal standing as justified persons, through the imputation to us of Christ's merits, before we can appeal to that Fatherliness in God which speaks to us in the words, 'My son was dead, and is alive again.' 'For, indeed, our right confidence in the Father is direct, and is confidence in His Fatherly heart towards us, as also our confidence in the Son is direct—viz., a confidence in Him as *our proper life.*'

It is, according to the author, in the truth revealed in the last three words that the mystery of the Atonement (that is, its hidden nature as transcending human reason and experience) consists; not in the elements present to the mind of Christ, as man, in His atoning work. These elements he teaches not to be beyond human experience or inconceivable to it, but as actually reproduced, in a lower measure, in the mind of Christ's true followers. But 'the nature of the relation of the Son of Man to humanity, whether we contemplate His own personal work in making His soul an offering for sin, making an end of sin, and bringing in everlasting righteousness, or His work in men as putting forth the power in them which is implied in His being their life; this belongs to the acting of God as God, and to the divinity of the Son of God, in an aspect of the subject which all experience of our thinking of our relation to God prepares us not to be able to understand.' Now, in transferring the point in which the mystery of the subject lies, supposing that he is right in so doing, the author is conferring no trifling service on those who accept his teaching. For as it is presumptuous, he truly remarks, to attempt by reason to overleap the bounds of reason, so to introduce perplexity where there need be none, or assume that to be incomprehensible which

God has put before us to understand, is also wrong. We may add, that one of the most difficult duties for the theologian, and that which requires perhaps most patience of thought, is to determine the point at which reason must consent to submit: so inveterate is the tendency under which we all unavoidably lie, to mistake our own ignorance or perplexity for darkness inherent in the subject of our thought. The theologian who corrects this tendency in the instance of any single doctrine, is a benefactor both to simple believers and to the learned. We do not at present express any opinion whether Mr. Campbell is right in thus transferring the 'mystery' of the Atonement from itself, to the divinity of Christ and His relation to mankind, or whether the former may not (in spite of his explanation) still retain some incomprehensible features derived from the latter; but we feel sure that he has adduced a number of profound thoughts, stirring and elevating to a degree only to be appreciated by a study of his work, and throwing, if not a complete light on its subject, or one that embraces the whole witness of Scripture, yet enough to make his book most suggestive, both to the theologian and to every Christian.

Before endeavouring, however, to estimate more exactly the value of his conclusions, we proceed to remark upon some other treatises upon the Atonement which have come under our notice. Foremost among these in importance, from its systematic treatment of the subject, and the amount and depth of thought which it contains, is the work of Dr. Bushnell, entitled *The Vicarious Sacrifice grounded on Principles of Universal Obligation*. The author published a shorter essay upon the same topic sixteen years ago, so that the present work contains his matured thoughts upon it. In the extent of its scope and in clearness of style it surpasses Mr. Campbell's treatise, and though it would be difficult to equal the latter in its peculiar solemnity and depth of feeling, Dr. Bushnell's volume abounds in passages of great beauty and of fervid and condensed eloquence. In his introduction he follows Neander in refusing to class Anselm with those who have taught the doctrine of expiation by transfer of punishment.¹ The main position in Anselm's theory is, in the words of Dr. Bushnell, 'that the immense value of Christ's death, or the satisfaction made to God's honour, consists in the lustre of His righteousness, showing all created minds what homage even the uncreated Son bears to the sovereign law-principle violated by transgression.' Anselm does not, however, consistently keep to this idea, although 'his

¹ This is no doubt true, yet Anselm's theory of satisfaction may have led, as Mr. Garden thinks (*Tracts for Priests and People*), to the notion of transfer.

theory shocks no moral sentiment, and violates no principle of natural reason,' whatever we may think of it as a true and sufficient account of the matter. The *Cur Deus Homo*, which was 'the first deliberately attempted exposition of the work of Christ, was incomparably better than almost any of the revisions or enlarged expositions of it since given.'

A few words on this interesting treatise of Anselm, well known as it is, may not be out of place here, although we are in the main satisfied with Dr. Bushnell's interpretation of his meaning. Anselm is emphatic in making the death of Christ, in which His atonement consisted, not a direct result or instance of obedience (since the latter is *due* to God from all creatures, and was due from the Son as man), but as indirectly following upon it. 'God did not compel Christ, in whom was no sin, to die; but He himself of His own will underwent death, not from obedience requiring Him to forsake life, but because obedience required Him to keep righteousness, in which He so constantly persevered that by it He incurred death.' The significance of His death lay in that death is the most complete way in which man can give himself to God for His honour, and the divinity of the person of Christ made this gift of infinite value; and in recompense for this voluntary gift, the Father grants to the Son for mankind the forgiveness of their sins and the grace of eternal life. The death of Christ is represented, not as a punishment, nor as the transfer of a punishment, but as in itself a gift 'for the honour of God;' but Anselm has not with sufficient fulness explained how it was for God's honour, although in the following passage he gives a clue to the answer:—

'Do you not see that when He bore with calm patience the injuries and insults, and the death of the cross with the thieves, brought on Him *on account of His righteousness*, which He obediently kept, He gave an example to men that they should swerve from the righteousness which they owe to God for no inconveniences that they may experience; and this He would by no means have given, if (as He could have done) He had refused death brought on Him for such a cause?'

It seems to us that the distinction above mentioned, between death as an instance of direct obedience, and as following indirectly upon 'keeping righteousness,' is unnecessary. A soldier is not commanded to die, but he dies in obeying his general's command; in that case surely his death is a direct sign, and instance, of obedience. In order to avoid assuming that God directly enjoined the death of Christ, or in order to enhance the value of the latter as not being required as part of obedience, Anselm introduces a distinction which mars the simplicity of his doctrine, and Dr. Bushnell ascribes to the latter more than

its due clearness, when he speaks of it as teaching that it was the obedience proved by Christ's death which gave the required honour to God's name. Acute, and often profound, as are the remarks of the pious Archbishop, there is also something mechanical in his mode of treating his subject; a defect which became exaggerated in later writers adopting his theory and phraseology. It was a merit, indeed, in him to explode the strange ideas current, though not universal, in the Church-teachers since the time of Irenæus and Origen, that the 'debt' due from man was to be paid to the devil, whose right would have been infringed if man had been saved from his grasp without compensation. And it was another merit that Anselm, as said above, kept clear of the doctrine of 'transferred punishment,' a doctrine the germs of which appear in Athanasius.¹

Returning, however, to Dr. Bushnell, we find him in agreement with Mr. Campbell in denying the last-mentioned theory, and also in representing the main issue and object of the Atonement as the restoration of men to the life of righteousness. Although he calls his work a treatise on the vicarious sacrifice, he expressly states that he does not employ these terms in the sense which has become usual, namely, as implying 'peral suffering transferred;' but in a somewhat more general signification, namely, that Christ 'engages, at the expense of great suffering, and even of death itself, to bring us out of our sins themselves, and so out of their penalties; being Himself profoundly identified with us in our fallen state, and burdened in feeling with our evils.' Vicarious sacrifice, thus interpreted, is no inexplicable or isolated act, but the natural and usual effect of love, which identifies itself with the miserable, 'so as to suffer their adversities and pains, and take on itself the burden of their evils.' In the case of God himself, vicarious sacrifice was no exceptional act when Christ became incarnate; but His divine Son had from the beginning entered into the miseries of man, as the language of the Old Testament shows, which speaks of Him as 'afflicted with their affliction,' 'grieved for them,' protesting that 'He is filled with repentings,' apostrophizing them, as it were, in a feeling quite broken: 'Oh that there were such a heart in them, that they would keep my commandments!' 'How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee, Israel?' 'It is as if there were a cross unseen, standing on its

¹ St. Athanasius teaches that Christ died for (ἀντὶ) all, in order to make all men free from liability (ἀντρεσθίους) for transgression. 'For there was need of death, and it was right (ἔδει) that death should take place for all, in order that the debt of all might be paid.'—*De Incarn.* It is, however, remarkable, that Athanasius gives much greater prominence to the ideas of 'restoration,' 're-creation,' and the like, in Christ's work, than to 'satisfaction.'

undiscovered hill, far back in the ages, out of which were sounding always just the same deep voice of suffering love and patience, that was heard by mortal ears from the sacred hill of Calvary.' Much stress is laid also by Dr. Bushnell on this idea,—that love, as a vicarious principle, belongs as much to the Father and the Holy Spirit as to the Son. He regards the incarnate life and sufferings of Christ as the expression in time of the eternal love of God, His eternal patience, long-suffering, and sacrifice, not shrinking from the thought that the very perfection of God involves pain felt by sympathy for His creatures. Thus also we lose much, according to his doctrine, by not conceiving of the Holy Spirit as carrying on the vicarious sacrifice of Christ.

'The Holy Spirit works in a ministry of love precisely as Jesus did, and the love is just the same kind of love, burdened for men, burdened for enemies, heaving in silent agonies of passion to recover and save; fulfilling in every particular the Christly terms of sacrifice. . . . It requires, every one may easily perceive, quite as much suffering, patience, and affliction of feeling, or even of what is called passion, to carry on the work of the Spirit, as it did to fulfil the ministry and bear the cross of Jesus. In the first place, the work of the Spirit covers the whole ground of human life, broad as the world is, and continues through all the untold generations of time. And in this wide-world operation He is enduring, not Pilate and the soldiers and a few Jewish priests, but the contradiction of all sinners that live. He is betrayed by more than Judas, denied by more than Peter; struggling on, from age to age, with all the falsities, and treasons, and corruptions, all the unspeakable disgusts of all bosom perversity; acting and suffering, not before them indeed as Christ did, but as it were in perpetual contact with them.'

This idea gives, as he remarks, a more vivid sense to those passages of Scripture which speak of the Spirit as 'grieved,' 'vexed,' 'resisted;' especially to the remarkable words of Rom. viii. 26, 27: 'Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities' (taketh them, for us, on Himself—the word being an emphatic compound of that used in Matt. viii. 17, for Christ's taking on Him sicknesses): 'for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. And He that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because He maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God.' 'All which He is said to do with groanings which cannot be uttered—better with groanings unuttered; that is, with stirrings of concern or burdened feelings, that are the silent Gethsemane of His ministry. The groanings of Christ are audible, and so might the groanings of the Spirit be, if He had the vocal organs of a body connected with His feeling.'

But not only the Persons of the blessed Trinity, but the holy angels and redeemed Christians, are represented by Dr. Bushnell as partaking in vicarious sacrifice. He does not allow that there is anything different in kind between the sacrifice of Christ and that of His followers, but only in measure. To make such a distinction 'corrupts the idea of sacrifice itself.'

'We quote the Master's words requiring us to follow Him, and bear the cross with Him and after Him. There must be sacrifice, we say; every Christian comes into a life of sacrifice—only not into vicarious sacrifice; that belongs to Christ alone, suffering no participation of mortals,—a qualification, or salvo, that very nearly unchristianizes Christianity itself. What is the sacrifice that must not be vicarious sacrifice, but a virtue that has ever lost connexion with Christian ideas? It is mere self-abnegation, a loss made for the simple sake of losing, and no such practical loss as love encounters in gaining or serving an enemy. It has the same relation to vicarious sacrifice that penance has to repentance. It is itself a kind of penance, or torment, submitted to by the will. It does not appear to be even suspected that such kind of sacrifice is a mode of asceticism, substituted for the sacrifice of the gospel, and yet it can be nothing else, for the simple reason that it is required not to be vicarious. Sacrifice out of love, or because a full heart naturally and freely takes on itself the burdens and woes of others, has a positive character, and is itself the most intensely positive exercise that can be conceived. The other kind of sacrifice, that which must not work vicariously, is naked self-suppression, a merely dry and negative operation, in which the soul wilfully chokes itself and gets no return, but a sense of being punished for its pains. And how much of what is so persistently taught concerning self-denial, sacrifice, taking up the cross, is, in just this manner, a departure from all Christian ideas; a wearisome, unblest, and forced virtue, that belongs to the false gospel of asceticism. Happily the evil is mitigated by the fact that when we go into sacrifice and suffering for others, we break away from such asceticism without knowing it, and come into the genuine, positive kind of sacrifice with Christ himself.'

Accordingly, the author regards the numerous texts of Scripture which speak of following Christ, having the mind of Christ, as exhorting us to aim at nothing short of a complete likeness to Him in the *elements* of His sacrifice, however far short all men must fall of it in the degree of inward spiritual suffering which He endured through the perfection of His nature, and of His love. Especially, he considers that any other explanation does violence to the language in which St. Paul speaks in so many well-known passages, of his own 'bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus,' 'filling up that which is behind of the sufferings of Christ,' and the like.

‘ Without this vicarious property, love is not love. Pity there may be, philanthropic benevolence, esteem, approbation, admiration ; but the vital distinction of love is wanting. It is very true that we are not to set ourselves up as redeemers of the world. Our petty measures of quantity and character forbid such a thought ; just as any feeble and low man would only be absurd in attempting what is given to some most qualified and strongest man of his own species. Still, any such feeble and low man is to be, and may truly be, in the same kind of love with one who is most qualified and strongest. . . . And just so it is in Christ. . . . Vicarious love in Him, answered by vicarious love in us, tiny and weak though it be, as an insect life fluttering responsively to the sun, this is the only footing of grace in which Christ is received, and according to His glorious power.’

And the little power which the gospel has over men's characters, even after they seem to have believed, he thus accounts for, because they exclude themselves, by some mistaken distinction, from sharing in the same *kind* of vicarious sacrifice which Christ offered.

Having laid this foundation, Dr. Bushnell proceeds to inquire what was the purpose for which Christ entered into human nature and human suffering. This was, in brief, to regenerate human nature, restoring it from its sin to a life of holiness. Our blessed Lord's ministry of healing, both of men's bodies and souls, had this in view ; but the immediate power by which He acted upon mankind was the moral power of His perfect character. This moral power He gained as only other men gain (in degree) the same, simply by His life of goodness. Dr. Bushnell traces the main features of this life as it is described in the Gospels, and as it ended in His suffering and death. In the last scenes of His passion, he lays stress not on the physical sufferings, but on the ‘moral suffering’ of which these were a sign. ‘They are the symbols of God's moral suffering.’ Christ expresses to us God's sympathy for man, His infinite tenderness and infinite purity, which attracts sinners while it condemns and suffers for sin. God is henceforth known, not as an ‘attribute-God,’ but in actual human life and character is brought down to men, suffering with and for them. To believe in Him thus is to become the subject of His regenerating moral power, and to be born again.

It is but the most meagre outline of this author's teaching which can be presented in such an imperfect abstract. He himself remarks of the gospel, that to attempt to present it in a ‘scheme’ or short formula, is to lose the savour and virtue of it, which consist in the impression made by the details. Certainly the observation is true even of abbreviated accounts of the writings of thoughtful men ; however honestly we may

endeavour to select and express their main features, the life and fulness of the original must be lost. For this reason, we have, at the risk of wearying the reader, not scrupled to be copious in our quotation of the original words of the treatises which we are commenting on, believing that a better representation is thus given of their spirit than by a mere condensed account of their contents. There is also another reason for pursuing this method—namely, that thus the reader is most likely to be interested in the works themselves from which our extracts are made. For as no subject can be more deeply interesting, and more fruitful in practical results, than that of the Atonement, so we shall be well content to have called attention to writings which treat of it with so much beauty, thoughtfulness, and earnestness, being convinced that no student of these works can fail to derive from their perusal some useful result, for meditation or for practice, even if he is not inclined to give complete adhesion to the views which they maintain.

But we must hurry, *sicco pede*, over that very remarkable portion of his treatise, in which Dr. Bushnell deals with the metaphysical assumptions as to God's righteousness, justice, mercy, punishment, and the like, which lie at the base of much teaching on the subject of the Atonement, as well as on that of Justification by Faith; and this, although this part of his work is elaborated with great care as well as with acuteness of thought. The general object of it is to show that the common doctrine that penal suffering was necessary as a compensation to God's justice for the release of transgression, is founded upon false ideas of God's nature. Dr. Bushnell begins by distinguishing between righteousness and justice as attributes of God: the former being His perfect goodness considered in itself, the latter the expression of His mind or will in law, using this term in its widest sense. It is involved in the very idea of righteousness, that when His creatures fell into the misery of sin; it would be God's wish to restore them, or, as Mr. Campbell puts it, a perfectly righteous being must love righteousness and endeavour that it should be restored, if lost, in His creatures. It is not involved in the idea of such a being that He must exact a fixed penalty for sin, without possessing a discretionary power of punishing according to what is *best*. Punishment will fall upon those who have sinned by the action of the retributive causes established in nature, and even when God interferes supernaturally by grace to restore the sinner, He does not suspend these retributive causes, but introduces a higher principle of action, which works in and with them, modifying their effects, but leaving them their proper action. So, by way of example,

the human will can modify the action of gravitation without suspending it. The pains and troubles consequent on sin now become, by the action of grace, chastisements and means of purification. God's justice, expressed in law, and His mercy, are simultaneous co-factors in redemption, and both effects of God's primal Righteousness. His acts are ultimately to be referred to the latter; but as this does not demand suffering or penalty for sin, as an end in itself, still less can it be pleased with suffering transferred to others as a penalty. If our readers could follow Dr. Bushnell's own lucid and forcible statement of his reasoning on this point, they would find it, we believe, weighty and cogent, and not only conclusive against the abstract assumptions on which the theory of transferred penalty is built, but abounding in striking and suggestive thoughts of a positive character. Such is the idea that since perfect righteousness and love are but two names of the same thing, the very righteousness of God will engage Him to redeem fallen men by every possible means, even by sacrifice, so that we are brought to the conclusion 'that Christ came into the world, as the incarnate Lord and Saviour of sinners, just because the eternal necessary law of love made it obligatory on Him to be such a Saviour.' Other points, which the author presses with much force, are, that there is no danger of weakening the law or doing it dishonour by an account of the Atonement which denies that it was a transfer of penalty, since the majesty of the law is vindicated, far more truly, by the obedience which Christ paid it, and by the very object for which He lived and died, namely, to restore sinners to righteousness, as well as by the two great revelations of the New Testament, the final judgment, and the eternal punishment of the impenitent. Disliking the notion that 'compensation' for punishment remitted was part of what He effected, and believing that this conception robs the gospel of its simplicity, the author yet maintains that his view represents the work and sufferings of Christ as doing such honour to God's law that if any persons were unable to part with the theory of required compensation, they would find in his doctrine sufficient to satisfy God's honour 'without any feature of abhorrence expressed, justice satisfied, official transfer made of guilt, official substitution suffered in the matter of punishment.' More than this, he affirms that his view gives to the expressions of Scripture, on which the substitutional theory has been founded, their most natural meaning, and that this theory, while pretending to keep close to the Word of God, does violence to it by a dark literalism.

'If it were necessary to reason on the attempts which are themselves shocking violations of reason, it should be enough to say, that Christ

is either really in the lot of all desert, or else He is not. If He is there, then He ought to suffer; and if He is not, then it is the greatest wrong and irreverence to pretend that He suffers justly. I have dared to say that He is not there, and suffers nothing as justly due to Himself. He only comes into the corporate evil of sin, as being incarnated into humanity, and working there to recover men away, both from sin and punishment, *He for so long a time encounters and suffers the curse they are justly under.* This He does, not to satisfy God's justice, but in a way of coming at their consciences and hearts; whereupon it results that they, being released or recovered by so great expense of suffering and sacrifice, give Him their testimony of thanks in the most natural way possible, by telling how He "was made a curse for them," "bore their sins in His own body," "gave Himself for them," "was made sin for them," "gave Himself to be their Saviour," "died for them," "suffered, the just for the unjust."

Dr. Bushnell supposes, by way of illustration, that a prison had been contrived by some government, the Roman for example, for the punishment of public malefactors, on the plan of an ordeal by Providence, being placed in a pestilential region, in which each prisoner was to remain an appointed time. A monk, hearing that a former bitter enemy was a prisoner and fallen ill of the pestilence, enters the prison, for Christ's sake becomes the nurse of his old enemy, who recovers and goes free, while the benefactor dies of the plague.

'And now the rescued man throws out his soul in words, trying vainly to express the inexpressible tenderness of his obligation. He writes, and talks, and sings nothing but gratitude all his life long; telling how the Christly man saved him, by what poor figures he can raise." "Oh, he bore my punishment"—"became the criminal for me"—"gave his life for mine"—"died that I might live"—"stood in my lot of guilt"—"suffered all my suffering." It will not be strange if he shall even go beyond Scripture, and testify in the fervours of his homage to so great kindness, "he took my debt of justice"—"satisfied the claims of justice for me"—for he will mean by that nothing more than he has meant by all he has been saying before. Then after a time, when he and his benefactor are gone, some one, we will imagine, undertakes to write their story; and the dull, kind-hearted literalizer takes up all these fervours of expression, in the letters and reported words of the rescued felon, showing most conclusively from them that the good monk actually got the other's crime imputed to him, took the guilt of it, suffered punishment, died in his place, and satisfied the justice of the law that he might be released! Why, the malefactor himself would even have shuddered at the thought of a construction so revolting, hereafter to be put upon his words. The honours won for Christian theology by this kind of interpretation put upon the free words of Scripture, make a very sad figure, and are better to be lost than preserved. I do not, to speak frankly, know a passage of Scrip-

ture that can with any fairness be turned to signify a legal or judicial substitution of Christ in the place of transgressors—none that, taken with only a proper Christian intelligence, can be understood as affirming either the fact or the necessity of a compensation made to God's justice for the release of sin.'

In the great point of the divinity of Christ Dr. Bushnell and Mr. Campbell, and all indeed who hold any doctrine of atonement, agree. It is the characteristic of Dr. Bushnell's work, indeed, that it brings out the idea that the incarnation was but the issue, in time, of the love, and even self-sacrifice, which was from eternity in the nature and character of God; and that Christ expresses to us what God is and always has been. Mr. Campbell also lays stress on the fact that Christ revealed the Father to man, but especially in this way, by showing in His human life of perfect Sonship, how that Fatherly love may be trusted, and what return it claims: this human Sonship being the expression, in humanity, of His Divine Sonship. But there is another point of view in which the divinity of Christ forms the basis of his doctrine of atonement, and in which, as before remarked, the mystery of the subject as transcending human experience and knowledge chiefly lies, namely, the actual relation of our spirits to Christ *as present in us*, in virtue of which we become partakers of His atonement; for, as he truly says, 'I cannot believe in one as my life, of whom I am not warranted to think as God;' and 'the universal relation of men to the one Son of God, as He in whom they all have the life of sonship, accords as perfectly with the divinity of the Son of God, as it contradicts every lower conception of His being.' Dr. Bushnell's argument leads him to enlarge more on the mode in which Christ became a regenerating power in humanity, by His bringing down God to human eyes, becoming a new factor in human history, and the like; but he also teaches that the continual work of renewing the souls of men, while it is referred to the Holy Spirit, is also the work of Christ, and that St. Paul's expression for his conversion, 'When it pleased God to reveal His Son in me,' is only one out of many texts which describe Him as the regenerator. The office of the Spirit is to glorify Christ in the soul, to make it receptive of all that is contained in His life and sufferings, and then to make Him a Saviour to it.

Both writers agree, as before said, in denying the doctrine that the punishment due to men's sin was transferred from them to Christ, and in rejecting Luther's teaching that He was so identified with sinners as ever, in His own consciousness, or in the mind of the Father, to be looked upon as a sinner. Short of this, Mr. Campbell's doctrine contains the ideas expressed in the

words, 'propitiation,' 'satisfaction,' and even 'expiation,' which word he frequently uses in his explanation of it. The sacrifice of Christ is offered by Him and accepted by the Father in behalf of men, and we come to God 'through Him,' and 'in His name,' and are ourselves accepted 'for His sake;' but this implies that He is present in us, and that we are by faith partakers (in beginning) of His mind of Sonship. Dr. Bushnell rejects the word 'expiation' altogether, as not scriptural either in itself or in the idea it suggests; and he explains 'propitiation' and 'satisfaction' as figurative expressions really meaning an effect wrought in us, though the figure is of an effect on God.

Imputation of our sins to Christ he in no sense allows, nor does Mr. Campbell, except inasmuch as the confession of Christ of the sin of mankind was accepted by the Father. Imputation of Christ's righteousness to us both writers allow, in the sense that faith is but a germ of that perfect righteousness which is formed gradually in believers, and which flows into them from Christ, and which, by anticipation, and on account of its origin, may be said to be ours while it is Christ's.

Forgiveness of sins, though not so prominent in Mr. Campbell's scheme as in that of ordinary writers, is yet always made by him part of the blessings of the Atonement, and joined with eternal life. In Dr. Bushnell's system it falls into the background, and holds a quite secondary place by the side of that moral renewal which he makes the central blessing.

Of the other writers whom we have named, Dr. Young substantially agrees with Dr. Bushnell, but he is even more emphatic in rejecting the doctrine of 'substitution.' The divinity of Christ, His revealing the Father to men, and thus calling them back to Him, is the essence of the Atonement, according to his view. Forgiveness of sins is, in the common sense of the word, not only not a part of what we receive in Christ, but is an impossible gift, since what is done cannot be undone, and sin is at once its own penalty, exacting its punishment infallibly. Remission of sins means a loosing its hold upon the heart and will; in this sense it accompanies the revelation of God's love made by Christ. For the rest, Dr. Young's work contains much that is expressive of devout feeling, as well as of an original and profound mind, and is valuable for an historical inquiry into the doctrine of the Atonement as held by the early Fathers and by later writers. He also, like Dr. Bushnell, examines the meaning of the scriptural terms relating to the doctrine of justification,—a very interesting subject, but which, though it is connected closely with that of the Atonement, we cannot now discuss with the care which it deserves.

Had the space assigned to us permitted, we should have now proceeded to remark upon some of the terms used in Scripture relating to the Atonement. We must, however, confine our attention to one,—the ‘forgiveness of sins,’ which is so prominent a part of the promise of the gospel, that it would hardly be necessary to bring it under discussion, were it not that it is thrown too much in the background in the teaching of some modern writers. Dr. Young, for instance, brings out in forcible reasoning the true ideas that sin must always be the object of God’s abhorrence, and that while it remains in the will there can be no forgiveness. When he goes on to say that ‘sin *always* exacts its own punishment,’ and that ‘justice which ordains *always* secures its own satisfaction,’ he is perhaps pronouncing too confidently on a mysterious subject. The following extract, however, will fitly introduce what we have to say on this point :—

‘It is imagined that the forgiveness of sin is a thing of transcendent difficulty, a difficulty so great that it almost baffled even God to surmount it. I venture to assert that there is not a solitary text which conveys, or even favours this idea. If there be a meaning in the New Testament, it is, of all things, clear and sure that God is infinitely willing to forgive the wickedest human being that lives. Wherever difficulty may be, at least it does not lie here. Thinking so much, as many do, of mere pardon and its difficulties, they forget that pardon is not salvation,—not at all. There is a far sterner obstruction in the way of the real deliverance of the human spirit, an obstruction which only God can remove in His holy law, but which must be removed if the soul is to be saved. Were mere pardon of sin secured, the whole of what constitutes inner salvation would still remain to be achieved. If all the past were blotted out from God’s remembrance, the man would be as unredeemed as ever. It is his nature, and not the facts of his history, that require to be, or that can be changed. There is a deadly evil working within, and it is from this he must be saved, if he is to be saved at all. Mere selfish protection is not the chief want of a genuine soul. The very lowest, the weakest, and the least noble thing we can do, is to fly for escape from the proper desert of evil. . . . To an enlightened, awakened, and thoroughly earnest man, the great and stern reality is, that he has deeply wronged his God, and as deeply wronged his own being. . . . He is away from God in thought and in affection, and this wilful severance, he has come to know, is death to his higher self. He is all wrong, utterly wrong,—wrong in relation to God and wrong in relation to himself. What he most needs is not to be pardoned ; that may be his first, but it ought to be his least concern, respecting which there is no reasonable fear or doubt ; what he most needs is not to be pardoned merely, but to be changed in himself, to be set really right, his face and his heart turned towards God, converted to God.’

Every one will assent to this ; but it does not cover all the facts of conscience and of revelation. Nor can we agree with Dr. Bushnell's remarks on the Greek word for 'remission' of sins (*ἀφεσις*), namely, that it conveys a 'superficial idea,' and that a mere 'letting go, or consenting no longer to blame, really accomplishes nothing as regards the practical release of sin. It is only a deed of formality, or verbal discharge, that carries practically no discharge at all. It says "Go," but leaves the prison-doors shut.' If it were so superficial a blessing, it is hardly likely that it would be so continually spoken of in the New Testament as the characteristic blessing of the Christian covenant. Our blessed Lord named it as the especial effect of His incarnation and death, when He said, 'This is the cup of the new covenant in my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' His commission to the apostles after His resurrection (John xx. 23) is 'Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.' It may be worth while briefly to consider what is the nature of this blessing, so far as we gather it from Scripture. That the direct meaning of the terms is not the loosing of the hold of sin from the heart and will, but (as commonly understood) the loosing the sinner from the charge, guilt, penalty of his sin, is clear. It may be true that the latter is *accompanied, as a matter of fact*, by the former, and hence the word *ἀφεσις*, though properly meaning 'forgiveness,' may *cover* the idea of spiritual cleansing or freedom also ; to adapt a phrase from logical writers, it may *connote* the latter, but it certainly *denotes* the former. The words of the Lord's Prayer, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us,' must signify an objective forgiveness, and can have no other meaning in the second clause, from the nature of the case. When our Lord speaks (Matt. xii. 31) of all sin and blasphemy being forgiven to men, but of the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost not being forgiven, it is clear that He does not speak of the relaxation of the power of sin in the heart, but of its guilt. It is in this sense that we must interpret the words in the many passages which mention 'remission of sins,' either prospectively as a blessing about to be imparted, or as one actually conveyed ; as when John is said (Mark i. 4) to preach the baptism of repentance for remission of sins ; as our Lord said to the paralytic, 'Thy sins be (are, have been) forgiven thee,' where it may be worth while to remind the English reader that it is not a prayer but a declaration of a fact that is contained in the words, as *be* is the old word for *are*. We may refer to two other passages which put it beyond a doubt that the above is the meaning of remission of sin. Preaching at Antioch in Pisidia, St. Paul tells

his audience that 'through Christ was preached unto them remission of sins, and in Him every one who believed was justified from all things from which they could not be justified by the law of Moses,' where remission of sins is equivalent to justification. The other passage is in the Epistle to the Hebrews, x. 17, where the comment of the writer on the words of Jeremiah, 'And their sins and their iniquities I will *remember no more*,' is, 'Now where *remission of these* is, there is no more offering for sin,'—remission of sins being made equivalent to their not being remembered by God.¹

This being clearly the meaning of the words 'remission' or 'forgiveness of sins,' and this blessing being spoken of everywhere as one of the chief blessings of the Christian covenant, it seems to us that no doctrinal system which treats it as 'only a secondary and subordinate matter,' gives an adequate or well-balanced account of the gospel revelation. It is quite true that (as Dr. Young says), 'mere selfish protection is not the chief want of a genuine soul. The very lowest, the weakest, and the least noble thing that we can do, is to fly to escape from the proper desert of evil.' But there are two remarks to be made on this. In the first place, the pain of punishment, and the hope of deliverance from it, become sometimes, as a matter of fact, the means of turning men to God (or rather towards God) when nothing else will. The motive is not a high one, but it is an effective one. It is not a spiritual motive, but it may lead the soul in the direction where spiritual motives may afterwards act upon it. Nor is 'forgiveness of sins' unmeaning or impossible on the ground that the 'retributive consequences,' once set in motion by God's ordinance, cannot be put aside or checked, but must work their proper effects by unchanging laws of causation. Dr. Bushnell himself shows that the introduction of a higher agency may modify the operation of these laws without checking them, as the human will modifies the working of laws of matter. Although, therefore, the desire to be delivered from the penal consequences of our sins is not a high motive, it is not always an unlawful one. But our second remark is, that this desire is not what is expressed in the prayer for forgiveness, nor is the correlative blessing that which is chiefly promised in it. One who is really penitent, as having sinned against God, desires, first and chiefly, to be put right with Him. The consciousness of sin is not merely the consciousness of impending punishment, but the consciousness of being estranged from God, and out of His favour. The soul is restored to happiness when assured that God still loves it, re-

¹ It is almost superfluous to say that the Greek word *ἀφῆμ* has the same meaning in the Septuagint. A reference to Ps. xxxii. 5, Gen. xviii. 26, Ps. lxxxv. 2, puts this beyond a doubt.

gards it with favour, does not count its sins to it as hindering this favour. Once again in His love, it can trust itself to Him for the future, trust His mercy to remit the painful consequences of its sin, or not, as He sees best, for if not remitted, these painful consequences are no longer *punishments* (in the sense of infliction of vengeance), but instruments of purification. Mr. Campbell rightly says, that the sacrifices of the Jewish law admitted the offerer to the standing and privileges of a worshipper, which, by his sin, he had forfeited,—admitted him, that is, again to communion or ‘favour’ with God. Viewed from the side of God, He was said to forgive, or, in the Hebrew, to *cover* the sin, that is, to put it out of sight, to forget, or consent not to see it, sometimes to remove or take it away. ‘He was so merciful that He forgave (covered) their misdeeds, *and destroyed them not*’ (Ps. lxxviii. 38); here the escape from evil desert or consequence is the effect of forgiveness.

We venture to think, then, that a doctrinal system which puts forgiveness of sins in the background, or undervalues it, is as inconsistent with the facts of conscience and human nature as it plainly is with the witness of Holy Scripture. If our Saviour’s words when instituting the Lord’s Supper stood alone, they would be sufficient to teach us that remission of sins is a chief blessing of the gospel, and that it is connected with His death. What is the nature of this connexion, and how far this is explained in the doctrinal teaching of the writers which we have been describing, is a further question.

For our Lord’s words, though they teach that His death was ‘for remission of sins,’ do not explain how this was to be the case. The words in themselves may imply a direct connexion between the two, remission of sins being the immediate effect of His death, or they may point to a more distant and indirect connexion with forgiveness,—being used, as in Mark i. 4, wherein it is said that St. John preached the baptism of repentance ‘for remission of sins.’ It would be consistent with our Saviour’s words if the immediate effect of His death was to draw men back to God in repentance, which repentance would be followed by forgiveness. Remission of sins would then be an ulterior effect of His death. Whether this is their meaning or not cannot be decided from the words themselves; but in any case remission of sins, being mentioned by Him at that solemn moment as the object of His death, must be regarded as a chief blessing of the covenant which He was about to seal by His blood. And it may be as well to say here, that this being the case, it is, after all, a secondary question how this remission is brought about. What the conscience needs, and what God’s word graciously assures us of, is that forgiveness of sins is bestowed through the death of Christ. The questions which

we are now discussing, how this is effected, are weighty, inasmuch as a true conception of what is revealed on this point can hardly fail to have an important bearing on our knowledge of God's dealing with us, and thus on our spiritual life. Whatever use there is in light and truth on spiritual subjects, must belong especially to light and truth upon the Atonement, false views of which may in various ways thwart and hinder the growth of the soul in the life of righteousness; while right apprehensions of it must be, by God's blessing, of direct and most powerful influence to promote this life. Still, the great facts of redemption, prominent among which is that remission of sins is granted through the death of Christ, may be blessed to all saving purposes, without any solution being attempted of the questions referred to, and with different conclusions as to their solution, though, in proportion as one account is more true than another, it may be expected to contain more elements of spiritual edification.¹

And now, to gather up the threads of this discussion, and inquire whether the views of the Atonement which we began by describing are adequate representations of the teaching of Scripture, or whether they add anything to our previous knowledge of this highest of subjects, we must first briefly repeat the remark made in commenting on Dr. Bushnell's and Dr. Young's systems,—that they are obviously defective in not giving sufficient prominence to the doctrine of forgiveness. Written as this is in

¹ To comprise in this article an examination of all the passages of Scripture bearing on this subject would expand it to an inconvenient length. If we condense the result of this examination, it is the following:—Our Lord's own words (in Matt. xx. 28) do not imply more than that He gave His life for us, and that the effect is our deliverance. This is our conclusion, whether the word *λύτρον* represents the Hebrew 'copher,' 'pidyon,' or 'g'ulah,' one of which (or its Aramaic equivalent) we may suppose to have been used by Christ. In other passages He speaks of His atonement more generally, not with particular reference to remission of sins. The sermons of the apostles in the Acts are distinct as to this blessing being granted in the name and by the agency of Christ, but do not develop this truth further. In the Epistles we may divide the passages we are concerned with into two classes,—those in which the language is figurative, being derived from the Jewish ritual, and those in which there is no such imagery. The latter class (as Rom. iv. 25, v. 8, iii. 24, viii. 32; 1 Cor. xv. 3; 2 Cor. v. 15, 21; Gal. iii. 13) does not, in our opinion, explain how remission of sins is connected with the Saviour's death, the meaning of the last passage being that God allowed or appointed that Christ should be *treated* as guilty, in order to save men, not that He looked on Him as personally guilty, or accepted suffering from Him instead of laying it on us. The other Epistles do not go further. As to the figurative passages (such as Rom. iii. 24; 1 John i. 2, iv. 10; John i. 29), the effect is that Christ is the medium through whom God extends forgiveness to mankind: nor does the Epistle to the Hebrews give any essentially new view of the atonement or its effects, although it presents it under various aspects suggested by the Jewish ordinances.

light upon the pages of the New Testament, no teaching which puts it in the background, on whatever pretence, can claim to be the gospel.

And as this is a prominent truth of Scripture, so it is of the first necessity for man. The declaration that God forgives, brought home to the soul, has power to work in it those feelings of hope and grateful love, which give new life and energy to all its moral powers, and enable it really to cast its sin *out*, as well as to cast it off. To some extent even the imperfect revelation of this forgiving love of God under the Old Testament dispensation, had no doubt this effect, but the effect under the clearer revelation of it in Christ is incalculable. The consciousness of the continual, forgiving love of God, has probably been the source of the largest part of Christian goodness. It not only operates to produce great instances of eminent holiness, but to keep up the flame of hope and piety in hearts very imperfectly dominated by holy motives. It saves from despair, not only in extreme instances, but in the countless instances of daily, hourly life, where discouragement on account of past sin would bind down the powers of the soul, if it were not for this knowledge of God's forgiving love. Such a revelation was itself almost an adequate object of the Saviour's advent. We know now that God's forgiveness is incompatible with deliberate harbouring of sin in the will, and that it cannot take *effect* on individuals where there is no germ of faith and repentance. But its *tendency* is, on being revealed, to draw out this faith and repentance; it is prior to them in itself, but *takes effect* in answer to them. The forgiving love of God lays long siege to the obdurate will, and though, it must be feared, often resisted to the end, does not leave off its efforts while this life lasts.

The above objection cannot, indeed, be brought against Mr. Campbell's doctrine, since he never omits to mention forgiveness of sin, together with eternal life, as part of the blessings given to mankind in Christ. But even he seems to us scarcely to bring out with adequate emphasis either the place which this promise has, or its effect in (what we have lately been describing) awakening in the soul, hope, love, and repentance. We speak with hesitation of a book, every line of which is expressive of a deep spiritual experience and a maturity of meditative thought in its author beyond any work of this generation; and it is very possible that, as it is a question not of omission but of relative prominence given to a particular part of his subject, he may have considered that a full expression of the gospel of forgiveness is involved in that revelation of God in Christ which he (as well as Dr. Bushnell) so powerfully sets forth.

Both Dr. Bushnell and Mr. Campbell deserve our gratitude, indeed, for the stress which they lay on the love of God the Father as originating the salvation of man. Plain as this is in Scripture, there can be no doubt that the way of contemplating the Atonement common in modern times had a tendency to obscure it, and the mind of the simple Christian might have been perplexed by a doctrine that seemed almost to increase the distance between the human spirit and its heavenly Father, instead of bringing it closer to Him, and Him to it. We gladly believe that this erroneous tendency, which robbed the gospel of its chief power as a motive, has been, or is in a fair way of being, eradicated.

In connexion with this subject we accord our admiration to that part of Dr. Bushnell's work (before alluded to) which examines, from what may be called a metaphysical point of view, the ideas concerning God, His righteousness and justice, on which the true doctrine of the Atonement is sometimes supposed to rest, and we confidently refer the reader to his suggestive remarks on the true idea of God's perfections contained in the word 'righteous,' as contrasted with the less comprehensive term 'just.' Dr. Bushnell keeps, indeed, within limits of speculation narrower than those which the scholastic writers allowed themselves; he abstains (we cannot but think wisely) from entering on the question whether the incarnation was merely a remedy for sin, or in any case was part of God's eternal counsels for the perfection of mankind. The latter idea, that of the Scotists (Mr. Oxenham informs us) in the middle ages, as against the disciples of Thomas Aquinas, is said to gain ground in the Roman Catholic Church, as well as in the writings of Lutheran theologians.¹ Short of this, however, it is a service even to the unlearned Christian to trace the Atonement to the perfection of God, and enable us to regard it as a manifestation of His righteousness, making righteous those who believe in Jesus Christ.

Nor can it be doubted that the strong light thrown by our authors upon the truth that the ultimate object of the Atonement must be the restoration of righteousness in the spirit and nature of man (not by any means *mere* forgiveness), deserves our best acknowledgment. In the ways, indeed, in which they present this truth, there is much difference, Dr. Bushnell dwelling more on the 'moral power' exerted by Christ by His life and death, Mr. Campbell entering more deeply into the spiritual elements in the Atonement itself, the reproduction of which (in their degree) in the Christian is part of a right appli-

¹ See Bishop Martensen's *Christian Dogmatics* (sect. 75, Clark's series), where the author speaks of the Scotist doctrine as an 'essentially Christian belief,' and refers to the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians as sanctioning it.

cation of the sacrifice of Christ. But no one who has read either volume can be in any danger of ever losing sight of or of failing to appreciate, the fact that the object of that sacrifice was to restore mankind to the hope of sonship, which is eternal life.

There still remains the question, whether, in the teaching of either writer, that kind of importance is given to the death of Christ which it has in Holy Scripture. Both, indeed, teach that forgiveness of sins is assured to us in the new covenant, though Dr. Bushnell, as we have said, treats it somewhat too lightly, as if, indeed, there were no such difficulty in the matter as is generally supposed. Greatly as we admire his treatise, we cannot but believe that he entirely fails to account for the close connexion between our Saviour's death and remission of sin which the language of the apostle and of Christ himself conveys. And let us be allowed again to say, that the assurance of this remission, as *in some way* connected with Christ's death, must be sufficient for right belief, even though it is left quite unexplained how the death was effectual for our forgiveness. No one should find fault with individual Christians for believing that the remission of sins here spoken of is not the direct, but the indirect consequence of the Saviour's death, which works immediately by bringing men to repentance and the mind of sonship, and *thus* into that true relation with God in which remission of sins is an essential privilege. Yet we cannot think that this indirect relation satisfies the words of Christ and His apostles in their simplest and most natural sense. Mr. Campbell's teaching *does* seem to us to satisfy them, if we may give somewhat greater prominence to ideas which form part of it. For he speaks frequently of the confession of sin as made by Him in humanity *for it*, of His presenting to the Father in it and for it, a righteousness which humanity could not itself present, of the death of Christ as perfecting His expiatory confession of our sin, and being thus a propitiation, as accepted as a Divine judgment upon the sins of men, whose brother He was. In such thoughts we seem to find a full appreciation of the passages of Scripture which we refer to, although the author so strongly disapproves of the doctrine of penal suffering transferred to Christ. On this negative side of his subject, also, we are disposed to think his arguments convincing. And if any of our readers should fear lest the omission of this element in their view of the Atonement should diminish its moral power as a motive, or its comfort as an assurance, we venture to believe that, in the reflections upon the whole subject adduced by Mr. Campbell, they will find sufficient guarantee for both, as well as a rich store of thoughts, most fruitful in practical effects.

ART. IV.—1. *Constable's Miscellany*. Vol. X. *Table-Talk*. Edin. 1827.

2. *The Jest-Book*. Selected and arranged by MARK LEMON. London, 1864.

THE connexion between Reason and Ridicule seems to be very close ; though its nature certainly is not very clear. The only animal that reasons is also the only animal that laughs, and apparently, too, the only one that is laughed at, or that deserves to be so. Beasts, acting by instinct, are never absurd, humanity having reserved that privilege exclusively to itself. Listen to Swift :—

‘ Brutes find out where their talents lie :
A bear will not attempt to fly ;
A foundered horse will oft debate,
Before he tries a five-barred gate ;
A dog by instinct turns aside,
Who sees the ditch too deep and wide.
But man we find the only creature
Who, led by Folly, combats Nature ;
Who, when she loudly cries, Forbear,
With obstinacy fixes there ;
And where his genius least inclines,
Absurdly bends his whole designs.’

In connexion, perhaps, with the gift of reason and the privilege of absurdity thus bestowed, the faculty of laughter was super-added in our constitution to keep absurdity within bounds, to make reason humble, and to lead us to look at the unavoidable follies of each other with good-humoured sympathy rather than with scornful disgust.

Hazlitt, in his *Comic Writers*, very justly connects laughter with its opposite, on principles not essentially at variance with those we have been suggesting :—

‘ Man,’ he says, ‘ is the only animal that laughs and weeps, for he is the only animal that is struck with the difference between what things are and what they ought to be. We weep at what thwarts or exceeds our desires in serious matters ; we laugh at what only disappoints our expectations in trifles.’

The aspects in which we have now considered Ridicule seem to harmonize well with Aristotle's view of it. He describes in his *Poetics* the ‘ laughable’ or comic (τὸ γελοῖον) as being ἀμάρτημά τι καὶ αἰσχος ἀνώδυνον καὶ οὐ φθαρτικόν. This is frequently translated as if ἀμάρτημα meant any fault or deformity generally. But we cannot help thinking that by ἀμάρτημα here, Aristotle means that *species* of fault or deviation which

consists in a *failure of aim* or missing of the mark ; and in this sense the 'distorted face,' which he gives as an instance of the comic, may well enough be called an ἀμάρτημα, as being something that *attempts* to be a face, but does not *succeed*.

We do not affirm that all ridiculous things consist in this failure of aim ; but we venture to say that that category embraces a large proportion of them.

There are two elements, however, in Aristotle's definition of the ludicrous, which are quite essential, but which are apt to be forgotten : 1st, the fault or failure, in order to be laughable, must be, if not ignominious, at least inglorious ; and 2d, it must be unattended with pain or injury. The failure must be a discomfiture, involving a gross want of calculation or self-knowledge, and unredeemed by any circumstances that ennoble it. 'In great attempts 'tis glorious even to fail ;' and the defeat at Thermopylæ was more illustrious than many a victory elsewhere. Again, an occurrence which involves pain or injury cannot be truly laughable, and it ought not to be necessary to add, that the pain or injury here contemplated is not what we ourselves feel, but what may affect the object of our supposed ridicule. Unfortunately, however, the case of the Boys and the Frogs in the fable finds a frequent parallel in everyday life, and it is well that would-be wits and heedless jesters should be reminded, on the highest authority, that there can be no legitimate subject of laughter where the feelings or rightful interests of any one are wounded or assailed.

Examples of these laughable *failures* to which we refer are to be readily found. Even literal failures of aim are laughable, such as a very bad cast at bowls, or a very wide shot in archery. Mr. Pickwick's attempt to drive a gig, and Mr. Winkle's exploits as a sportsman, are first-rate pictures in their way. The Feast of the Ancients in *Peregrine Pickle* is about the most laughable thing that was ever written, and depends entirely for its effect on the elements we have been explaining. But the principle goes further and deeper. Every instance of unsuccessful affectation, every assumption of a false character that is at once detected, every preposterous attempt to shine where excellence is hopeless,—all these are fertile sources of entertainment, and legitimate objects of ridicule. The faded beauty and the battered beau, the learned lady who misuses her words, the ambitious singer who has neither ear nor voice, are standing butts at which laughter has been directed from the beginning of time ; and similar exhibitions of character will continue to amuse future generations as they have done the past. *Don Quixote*, the great comic Epic of all literature, delights us by a series of failures, recommended by the kindly and benevolent spirit in which

the adventures are undertaken, but rendered ludicrous by the meanness of the preparations made and the impracticability of the objects pursued; and of all the hero's failures, none is more conspicuously ludicrous than the attempt to convert his worldly and sensual attendant into a fitting squire for a chivalrous master. The *Vert-vert* of Gresset, one of the best of comic poems, and so well translated by Father Prout, amuses us by the elaborate attempts and confident hopes of the good nuns to make a saint of their parrot, and in the sad revolution in his character and vocabulary produced by an inland voyage through France to visit a distant nunnery, whose inmates he astonishes with the latest epithets and phrases in use among the bargemen, his associates in his transit. In *John Gilpin*, which is a matchless miniature epic, the jest consists in like manner in the worthy citizen's abortive attempt to dine with his wife and family in a suburban inn, and in the incidents by which he twice overshoots the mark, and ends dinnerless at night where he began in the morning. We may observe at the same time, as there exemplified, how universally people are amused with bad horsemanship. The Tailor's journey to Brentford, as exhibited in the ring, made us laugh as children; the cavalcade of Commodore Trunnion and his comrades on his marriage day convulsed us as we grew up; and we find in Italian jest-books the same source of mirth in their frequent stories as to the disasters encountered by Venetians on horseback. Edward II. was particularly fond of a jester, whose recommendation was his apparent inability to keep the saddle, and who on journeys rode before the king, and kept continually tumbling off, to his Majesty's infinite amusement.

If we laugh at such discomfitures when arising from inadequacy of means or want of skill in those who are engaged in them, the height of the ludicrous, and certainly the height of absurdity, seems to be exhibited when the means taken for success are directly productive of the unsuccessful result. This frequent source of the ludicrous is exemplified in various shapes. The Irish *bull*, though Ireland has no monopoly of the article, is an instance of what we mean, particularly when it assumes a practical form. The mob that collected and made a bonfire of an unpopular banker's notes in order to ruin him; the man who loudly gave the lie to the charge against him in a letter, that he was looking at it over the writer's shoulder; the little boy that, for a trick in school, answered 'Absum' when his name was called,—all contrived to raise the laugh against themselves by the suicidal nature of their proceedings. We have indicated that Ireland, though it may be a favourable soil for such a growth, is not the only country where *bulls* are pro-

duced. The story of the Irishman reading over the letter-writer's shoulder is of Oriental origin, as Miss Edgeworth, or her father, has shown in the Essay that bears her name. It is taken from *Les Paroles Remarquables des Orientaux*, by Galland, who thus tells it, with somewhat needless particularity :—

‘ Un savant écrivait à un ami, et un importun était à côté de lui, qui regardait par dessus l'épaule ce qu'il écrivait. Le savant, qui s'en aperçut, écrivit ceci à la place : Si un impertinent qui est à mon côté ne regardait pas ce que j'écris, je vous écrirais encore plusieurs choses qui ne doivent être sues que de vous et de moi. L'importun, qui lisait toujours, prit la parole et dit : “ Je vous jure que je n'ai regardé ni lû ce que vous écrivez.” Le savant repartit : “ Ignorant, que vous êtes, pourquoi me dites-vous donc ce que vous dites ? ” ’

A story very like it is to be found in the so-called *Hierocles*, being the twenty-eighth of the collection. A Scholasticus, who had neglected a commission for books conveyed to him in a letter, exculpated himself, when he met his friend, by crying out, ‘ I never received the letter you sent me about those books.’ Another example of a *bull* is to be found in No. 10 of that collection, where a Scholasticus sits down before a looking-glass with his eyes shut, to see if he looked well in his sleep.

The Greek book that we have just noticed, and which bears the title of *Ἀσσεῖα* (*Facetiæ, Urbanitates*), is rightly considered as not the work of the philosopher Hierocles, and is not a very mighty production. It contains twenty-nine stories, in all of which a Scholasticus, or school pedant, is the hero ; and its object is to ridicule the ignorance and stupidity of mere students. It is well known as the source of a good many of our current Joe Millers. In No. 1, the Scholasticus, having been nearly drowned, resolves not to go into the water again till he has learned to swim. In Nos. 6 and 14 he is ashamed to meet his doctor, as it is so long a time since he was ill. In No. 8 he anticipates the attempt of the Highlander to accustom his horse to go without food, and laments that the animal had died just as he had taught him his lesson. In No. 9, when wanting to sell his house, he carries about with him one of the stones or bricks as a specimen. In No. 16 he finds that some of the liquor is wanting in a sealed hogshead, and on a suggestion that it had been drawn out from below, he rejects the idea, as the deficiency was not at the bottom but at the top of the cask. In No. 19, two of the tribe meeting on the street, one of them says he had heard the other was dead, on which his friend observes that it was not so, as he was here alive. ‘ Ah ! ’ was the reply, ‘ but my informant is a more trustworthy person than you ; ’ a story which foreshadows what is told of a certain Scotch family, who, on hearing from their son that he had not gone down in

the 'Royal George,' expressed a wish that they had it on better authority, as 'he was aye a leein' laddie.' In No. 20, the Scholasticus buys a raven, to see if it would live two hundred years, as it was reported to do. In No. 21, when other passengers on ship-board in a storm are laying hold of some of the spars, he attaches himself to the anchor. In No. 22, hearing of the death of one of two brothers, twins, and meeting the survivor, he asks if it is he or his brother that is dead. In No. 24, having to cross a ferry, he mounts his horse that he may get over the quicker. In No. 29, travelling with a bald man and a barber, under an arrangement that they are to sleep and watch time about, the barber shaves his head while he is asleep, and then wakes him, upon which, feeling his bare scalp, he abuses the barber for calling the wrong man. It is easy to recognise in this list a great many of those jokes which are in daily circulation among many who have no idea of the venerable antiquity of their origin.

The essence of a genuine *bull* seems to consist in an unconscious self-contradiction. We have given some examples of this element in practical bulls; and we would refer, as an instance of what we think a perfect verbal bull, to the dictum of the Irish doctor, 'that sterility is often hereditary:' a self-contradiction which has a certain plausibility at first sight, and which we have seen impose upon a very grave physician who was not Irish. But the number of bulls of this perfect type is comparatively small. The greater part of those sayings or doings which pass for *bulls* are merely what the French call *Bêtises*, Blunders or Stupidities, in which, from confusion of thought or expression, an absurd result is gravely reached, and in which the absurdity generally consists in overlooking the essential thing in the process.

Appended to Miss Edgeworth's Essay on Irish Bulls is a French *Recueil de Bêtises*, containing foreign specimens of the article. This *Recueil* we take to have been the work of the Abbé Morellet, with whom the Edgeworths had become intimate in their visit to Paris during the Peace of Amiens, shortly before the Essay on Bulls was published. A somewhat similar collection had been previously given in the *Eléments de Littérature* by Morellet's friend and relative, Marmontel, under the head *Plaisant*. Morellet, or whoever else was the author of the *Recueil*, says that he had previously written a dissertation on the subject of these *Bêtises*, but had lent it to a *femme d'esprit*, who lost it. He says:—

'Je me souviens seulement que j'y prouvais savamment que le rire excité par les bêtises est l'effet du contraste que nous saisissons entre l'effort que fait l'homme qui dit la bêtise, et le mauvais succès de son effort. J'assimilais la marche de l'esprit dans celui qui dit une

bêtise, à ce qui arrive à un homme qui cherchant à marcher légèrement sur un pavé glissant, tombe lourdement, ou aux tours mal-adroit du paillasse de la foire. Si l'on veut examiner les bêtises rassemblées ici, on y trouvera toujours *un effort manqué* de ce genre.'

We subjoin a few specimens from this collection, which we suspect, if ever very well known, has fallen out of general remembrance. We select some of them, not because they are new, but rather because they are old, and here found in an unexpected quarter:—

' On demandait à un Abbé de Laval Montmorency, quel âge avait son frère le maréchal dont il était l'ainé. " Dans deux ans," dit-il, " nous serons du même âge." '

' Un homme voyait venir de loin un médecin de sa connaissance qui l'avait traité plusieurs années auparavant dans une maladie; il se détourna et cacha son visage pour n'être pas reconnu. On lui demanda, " Pourquoi?"—" C'est," dit-il, " que je sens honteux devant lui de ce qu'il y a fort long temps que je n'ai été malade." '

' Le maire d'une petite ville, entendant une querelle dans la rue au milieu de la nuit, se lève du lit, et ouvrant la fenêtre crie aux passants, " Messieurs, me leverai-je?" '

' On parlait avec admiration de la belle vieillesse d'un homme de quatre-vingt-dix ans, quelqu'un dit—" Cela vous étonne, messieurs! si mon père n'était pas mort, il aurait à présent cent ans accomplis." '

' Un homme étant sur le point de marier sa fille unique, se brouille avec le prétendant, et dans sa colère il dit, " Non, monsieur, vous ne serez jamais mon gendre, et quand j'aurais cent filles uniques, je ne vous en donnerais pas une." '

' On avait reçu à la grande poste une lettre avec cette adresse, à Monsieur mon fils, Rue, etc. On allait la mettre au rebut; un commis s'y oppose, et dit qu'on trouvera à qui la lettre s'adresse. Dix ou douze jours se passent. On voit arriver un grand benêt, qui dit, " Messieurs, je veux savoir si on n'aurait pas gardé ici une lettre de mon cher père?" " Oui, Monsieur," lui dit le commis, " la voilà." On prête ce trait à Bouret fermier général.'

' Un marchand, en finissant d'écrire une lettre à un de ses correspondans, mourut subitement. Son commis ajouta en PS. : " Depuis ma lettre écrite je suis mort ce matin. Mardi, au soir 7ème," etc.'

' Un petit marchand prétendait avoir acheté trois sols ce qu'il vendait pour deux. On lui représente que ce commerce le ruinera—" Ah," dit-il, " je me sauve sur la quantité." '

' Le Chevalier de Lorenzi, étant à Florence, était allé se promener avec trois de ses amis à quelques lieues de la ville, à pied. Ils revenaient fort las; la nuit s'approchait; il veut se reposer: on lui dit qu'il restait quatre milles à faire:—" Oh," dit-il, " nous sommes quatre, ce n'est qu'un mille chacun." '

Here is the conclusion of an Italian letter, containing several *Spropositi* or absurdities—

' O ricevete o non ricevete questa, datemene aviso.'

It will be observed, that of the *Bêtises* which we have just quoted, one at least is from Hierocles, others are now in common use as Irish bulls, and others belong to that species of blunder, which, in the mouth of Lord Dundreary, has lately excited so much hearty merriment. His Lordship is the 'knight of the shire' of a large class of constituents, who in scattered examples, and under partial development, have been long familiar to us, but of whose peculiarities the full type and expression were never before so well represented, or so well recommended to us by general goodness and thorough nobility of nature and manners. A good specimen of Dundrearyism is attributed to a Scotch Judge of the last century, who on visiting a dentist, and being placed in the patients' chair, was requested by the operator to allow him to put his finger into his mouth, upon which the Judge, with a distrustful look, said, 'Na! you'll bite me.' The confusion here in the speaker's mind is obvious. He knew that if one man's finger is put into another man's mouth a bite may ensue; but he did not correctly see which of them might bite, and which of them be bitten. It was told afterwards of a descendant of this worthy person, as a proof of hereditary similarity of talent, that when canvassing for the representation of a Scotch county, he refused to take a glass of wine from a voter, on the ground that it would be *treating*.

Some *bulls*, or some of the *bêtises* which come nearest to bulls, contain, as Southey has suggested, a confusion of what the schoolmen call Objectivity with Subjectivity. The fears of the Scotch Judge that he would be bitten by the dentist seem an illustration of that remark, and so also is the Irishman's perplexity, whose sister had got a child, but who, from not knowing its sex, could not say whether he was an uncle or an aunt. An instance of this confusion of subjectivities, which we have naturalized, and made a standing jest, is found in the explanation, said by Marmontel to have been given by a simpleton of his simplicity:—'Ce n'est pas ma faute si je n'ai point d'esprit; on m'a changé en nourrice.'

Marmontel's definitions of this kind of stupidity are not without felicity of expression:—

'La bêtise,' he says, 'est un défaut innocent et naïf, dont on s'amuse sans le hair.' 'La bêtise est tout simplement une intelligence émoussée, une longue enfance de l'esprit, un dénuement presque absolu d'idées, ou une extrême inhabileté à les combiner et à les mettre en œuvre; et soit habituelle ou soit accidentelle, comme elle nous donne sur elle un avantage qui flatte notre vanité, elle nous amuse, sans nous causer ce plaisir malin que nous goutons à voir châtier la sottise.'

He thinks that the *pleasantry* of a *bétise* consists in the manifest effort to think or reason accurately, and in its palpable want of success.

Some of the blunders or absurdities which excite our laughter arise rather from a confusion of words than of ideas. An example of this is afforded by the paragraph in the Irish newspapers announcing 'with much pleasure' that on such a day 'Lady —— had publicly renounced the errors of the Church of Rome for *those* of the Church of England.' The penny-a-liner had merely forgotten that his antecedent to *those* was 'errors,' and not 'doctrines.'

A very ludicrous class of failures are those of which Mrs. Slipslop in *Joseph Andrews*, and Mrs. Malaprop in *The Rivals*, supply us with the richest or most finished examples. The attempts of ignorant persons to use fine or peculiar words, and their unconscious substitution of others having quite a different meaning or character, never fail to amuse. Take as specimens the old lady who in windy weather observed that the *ante-nuptial* gales seemed to be coming earlier than usual; the would-be connoisseur who spoke of a picture of the Venus *Anno Domini*; the military veteran who was always for taking time by the *firelock*; and the Nabob who told a ragged school the fable of the Hare and the Tortoise, and exhorted them thence to perseverance, as the likeliest means of bringing them first to the *gaol*.

Akin to these are the cases of Anti-climax, where the speaker or writer commences with something rhetorical or poetical, and ends with something low or prosaic, *e.g.*, the designating the great Robert Boyle as 'the Father of Chemistry—and brother of the Earl of Cork;' the lines given by Scriblerus, 'And thou Dalhousy,' etc.; the entry in the index of a law-book, 'Chief-Justice Best—great mind;' and the discovery in the text that this refers to his lordship's having had 'a great mind' to transport a man for seven years. Those poets or orators who are said to spell *Pathos* with a B, afford us abundant specimens of this variety. A feeling allied to this is produced by the solemnity with which a converted German Jew addressed to an Exeter Hall audience the not inappropriate invitation: 'My brethren, let us *bray*.'

The affectation of science or of talent, resulting in the exhibition of ignorance or of dulness, are among the most legitimate objects of ridicule. The orator who did not know whether a certain idea was in Cicero or Tully; the traveller who, when asked if, in crossing the country, he had taken the hypotenuse, answered that he had taken the diligence; the Scotch laird who advised his neighbour, when going to see the Painters

of Italy, to see also the Glaziers of Switzerland,—all fall under a part of this category. The various readings of Virgil by Scriblerus are examples of another branch of it; but of this kind, perhaps one of the best is the emendation attributed to one of the dullest of Shakespeare's commentators, of a passage in *As You Like It*, where, instead of the figurative and forced reading of 'tongues in trees,' etc., it is proposed to correct it in an obvious and easy way :—

' And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything :'

For which read :—

' And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
Finds *leaves* in trees, *stones* in the running brooks,
Sermons in *books*, and good in everything.'

Among the instances of ridiculous absurdity in what may be called *suicidal* statements, are those extravagances which are known as Gasconades. In these, the speaker, wishing to magnify his character or achievements, so vastly overstates his case as to defeat his purpose by becoming incredible—

' Vaulting ambition, which o'erleaps itself,
And falls on the other side.'

The Gascon priest who came so quickly to do a charitable action that his guardian angel could not keep pace with him; the Gascon officer who said that his mattresses were all stuffed with the whiskers of the men he had killed in duels; and the other native of the same region who alleged that the only fire-wood used at his father's *château* consisted of the batons belonging to those of his family who had been Mareschals of France,—excite our laughter from the very fact that they so far overdraw their account with our credulity. It seems a favourite style of jest with Americans to push a wonderful fact or story to such a degree of exaggeration as to be literally a *reductio ad absurdum*. The examples of this figure among them are too numerous to require quotation. But we may observe that they are not in general Gasconades, but palpable caricatures of the national tendency to boasting, and meant to ridicule it by over-doing it. The comic effect on the stage of the sayings and doings of gasconading cowards is familiar to us by the frequent representation of such characters, as in the Miles Gloriosus, Bobadil, and Falstaff.

In Southey's *Omniana* we are told of a drunken squabble at Malta between some soldiers and sailors, in which a good specimen is given of the ludicrous, in what may be termed *suicidal* evidence. Each party alleged the other to be the

aggressors, the soldiers swearing that the sailors assaulted them with an oath, and with this exclamation, 'Who stops the line of march there?' while the sailors swore that the soldiers in first attacking them burst in upon them, calling out, 'Heave-to, you lubbers! or we'll run you down!' From the reciprocal imputation to each other of their own professional slang, it was plain that both were lying, and both to blame.

In the examples of the ludicrous which we have hitherto noticed, the absurdity attaches to the hero of the piece or the speaker of the saying. We shall now notice another and quite different class, where there are two parties to the drama, and where the failure or discomfiture consists in the defeat of one of them by the ready retort, the dexterous evasion, or the disappointing answer of the other. A rather vulgar, but really good specimen of this kind, is found in the well-known epigram, 'Jack eating rotten cheese,' etc., the jest of which consists in the second party acquiescing in the boast of the first as to killing his thousands like Samson, and then improving the parallel by suggesting the identity of the weapon used.

Mr. Burton, in his very pleasant book *The Scot Abroad*, gives us some examples of the wit and good breeding of Lord Stair, the ambassador. One of these, Mr. Burton tells us, 'rests on his remarkable resemblance to the Regent Orleans, who, desiring to turn a scandalous insinuation or jest on it, asked the Ambassador if his mother had ever been in Paris? The answer was, 'No; but my father was!' 'There is perhaps,' it is added, 'no other retort on record so effective and so beautifully simple. If the question meant anything, that meaning was avenged; if it meant nothing, there was nothing in the answer.'

Whether this anecdote happened with Lord Stair, we shall not attempt to determine; but it would be strange if he had all the merit of it, as the jest was already on record. Macrobius gives it as having been directed against the Emperor Augustus: 'Intraverat Romam simillimus Cæsari, et in se omnium ora converterat. Augustus adduci hominem ad se jussit, visumque hoc modo interrogavit: Dic mihi, adolescens, fuit aliquando mater tua Romæ? Negavit ille; nec contentus adjecit: "Sed pater meus sæpe."' Nor is the witticism left buried in the obscurity of Macrobius, for it appears as No. 52 of Lord Bacon's *Apophthegms*. But even Macrobius's story about Augustus is not the first edition of the joke; for Valerius Maximus tells it of a Roman proconsul, who found in his province a Sicilian very like him, and, on suggesting a similar question, received the same answer.

It really seems very difficult to say an original thing upon any subject whatever. Few sayings have been more admired

than that which is ascribed to Louis XII., when urged to resent an offence which he had received before his accession, '*Ce n'est point au roi de France à venger les injures faites au Duc d'Orléans.*' Now, what says Mr. De Quincey on this subject? In a 'Letter addressed by him to a Young Man whose Education has been Neglected,' and which, we believe, appeared first in the *London Magazine* in 1823, he introduces a Frenchman taking credit to his nation for the sublimity of the French king's saying, and asking De Quincey what he thought of it. 'Think! said I, why I think it is a magnificent and regal speech, and such is my English generosity, that I heartily wish the Emperor Hadrian had not said the same thing fifteen hundred years before.' He then gives in a foot-note his authority for this answer, and which runs thus: 'Submonente quodam ut in pristinos inimicos animadverteret, negavit se ita facturum, adjecta civili voce—Minimè licere Principi Romano, ut quæ privatus agitasset odia—ista Imperator exequi. *Spartian in Had.—Vid. Histor. August.*'

This seems at first sight pretty much to the point, and we confess that, though with some misgivings as to the Latinity, we had such confidence in De Quincey's acquaintance with the Augustan History, that we long considered the French king's claim to be held the first and true inventor of the saying in question, as at an end. But lately, on turning over several editions of the Augustan collection, and looking particularly at Spartian's life of Hadrian, we were surprised to discover that *no such anecdote is there to be found*, nor is there a trace of any such words as De Quincey quotes. It is true that Spartian mentions the *fact* that Hadrian took no notice of his old enemies: 'Quos in privata vita inimicos habuit, imperator tantum neglexit; ita ut uni quem capitale habuerat, factus Imperator, diceret *Evasisti.*' The question at issue, however, between the Frenchman and De Quincey, was not as to the originality of Louis's *conduct*, but as to the novelty of the peculiarly dignified form of words in which the sentiment was announced. Many princes have acted in the same magnanimous manner, and it is not likely that any man in modern times will find out a new virtue. Hadrian himself was not original in this kind of clemency, for Suetonius describes Vespasian as '*Offensarum inimiciarumque minime memor executorve;*' and speaks of his portioning out in a munificent manner the daughter of Vitellius his old enemy. But neither Vespasian nor Hadrian is reported to have expressed the feeling which influenced them in any speech that can approach to the moral sublimity which is admitted to mark the French king's saying. It is remarkable, too, that Casaubon, in a note on the passage from Spartian which we have quoted, notices the resemblance

of Hadrian's conduct to that of Louis XII., and then gives in Latin the French king's saying as a '*vox aurea* : ' *Nam cum illum sui stimulant ut Ludovicum Trimolium, qui sibi olim multum nocuisset, pro meritis acciperet, Ego vero, inquit, non faciam : neque enim Galliarum regem decet offensas inimicitiasque Aurelianensis Ducis meminisse aut exequi.*

It is possible that a Roman prototype of this saying may be found somewhere, but we have not yet succeeded in tracing it; and in that state of matters, looking to the failure of the only authority on which De Quincey proceeds, we think Louis entitled (at least *ad interim*) to the merit, not of having first practised this princely generosity, but of having first embodied in a beautiful form, 'what oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed.' Our theory of De Quincey's statement is, that he wrote the Letter in question at a distance from his books, or under an invincible repugnance to consulting them; that writing to an unlearned correspondent, and probably to a not very learned circle of readers, he thought he might trust his memory and take some liberties; that he remembered the parallel in conduct and character between Hadrian and Louis, with Casaubon's note on the subject, and that he either dreamed or imagined the rest, and wrote down in Latin as original what is in truth a mere reflex and paraphrase of the French saying. We are the more inclined to this view, from finding another inaccuracy in the same Letter, where he ascribes to Trajan, with misplaced magniloquence, the deathbed saying which Suetonius reports of Vespasian, '*Imperatorem stantem mori oportere,*' and which Vespasian seems to have uttered, as he did other things, with a strange mixture of jest and earnest.

De Quincey has a more amusing and more accurate passage on the subject of this kind of plagiarism in a little paper on War, which first appeared, we think, in an Edinburgh periodical. He there points out how bare the modern sayers of good things would be left, if stripped of all the borrowed plumes with which they are invested. 'Universally it may be received as a rule,' he says, 'that when an anecdote involves a stinging repartee, or collision of ideas, fancifully and brilliantly related to each other by resemblance or contrast, then you may challenge it as false.' He denounces the Greeks as the principal parties who have forestalled us by saying our good things before ourselves, and he instances Talleyrand 'as having been extensively robbed by the Greeks of the second and third centuries,' as may be easily ascertained by having the said Greeks *searched*, when the stolen jewels will be found upon them. 'But one,' he adds, 'and the most famous in the whole jewel-case, sorry am I to confess, was nearly stolen from the bishop, not by any Greek, but by

an English writer, viz., Goldsmith, who must have been dying about the time that the Right Reverend French knave had the goodness to be born. That famous *mot* about language as a gift made to man for the purpose of concealing his thoughts is lurking in Goldsmith's *Essays*. This is nearly correct. Not strictly in what are called his *Essays*, but in a paper of Goldsmith's in *The Bee*, there is a passage where he says that whatever may be thought by grammarians and rhetoricians, men of the world hold 'that the true use of speech is not so much to *express* our wants, as to *conceal* them.'

To return to the case of repartees involving a *quid pro quo*: it is told of Lord Braxfield, with probably the same truth as pervades other stories imputed to him, that on a thief pleading in extenuation that he could not help stealing when he had an opportunity, the Judge answered, 'That is just the way with us: for we can't help hanging a thief when we get hold of him.' But this rejoinder, too, is old, and is substantially the same as one told of Zeno the philosopher, with whom a pilfering slave had tried to excuse himself by the Stoic doctrine of fate. 'Zeno philosophus, quum servum in furto deprehensum cæderet, atque ille diceret, fatale sibi esse furari: Et cædi, inquit Zeno.' We add the Greek of Diogenes Laertius: Δούλον ἐπὶ κλοπῇ ἐμαστίγον· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, Εἴμαρτό μοι κλέψαι. Καὶ δαρῆναι, ἔφη.

A recent writer upon Lawyers has expressed a doubt whether Sir Nicholas Bacon really uttered, to a criminal who claimed kindred with him, the answer which he is said to have made, that Hog was not Bacon until it was hung; but as the story is among Lord Bacon's Apophthegms, we see no reason to question its authenticity.

A great many other well-known jests consist in this apparent acquiescence in the view suggested by the first speaker, and in then turning the argument against him on his own premises. Thus we have the story in the *Chevræana*, where Masson, having applied to a brother collegian for the loan of a book, is told that it cannot be lent out, but may be read in the owner's rooms, and has then an opportunity of making a similar reply to his friend when he asks him for the loan of his pair of bellows; Or, take the other instance, where the officer, on the eve of a battle, asked leave of absence of the Marshal de Toiras, that he might see his father, who was ill, and immediately had his request granted, with the observation, 'Père et mère honoreras afin que tu vives longuement.' One of the best and most effective retorts of the kind is that of the Spanish ambassador to Henry IV. of France, which is more original, and not less pungent, than Lord Stair's reply. It is found in the *Menagiana*: 'Henri IV. pour rabatre l'orgueil d'un Ambassadeur

Espagnol, lui dit que s'il lui prenoit envie de monter à cheval, il iroit ouir messe à Milan, déjeuner à Rome, et diner à Naples. Sire, lui répondit l'Ambassadeur, votre Majesté allant de ce pas pourrait le même jour aller ouir vêpres en Sicile,' alluding to the massacre of the French in Sicily in 1282. An old repartee of a similar kind is one of Cicero's, who, when asked by Pompey where his son-in-law was, answered, 'With your father-in-law;' and a good modern one is the French dialogue between the *Comte* who had no territory and the *Abbé* who had no convent, where the Count, inquiring for the locality of the other's Abbey, is answered, 'Don't you know? it is in your own County.' Somewhat of the same character, but in a more genial spirit, is the reply of Marshal Turenne to the servant who excused his having slapped him, from mistaking him for a fellow-servant,— 'Et quand c'eût été Georges, eût-il fallu frapper si fort?' 'Trait charmant,' says Marmontel, 'qu'on ne peut entendre sans rire et sans être attendri.' A common modern jest of this class, as to a lady's age, is one of Cicero's: 'Fabiae Dolabellæ dicenti, triginta se annos habere: "Verum est," inquit Cicero, "nam hoc viginti annis audio."'

A happy example of *evasion* is given by the Edgeworths in the story of the old beggar woman who besieged General V— and his wife for charity: 'for, sure, didn't I dream last night that her ladyship gave me a pound of tea, and that your honour gave me a pound of tobacco!' "But, my good woman," said the General, "do not you know that dreams always go by the rule of contrary?" "Do they so, please your honour?" rejoined the woman; "then it must be your honour that will give me the tea, and her ladyship that will give me the tobacco!"'

Some of our readers may still remember the amusement afforded by the late Sir William Allan's story of the Minister and the Cuddie, which most of us, in the days when he told it, believed to be of Scotch extraction. It happens, however, to be a very old joke, not traceable perhaps to classical times, but a great favourite, and a standing jest against the clergy from the middle ages downwards. The general idea, or as we may call it, the *algebraic* expression of the incident, seems to be this: 'Vanity, when fishing for praise, catches nothing but mortification.' A monk, chanter, or preacher, while exercising his function with a stentorian power of voice, is flattered to see in the church an elderly female in tears, and apparently much affected by his performance. On afterwards asking the cause of her emotion, he finds it arises from the likeness between his voice and that of an ass or 'cuddie' which she or her husband had lately lost. We meet with this story in Bonerius, a German writer of metrical fables in the fourteenth century, in whose collection it

occurs as No. 82, under the title, 'Von einem Pfaffen und von einem Esel.' We meet with it again in Poggio's *Facetiæ* in the fifteenth century, under the title, 'Concionatoris asinina vox.' But we may notice, as proving the superior art with which Poggio tells a story, that in Bonerius we are informed from the first of the reason of the woman's demeanour, while in Poggio the explanation is reserved to be equally a surprise to the reader as it is a disappointment to the inquirer. It is to be found repeated in half-a-dozen other writers, in all forms—in Latin and in French verse, as well as in French and Italian prose.

The enjoyment that proceeds from the absurdities of weaklings and fools has always had a recognised place, though not one of a very high order, in the range of merriment. The sight of those who have the beard and body of a man, with the intellect of a baby, produces great mirth and satisfaction to the vulgar mind. Clowns and Court fools and *slow-coaches* of all kinds, and still more, perhaps, *absent* men, please us by the absurd discrepancy between what they do, and what they ought to do, and perhaps think they are doing. It is in this department of the Comic that there seems most foundation for the theory of Hobbes, 'that the passion of laughter is nothing else but sudden glory arising from some sudden conception of some eminency in ourselves by comparison with the infirmity of others; or with our own formerly; for men laugh at the follies of themselves past where they come suddenly to remembrance, except they bring with them any present dishonour.' We always thought that of the innumerable Londoners who laughed at Lord Dundreary, a large proportion did so with increased heartiness from the comfortable conviction, that here was at least one 'fellow' to whom they were intellectually superior.

But there is another and better way in which fools and simpletons become a source of amusement, and that is by the unexpected displays which they sometimes make of wit, spirit, or ingenuity, for which one gave them no credit, and, in particular, by their successful retorts upon assailants who had looked upon them as an easy prey. This latent and fitful power of turning round upon a too confident adversary was a well-known characteristic and essential ingredient in the character of the Court Jester, who, amid the eccentricities of an unsettled and ill-regulated intellect, was often more knave than fool. The flashes of sense and cleverness that thus came out were all the more striking from the general darkness and dulness which they enlivened, and they always command that sympathy which we so readily bestow upon the weak, when they get the better of the strong or insolent.

Some of the sayings or answers ascribed to Fools are very

good. We think it was Will Somers, Henry the Eighth's jester, who said of Wolsey, against whom he had a grudge, that if he was made Pope, it would be a great boon; 'for that Peter, the first Pope, being a Fisherman, had ordered people to eat fish in Lent for the good of the trade, but that Wolsey, being a butcher's son, would be all for butcher-meat.' We know well the revenge that poor Archie Armstrong took upon Archbishop Laud, who had forbidden him to speak of such magnates, but could not prevent him from saying, as his grace before meat, 'Great praise to God, and little Laud to the Devil.' It is reported of more than one Court fool, and among others of Triboulet, the fool of Francis I., that when told by his sovereign that if a certain courtier beat him to death, as he threatened, he would hang him *the hour after*, his request was that his Majesty would rather do so *the hour before*. The earliest French fool on record seems to have been one, named Jean, at the Court of Charles the Simple, of whom Dr. Doran tells us some anecdotes. 'This good fellow's influence was so great, that Charles once remarked to him he thought they had better change places. As Jean did not look well pleased at the proposal, Charles asked him if he were not content at the idea of being a king. 'Oh, content enough,' was the reply, 'but I should be exceedingly ashamed at having such a fool.' It was this fool who once tried his master's nerves by rushing into his room one morning, with the exclamation, 'Oh, sire, such news! four thousand men have risen in the city.' 'What!' cried the startled king, 'with what intention have they risen?' 'Well,' said Jean, placing his finger on his nose, 'probably with the intention of lying down again at bed-time.'

One of the best examples of this kind of unlooked-for sagacity occurs in the story in Rabelais, where a cook seeking to charge a porter for eating a crust of bread to the accompaniment of the savour that came from his kitchen, the dispute is referred to a poor fool who is passing, and who, after gravely hearing the parties, decides that the cook shall be paid for the *smell* of his shop with the *chink* of the porter's money.

We should add that this element seems to be the essence of the wit in that portion of *Don Quixote* which relates to Sancho's administration as Governor of Barataria. He is obviously put there to make an ass of himself, but disappoints his patrons, and delights his readers, by the unlooked-for sagacity of his decisions.

Our old Scottish Chap-books, as well as our miscellaneous Collections of vernacular Jests, show how much the popular mind entered into the lucky sayings and doings of fools and naturals; among whom, by a strange perversity, the venerable name of George Buchanan came to be enrolled, and had

connected with it all the current jokes and evasions attributed to the King's jester. Johnson speaks of the melancholy that is felt in contemplating the contradictions of life,

‘ Fears of the brave, and follies of the wise,’

but there is sometimes a compensating satisfaction in viewing on the other side these exceptional gleams of courage in the cowardly, and wisdom in the foolish. Yet, on the whole, to minds of a more advanced culture, the subject is painful and perplexing. Dr. Doran's industrious History of Court Fools is not a pleasing book. It is impossible to read it without regret that men of rank and station should ever have found a standing amusement in such exhibitions of human infirmity, and we feel something deeper than regret in seeing the strange medley of folly and cleverness, of sense and sensuality, by which these unhappy instruments of courtly mirth were generally distinguished, and the cruel treatment which they too often met with. Nor are there wanting instances that rouse our warmest indignation, where men of birth and true talent have been tyrannically compelled, like Laberius, to play the *mime*, but who, with a worse fate than his, have been destined to that doom for life. Here it is that we ought specially to remember the rule of Aristotle, that the true Comic ceases where pain or suffering begins; and in our mirth more than in anything else we should resolve, with Wordsworth,

‘ Never to blend our pleasure or our pride
With sorrow of the meanest thing that feels.’

In the review which we have now taken of the *laughable*, our chief object has been to illustrate the idea with which we set out, that a failure, defeat, or disappointment, in matters neither involving dignity nor inferring pain, was the main, if not the essential element in ridicule. In doing so, it will be seen how little we have come in contact with what may properly be called *wit*, or with those current witticisms which fill our ordinary jest-books, and of which a very fair collection is to be found in the later work, of which the title is prefixed to this article. But we suspect it must be conceded that Wit is not necessarily or essentially Comic. There are many witty sayings and many witty books which do not make us laugh: and some comedies counteract their own object by an excess of that ingredient. On the other hand, when Wit is exerted in a situation otherwise laughable, it has the strongest influence in heightening the effect. It would not be difficult to illustrate this view, as well as some other aspects of the ludicrous; but we shall stop for the present, as we believe that no subject is more easily overdone than one which is not serious.

ART. V.—ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

ARCHBISHOP SHARP is one of many characters in Scottish history who assume a quite different complexion according to the point of view from which we look at them. The inscription on his monument in the parish church of St. Andrews bears, that he was a ‘most pious prelate, a most prudent senator, and a most holy martyr.’ To his own attached friend and secretary, Mr. George Martine of Claremont, he was ‘a man of profound wisdom, great courage, wonderful zeal for God and his Church, prudent in conduct, and indefatigably laborious.’ And there are those in our own time who take substantially the same view of his character. They may not say much of his saintliness, but they believe him to have been honest in life, faithful in service, zealous for religion, and a martyr in its cause.

On the other hand, to the Presbyterians of the Restoration, Sharp was an incarnation of all odious qualities. His private life was deemed scandalous, and his public life an insult and outrage to his country. An anagram on his name, which we give below,¹ conveys the popular idea of his character. The

- ¹ I Infamous Juggler, Insolent ;
 A Ambitious and Arrogant ;
 M Monstrous, Malapert Madman ;
 E Erroneous Erastian ;
 S Saucie, Selfish, Simonaik.
- S Serville, Saul-Seller, Stigmatik ;
 H Hell's-hound, hideous Hierarchist ;
 A Abominable Arch-Atheist ;
 R Railing Ruffian, Runagat ;
 P Perfidious perjured Prelate.

Kirkton, in his *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 84, says of Sharp : ‘He was by all that knew him taken to be no better than a flat atheist ; he used no private prayers, and once in a month served his family ; yea, he was known to be a man of flagitious life, and not only a debauched pailliard but a cruel murtherer.’ Then follows the well-known scandal about Isobel Lindsay, which the reader will find examined farther on in the text.

Shields, in *A Hind let Loose*, p. 123, says, ‘That truculent traitor, James Sharp, the arch-prelate, received the just demerit of his perfidie, perjury, apostasy, villanies, and murders—*sharp arrows of the mighty, and coals of juniper* ; for, upon the 3d of May 1679, several worthy gentlemen, with some other men of courage and zeal for the cause of God and the country, executed righteous judgment upon him on Magus Moor, near St. Andrews.’

But if our readers wish to see the full-length portrait of Sharp drawn by a Presbyterian pen of the Covenanting school, let them read *Life of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews*, first printed in 1678, and reprinted in *Miscellanea Scotica*, a collection of tracts relating to the history, antiquities, topography, and literature of Scotland. Glasgow, 1818.

Covenanters saw no good, but only evil in him, while he lived, and they thought that they could do nothing better than put him to a miserable death; and there are Presbyterians, even now, who think upon the whole that these men took a right view of his character, and did a worthy deed in destroying him. To them, the monument in the parish church of St. Andrews lies shamelessly in its marble characters; and while the reverent curiosity of Episcopal pilgrims searches amidst the trees and brushwood on Magus Muir, not far from the old city where the white-haired man was dragged from his coach and stabbed in the presence of his daughter, they pass it by with heedless unconcern or contempt. A green spot in a field at hand, unturned for many generations, tells of the reverence of the neighbourhood, not for the prelatical 'martyr,' but for certain men, executed four years afterwards for abetting in his murder—martyrs, in popular estimation, for 'the Word of God and Scotland's Covenanted work of Reformation.'

We do not pretend to any enthusiastic interest in Archbishop Sharp. From no point of view is he a hero. There is nothing in the best view of his character calculated to excite enthusiasm; but, considering the part he acted in Scotland, he is a study well worth attention. It is plain on a glance that the popular Presbyterian view of him is not correct, but how far any higher view is correct is not so evident. His portrait by Sir Peter Lely, of which two copies, the one a photograph, and the other the well-known etching by Kirkpatrick Sharpe, are before us, do not serve to clear up the enigma. The face is fine and delicate rather than strong, with possibilities of craft in it, but also suggestions of mildness, refinement, and the qualities of a gentleman. His hands, which are both conspicuously displayed, are particularly graceful. There is something of high-bred languor in the expression and pose of both countenance and figure, a want of frankness and heartiness, withal a touch of possible meanness, but not the slightest taint of grossness. He looks the prelate well and naturally. A certain scholarly dignity, thoughtful deliberativeness, and a soft, pliable, womanly aspect—the aspect of a retired student rather than of a politician and man of affairs,—are the chief characteristics of the portrait. A single look is enough to dispose of the more brutal calumnies against him, but a protracted study does not yield up a definitely favourable meaning. Craft may be behind the softness, and a mean self-seeking beneath the apparent amenities of the scholar and well-bred ecclesiastic.

Our general view of Sharp's character must depend very much upon the view which we take of his conduct at the Restoration. It will be found that the diverging views of him

begin here. What was the real part which he played at this period? Was he the moving spring in the change which took place in the royal policy towards Scotland? Was he the betrayer of the Church whose interests he professed to serve, and of the Presbyterian friends who sent him to London on the eve of the Restoration with definite instructions to use his 'utmost endeavours that the Kirk of Scotland may, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and privilege of her established judicatories, ratified by the laws of the land'? Did he act a false part throughout,—'enacting,' in the language of Wodrow, 'the overthrow of the Church of Scotland with the high-fliers in England,'¹ while maintaining a friendly correspondence with those who trusted him, and representing himself as active in the pursuance of the objects they had at heart? Sharp must be tested by his conduct on this occasion. Stern as was the Presbyterian hatred of him, it is perfectly intelligible, it may be said to be perfectly justifiable, on the supposition that he acted the part attributed to him by Wodrow and others. The character of a man capable of such conduct could scarcely be held to admit of any defence, or to be worth any interest, graceful as may have been the mask which he wore, and cunningly as he played his villany.

It is singular how many authorities combine to take the worst view of Sharp's conduct on this occasion, and these not merely of the extreme Presbyterian party. Wodrow's personal opinion is not of much consequence. It is the merited fate of extreme opinions to carry little weight with future inquirers, and the old minister of Eastwood, however painstaking, is blindly zealous in his partisanship. The same remark applies to Kirkton, who is at least as credulous and extreme as Wodrow. These writers are only rivalled by certain specimens of the modern prelatial school in Scotland. Here, as elsewhere, extremes meet, and wise men, with any sense of truth, must keep aloof from both. But Wodrow not only gives his own opinion; he professes to give a direct statement from Robert Douglas, Sharp's correspondent, and the well-known minister of Edinburgh, to the effect that Sharp had 'dealt treacherously' with him and the other Presbyterian ministers. And supposing this statement genuine, it claims special consideration; for Douglas, although sufficiently dogmatic and prejudiced in his Presbyterianism, as his letters to Sharp show, was yet a man of sense, calmness, and sobriety of judgment. He was 'too calm and too grave,' Burnet says, for the 'furious men' who surrounded him; 'he was much depended on for his prudence.'

¹ Wodrow, vol. i. p. 55. We quote throughout Dr. Burns's edition in four volumes.

He was the recognised leader of the Resolutioners. His relations with Sharp were of a peculiarly confidential nature. But the document given by Wodrow is not only unauthenticated,¹ it furnishes no evidence of Sharp's duplicity. It is explicit as to Douglas's belief that Sharp acted treacherously, but nothing more; and the mere *ipse dixit* of even such an authority as Douglas, must of course be examined in the light of Sharp's own statements.

Principal Baillie is equally confident as to Sharp's treachery.² He believes very much as Douglas does, that Sharp was first tampered with when he visited the King at Breda in May 1660. 'At that time,' he says, 'Dr. Sheldon, now Bishop of London, and Dr. Morley, did poison Mr. Sharp, our agent, whom we trusted; who piece by piece in so cunning a way has trepanned us.'

Then Burnet, who must also be considered a primary authority, although not in the same degree as Douglas or Baillie,³ is, if possible, more emphatic in his condemnation than either. He seldom names Sharp, indeed, without some opprobrious insinuations, and his obvious ill-feeling is to be taken into account in estimating his statements. He says⁴ that Sharp 'stuck neither at solemn protestations, both by word of mouth and by letters (of which I have seen many proofs), nor at appeals to God, of his sincerity in acting for the Presbytery, both in prayers and on other occasions, joining with these many dreadful imprecations on himself if he did prevaricate. He was all the while maintained by the Presbyterians as their agent, and continued to give them a constant account of the progress of the negotiations in their service, while he was indeed undermining it. This piece of craft was so visible that when he threw off the mask about a year after this, it laid a foundation of such a character of him that nothing could ever bring people to any tolerable thoughts of a man whose dissimulations and treachery were so well known, and of which so many proofs were to be seen under his own hand.'

In the view of such authorities, it is unnecessary to collect the opinion of later historians, who merely rely upon the testimony of Wodrow and Burnet. Writers of the extreme Presbyterian

¹ Wodrow received it, he says, from Douglas's son, 'minister of the gospel at Logie' (*Introduction*, p. 28); but he gives no further authentication of it, and we know nothing of the document otherwise than as reported by him. Wodrow is not to be implicitly followed on such evidence as this.

² Baillie's *Letters*, vol. iii. p. 484. We quote throughout Dr. David Laing's edition: Edinburgh, 1842.

³ Burnet was minister of Saltoun in East Lothian from 1665 to 1669.

⁴ *History of his Own Time*, Book II.

school, as might be expected, re-echo their strongest statements, and speak, like Dr. M'Crie, of 'the unparalleled treachery of Sharp, who being intrusted by the Presbyterians with the management of their cause in Holland and London, basely betrayed it, and continued to amuse them in his letters with the *most false information and the most hypocritical pretences.*' Kirkton and Wodrow are not more confident, if somewhat less tempered, in their epithets. But the historians of the more moderate school are quite as unanimous in their condemnation of Sharp. His treachery is the key-note of all alike,—of Dr. Cook,¹ of Principal Lee,² even of the latest and most liberal, Dr. Cunningham of Crieff.³ And to sum up the list, Dr. David Laing, whose careful labours as an historical antiquary give a special value to his opinion, affirms it as his belief, founded on Sharp's letters, that he had 'all along been acting most treacherously towards those by whom he had been confidentially employed.'⁴

Such an array of authority seems to render Sharp's case somewhat hopeless. Nor has it been much mended by those who have sought to vindicate him. The author of the 'True and Impartial Account of the Life of the most Reverend Father in God, Dr. James Sharp,' etc., published in 1723 without the publisher's name, is too obviously a partisan on the prelatical side. His blind admiration is scarcely less misleading than the blind depreciation of Wodrow and Kirkton. And his more recent defenders, Thomas Stephens,⁵ and the Rev. Mr. Lyon, in his *History of St. Andrews*, are scarcely writers likely to repair a damaged reputation. If narrowness and intemperate zeal on one side were the best weapons for meeting narrowness and detraction on the other, they might be considered to have succeeded in their task; but to the critical reader, High Church fanaticism is as little satisfactory as Covenanting bigotry. He wishes, if he can, to rub off the glosses from an historical character, and see it in its true light; and his first business, therefore, is to turn aside from all extreme views, and concentrate his attention upon such original elements of fact as he can find.

So far as we can see, the only really original materials for judging of Sharp's conduct at this important crisis of his life, are his own letters. No one has pretended to say that there is any evidence of a direct kind fixing upon him the charge of treacherously employing his influence for the introduction of

¹ *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 219, 228.

² *History*, etc., vol. ii. p. 315. ³ *Church History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 185.

⁴ *Memoir of the Life of Robert Baillie*, appended to Laing's edition of *Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii.

⁵ Author of *Life and Times of Archbishop Sharp*. 1839.

Episcopacy while yet professing to serve his Presbyterian friends. It is inferred both by Douglas and Baillie, that he was corrupted on his visit to the King at Breda. 'This,' the former says, 'was revealed to me after he was made bishop.' But no person is named as responsible for the revelation. Douglas heard such a story and believed it, but he gives no direct evidence for it to which we can appeal. Similarly, Baillie believed that he was 'poisoned' by Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Morley on the same occasion. But neither is able to say, 'I have evidence of such a fact'! Neither certainly gives any evidence of it. The only thing like evidence of which we are aware, alleged against Sharp, is a statement attributed to the Earl of Middleton, the Royal Commissioner for the Parliament of 1661. It is said that when this nobleman read the royal letter which Sharp was about to carry to his Presbyterian friends in Scotland on his return after the Restoration, 'he appeared in some concern at its contents and the promises in it, as thwarting with what he and Mr. Sharp had concerted. And when he was told *that notwithstanding of anything in the letter, when his Lordship went down to Scotland he might rescind the laws now in force*, and then Episcopacy remained the Church-government settled by law; the Earl replied, "That might be done, but for his share he did not love that way which made his Majesty's first appearance in Scotland to be in a cheat."'

Such is Wodrow's story,¹ and Burnet's narrative, which we give below,² is to the same effect. The story has received implicit belief from Dr. Cook³ and others; and supposing it to be true, it is of course fatal to any attempt to clear Sharp's character. If he and Middleton really understood one another before Sharp left London in August 1660; if they had at this time formed betwixt them the design of subverting Presby-

¹ Vol. i. p. 82.

² Vol. i. Oxford edit. p. 200.—'As soon as Middleton heard of it (the royal letter), he thought Sharp had betrayed the design, and sent for him and charged him with it. Sharp said, in his own excuse, that somewhat must be done for quieting the Presbyterians, who were beginning to take the alarm; that might have produced such applications as would perhaps make some impression on the King; whereas now all was secured, and yet the King was engaged to nothing; for his confirming the government as established by law could bind him no longer than while that legal establishment was in force; so the reversing of that would release the King. This allayed the Earl of Middleton's displeasure a little. Yet Primrose (Sir Archibald Primrose, who was appointed Clerk-Register after the Restoration, and was Middleton's right-hand man in all his doings, "the subtlest of all his friends"), told me he spoke often of it with great indignation, since it seemed below the dignity of a king thus to equivocate with his people and to deceive them. It seemed that Sharp thought it not enough to cheat the party himself, but would have the King share with him in the fraud.'

³ Vol. iii. pp. 230-1.

terianism, then, apart from the blacker features of the design, the putting of a falsehood into the King's mouth, Sharp must be considered both a liar and a traitor; for, besides the declarations in his letters to Douglas, we have under his own hand, as will be seen in the sequel, the most earnest asseverations that he knew nothing of any such design, and that the proposal of the Rescissory Acts carried by the ensuing Parliament took him by surprise. But we are bound to examine closely the authority for such a statement. On what does it rest beyond the allegations of Wodrow and Burnet, both of whom, we have seen, are strongly prejudiced against Sharp?—On the authority of Primrose, the Clerk-Register, according to Burnet.¹

But Primrose is represented by Burnet himself to have been 'a man with whom words went for nothing.' 'He said everything that was necessary to persuade those he spoke to that he was of their mind.'² He lied, in short, whenever it suited his purpose, and he may have lied to Burnet when he told him of Middleton's indignation at Sharp. It is to be observed too that, a few pages later,³ the historian represents Middleton himself as the chief mover in passing the Rescissory Act,⁴ at the suggestion of which he is said to have been so indignant. In defiance both of the Earl of Crawford and the Duke of Hamilton, 'who argued much against it,' he hurried it forward, 'managing the debate himself, contrary to custom;' and when 'the bill was put to the vote and carried by a great majority,' he 'immediately passed it without staying for an instruction for the King.'

It is impossible to unravel fully the truth or falsehood of the story, but plainly Primrose, 'Clerk-Register,' is not an authority to be depended on. Besides that lying seems to have been his *forte*, we only have his statement at second-hand. The evidence, so far against Sharp, therefore, comes to this, that two writers, who paint him in the darkest colours, and who evidently believed the worst scandals as to his public, if not also his private conduct, affirm that he was privy to a design formed for the overthrow of Presbyterianism in Scotland before he left London in August 1660. No doubt they believed this. It seems to have been the current belief after Sharp's promotion to the Primacy, but whether the belief was well-founded or not must be weighed, no less than all other statements, along with

¹ See footnote on previous page.

² Burnet, i. 192.

³ P. 214.

⁴ There were various Rescissory Acts passed by this Parliament, but that which is chiefly known by the name, and to which allusion is here made, is the Act passed on the 28th March 1661,—'Act Rescinding and Annulling the Pretendit Parliaments in the Yeers 1640, 1641,' etc. It will be seen later on, that neither Sharp nor Middleton were the originators and chief promoters of the Rescissory Act. It appears to have been directly due to the reactionary enthusiasm of the Restoration Parliament itself.

Sharp's own affirmations on the subject, and judged of in connexion with all the probabilities of the case when we have these affirmations before us.

It so happens that there are preserved among the Lauderdale Papers in the British Museum, a series of letters written by Sharp to a friend in London, who became, about the time of the Restoration, Lauderdale's private chaplain.¹ These letters, which we have had an opportunity of perusing, and of which full copies² are before us, throw more light upon the course of Sharp's conduct at this period, as it appears to us, than any that have been hitherto made public. That they serve quite to clear up his conduct it would be absurd to say, because, unfortunately, the very question involved is how far Sharp himself is to be believed. Those who thought as Burnet did in his own day, and as many apparently still do in our day, have no faith in him whatever, neither in his 'protestations by word of mouth or by letter, nor in any appeals of his sincerity in acting for Presbytery.' Their theory of him is that he was an ingrained liar and traitor, with whom, as with his friend Clerk-Register Primrose, 'words went for nothing.' And if he lied in his letters to Douglas, keeping up the ingenious play of falsehood to the last, of course he may have lied to his friend Lauderdale's chaplain in London; and reasons even might be given for his so doing. But to others who have no definite theory of his character, and to whom the puzzle is to understand him in the light of common sense rather than of theory, either Prelatical or Covenanting, these letters may be helpful. To ourselves, we confess that they incline the balance in Sharp's favour. They have left upon us the impression that, whatever his faults were, he was not a *traitor* to his friends and to his Church, in the sense in which he is represented to have been so by contemporary authorities, and by the train of Presbyterian writers who have followed them. One conclusion seems certain from them: he was either not such a traitor, or he was both liar and traitor of a still deeper dye than even they have painted him, for he must have been false, not only where it was necessary to conceal his designs, but in circumstances in which he might have remained silent, and which involve a singularly shameless disregard of all honourable principles.

We propose in the sequel of this paper to present to our

¹ Mr. Patrick Drummond. He is supposed to have been a brother of the minister of Muthil, and to have settled after the Restoration near Newcastle. We are indebted to Dr. Laing for this, the only information we have been able to obtain of Sharp's friend and correspondent.

² We are indebted for these copies to the kindness of Mr. Vere Irving, author of the *History of Lanarkshire*, who has liberally placed his transcripts of the Lauderdale Papers at our disposal.

readers such extracts from Sharp's letters before us as throw light upon his conduct, and make it more intelligible than it has hitherto appeared. We shall confine ourselves to the critical period of his life with which we have been hitherto dealing, and to which our letters exclusively relate. To travel beyond it to the time of his administration as Primate, and the troubles in which he was then involved, would open up a wide field, quite beyond the scope of a single paper. Our present purpose is merely to trace the motives influencing him at the Restoration, with a view to the estimate which must be formed of his personal character. But for this purpose, it will be necessary to trace briefly the thread of his life, and the state of ecclesiastical parties in Scotland, up to the time when he went to London on behalf of his Presbyterian brethren—the beginning, namely, of the year 1660. It is scarcely possible otherwise to understand the exact nature of his position, and the various motives bearing upon him.

James Sharp was of gentle birth. His father was Sheriff-Clerk of Banffshire, and was descended on the maternal side from the old family of Halyburtons of Pitcur, in the shire of Angus. His mother was a daughter of the Laird of Kinninvy, in the county of Banff. He was born on the 4th of May 1618, in the Castle of Banff; where his father is said to have 'lived and died in great esteem and reputation with all who knew him.' He was very clever as a boy, and took a special interest in religious subjects and the society of clergymen, so that his father's neighbours called him in jest, *the young minister*. It is reported that his mother had a vision of him as a bishop,—one of these family myths, no doubt, which grow up after the event.

The boy's natural turn pointed to the Church as his profession, and he never seems to have contemplated any other. So he went to King's College, in Aberdeen, in the year 1633. His name is found in the matriculation-list of that year, in the *Fasti Aberdonenses* printed for the Spalding Club. According to the same authority, he graduated in 1637. He then proceeded to the study of divinity, under the famous 'Aberdeen Doctors,' Dr. Forbes of Corse and Dr. Barron. The school of divinity at Aberdeen was at this time the most learned in the kingdom. Episcopacy had found in the north a congenial soil, and flourished not only in polemical strength, but in genuine fruits of spiritual and theological culture.¹ Young Sharp

¹ There can be no doubt of the root which Episcopacy had taken in Aberdeenshire; and the merited distinction of the 'Aberdeen Doctors' suggests a special regret that Dr. Joseph Robertson was not spared to write, what he sometimes thought of doing, memoirs of this famous school.

seems to have entered heartily into the spirit of the place, and to have been a favourite with his professors. Dr. Barron is said to have called him, after a familiar way, '*mi Jacobe Sharp*,' 'signifying the opinion he had of his conception and readiness.'¹ This fact of Sharp's education by the 'Aberdeen Doctors' in the principles of Episcopacy, deserves particular notice. There is no reason to think, although he became a Presbyterian minister, that he ever entirely abandoned these principles. No doubt, he became a Covenanter; as Leighton also did. This he could not help doing, if he was to live in Scotland at all; but there is good reason to believe that the Episcopal leaven was never purged out of him.

So strongly was he inclined to Episcopacy at first, that he retired to England on the outbreak of the Covenanting excitement, and the dispersion of the 'Aberdeen Doctors' in the spring of 1639. He went to Oxford, and is supposed also to have visited Cambridge, making use of his opportunities for further study, and laying the foundation of that personal acquaintance with English divines, both of the Prelatical, and of the Puritan school, which he continued afterwards to cultivate so diligently, and which makes so prominent a feature of his career in his successive visits to England. Particularly at this time, he is said to have 'contracted an acquaintance with those great lights, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Taylor.' He appears, in fact, to have contemplated taking English orders, and his admiring biographer says, that 'he stood fair for considerable ecclesiastical benefices, and had the honour to be taken notice of, and in favour with several persons of note;'² but the disturbances which had driven him from Scotland had by this time become equally powerful in England, and he was fain, therefore, to turn his face northwards again. A violent ague, with which he was seized, is said also to have compelled him to seek his native air.

On his return to Scotland, he was travelling towards Edinburgh, and, according to his biographer,³ 'happened to lodge at Haddington, in the same inn with Sir James M'Gill of Cranston, afterwards Viscount of Oxenford, a person of noble and generous temper,' who, falling into conversation with him, was so interested by his manners and address, that he took him with him to his house in the country, where he speedily recovered his health. Here also he met the Earl of Rothes, with whose family he was connected through his mother, and 'several of the nobility and gentry,' and the same art of pleasing, in which from his youth he was evidently a master, seems to have operated upon them. The Earl of Rothes particularly interested

¹ *True and Impartial Account*, p. 28.

² *Ibid.* p. 29.

³ *Ibid.* p. 30.

himself in his fortunes, and partly through his patronage, 'but more for his own merits,' Sharp was chosen one of the Regents of Philosophy in St. Leonard's College, in St. Andrews.

This is the representation of his prelatical biographer,¹ and there seems no reason to question it. For even the version given by his enemies of his first appointment in St. Andrews is highly creditable to him. According to them, he had ingratiated himself with Mr. Henderson, the well-known Puritan leader, while in England, and bringing recommendatory letters from him to the Rector of the University, he was admitted to a comparative trial for the vacant office of Regent, which he successfully obtained against another candidate, of whom we shall hear more immediately. This was in the beginning of 1643.²

His previous character as a student, no less than his evident activity of mind, affords every guarantee that he would devote himself with vigour and success to the duties of his position. 'He measured his time with great frugality,' says his biographer, allotting such portions of it for the instruction of his scholars as were necessary, and employing the rest for his own improvement, *without neglecting to converse with the world*. The last touch is significant and characteristic. Sharp was evidently from the first a man of manners and policy, as well as a student interested in books. He had an open and clear eye as to what was going on around him; and Scotland was plainly then a country in which a man needed to have his eyes well open. But notwithstanding his 'converse with the world' and his acknowledged prudence, he very nearly fell into disgrace by a singular act of indiscretion. As the story is told by both his Prelatical and Covenanting biographers, there is every likelihood of its resting on truth, whether or not it is to be held credible in all its features.

His competitor for the office of Regent was one of the name of Sinclair.³ He was second, but did so well in the examination that he was promised the next vacancy.⁴ He appears, accordingly, as a Regent in 1646; and whether it was that their former contention for precedence had bred some ill-will betwixt them, or from some other cause, he and Sharp seem to have

¹ *True and Impartial Account*.

² Sharp's signature is attached to a lease given by the Masters in St. Leonard's College, 5th July 1643. The exact date of his induction is not ascertained.

³ Mr. John Sinclair, afterwards minister of Ormiston—*True and Impartial Account*, confirmed by the Rev. Hew Scott, Anstruther, whose minute knowledge in such subjects is well known, and whose *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotticae*, the first volume of which has just appeared, will be found a most valuable repertory of Scottish ecclesiastical information.

⁴ *Life of Sharp*, printed in 1678.

quarrelled. The special ground of their quarrel was the great topic of the day—Presbytery *versus* Episcopacy. Sharp, apparently in a temporary moment of forgetfulness, after dinner at the College table, ‘when the students were removed,’ was ‘venting and maintaining Hooker’s, Hales’, and Hammond’s principles, with a philosophical liberty’ which so irritated Sinclair, that he flatly gave him the lie; Sharp replied ‘with a box on the ear’ of his unmannerly colleague. He ‘shamefully beat him,’ says the Covenanting biographer, in the presence of the Principal and the rest of the Regents. The event was unlucky, and served even, according to his admirer, to create ‘a very bad impression’ of him for some time. To add to the scandal, the offence took place on the Sabbath-day. Altogether, the incident is a curious one, especially in reference to the common view of Sharp’s character. If he was wary and full of dissimulation, it is clear that he was not always on his guard. There is a hearty vehemence in his resenting an insult at the College table with a blow, which, we confess, rather raises our conception of him. It was very undignified, no doubt, but it was not the act of a deceitful and treacherous man.

To this same period of his life belongs the most serious scandal raised by his enemies, and apparently credited by them. He is represented as having debauched a young woman of the name of Isobel Lindsay, and as having been instrumental in the murder of her child. The story is told by Kirkton,¹ and with fulness and circumstantiality in the *Life* printed in 1678. Isobel Lindsay was the ‘beautiful serving-woman’ at ‘a public change,’ kept by one John Allan, at whose house Sharp lodged when he first came to St. Andrews. He was so seduced by her charms, that he was to be found more in the wine-cellar where she waited, than in his study,—‘studying more the art of love than ever he had done that of logic.’ He is said to have deceived her by a promise of marriage, and then to have strangled her child; burying it ‘under the hearth-stone, where probably its bones may yet be found!’² and having made her a partner in his crime, to have finally cast her off, believing that she would not expose her own life by betraying him. The story was well conceived to touch the popular mind, and fill it with horror. It has that dash of dark romance in it which goes right to the popular imagination. Happily, it does not rest upon a particle of real evidence. All the admitted circumstances of Sharp’s residence in St. Andrews are broadly against it. It is allowed by all, and by none more strongly than the author of the *Life*, that Sharp’s career as a Regent, saving for the *fracas* with Sinclair, was a highly successful one. He grew

¹ P. 84.

² *Life*, p. 22.

in favour, not only in his own College, but in the opinion of the clergy generally. The fame of the 'man's learning and supposed piety' brought him 'many scholars, whereof not a few were of the best quality, of those who are called Primores.' This general opinion of his worth and ability is said to have even temporarily influenced Rutherford on his return from England. This, of course, is all attributed to his hypocrisy by the author of the *Life*; but the facts and admissions of such a writer are of far more value than his opinions. Sharp's alleged profligacy is quite inconsistent with his advance in general reputation. Besides, the story must evidently stand or fall as a whole, and it seems to destroy itself by the very atrocity of wickedness which it attributes to Sharp. It represents him as a man of sensual and violent impulses, who, to indulge his appetites, ran a risk quite disproportioned to the indulgence; and yet, the constant allegation of the same writer is, that he was a man of such deep dissimulation, that he was constantly using unworthy arts, and laying restraints upon his natural inclinations, with the view of insinuating himself into favour, and promoting his interests. Even were Sharp entirely destitute of principle, it is plain on the surface of his life, at every point, that he was a man of great sense and ability. In prudence he never seems to have been lacking. The excess of his prudence, of his far-seeing caution, is one of the most constant accusations against him. Was this the sort of a man to have a mistress at 'a public change,' in the high days of the Covenant? The Covenanting caricaturist has here, as in some other cases, drawn a picture too monstrous for belief.

The whole foundation of the story seems to have been certain ravings of a woman of the same name, long after Sharp became Archbishop. In the year 1672, under an entry in the Presbytery Records of St. Andrews,¹ dated December 4, nearly thirty years, therefore, after the alleged event, we find that a certain 'Isbell Lyndsay, spouse to John Wilson in St. Andrews,' had been banished the town 'for her railing against my Lord Archbishop in time of God's publik worship.' The subject appears to have occupied the Presbytery at several meetings. The woman had been allowed to return to her friends under promise of good behaviour, but, unable to restrain her tongue, had again 'uttered reviling speeches against the said Archbishop and his lady at his entry to his sermon.' The brethren were 'left by the Archbishop to their own prudence, to act in the matter as they thought convenient, so that God might be glorified and

¹ *Ecclesiastical Records*—Selections from Minutes of St. Andrews, p. 89. Printed for the Abbotsford Club.

the scandal removed ;' and accordingly the ministers of St. Andrews, St. Leonards, and Crail, were appointed to confer with her, and bring her to a sense of her sin ; but as she continued obstinate, she was again banished, and pronounced 'unworthy of Christian society.'

These are the facts upon which the story seems to have been built. Beyond these facts there is no evidence whatever for connecting the name of Isobel Lindsay with Sharp. The improbabilities of the story speak for themselves. The woman was evidently a fanatical enthusiast, 'crackbrained and fanciful.' Whatever her 'railings' may have been can matter little ; but there is no evidence that they were of such a nature as the story attributes to her. This is in fact expressly contradicted.¹ Sharp seems to have acted in the matter like any sensible person accused of a public scandal, who had nothing to fear from investigation. Doubtless if he had had any ground of fear, he could have found other means of silencing the woman besides sending the brethren of the Presbytery to confer with her.

We may seem to have dwelt upon this affair unduly ; but the scandal finds a place in Wodrow and Kirkton, as well as in the defamatory *Life* of 1678, and it was scarcely possible to pass it by. Sharp's career as a Regent is not distinguished by any further events. He continued in his office till the end of 1647. In November of that year the Presbytery of St. Andrews 'received a presentation from the Earl of Crawford, patron of the parish of Crail, nominating and presenting Mr. James Sharp, Regent, to be minister of the said kirk, and requiring the Presbytery to enter him to his trials for that effect.' On the 17th of the same month Commissioners appear from Crail, requesting the Presbytery to proceed with Sharp's trials, and to accelerate the same. 'The said Mr. James being asked, did submit himself to the Presbytery, protesting that if he be called to that charge, there be a tymeous provision of a helper with him therein.' Satisfaction being given on this point, the various trials usual in licensing a preacher are then prescribed to Sharp, which he passes through at successive meetings of the Presbytery in December 25 and 29. Finally, in January 13, 1648, 'he is fully approven in all these trials ; and also he is fully approven by all in all the parts of his trials in relation to that charge whereunto now he is called ;' and a fortnight afterwards, viz., on the 27th January, he is admitted minister at Crail.

Unhappily the veracious records of the Presbytery fail us further. We do not find any mention of Sharp again till the spring of 1652, when he was a prisoner at London along with

¹ *True and Impartial Account*, p. xvi. Letter in the Appendix, p. xlix.

Douglas and others. By this time he had entered upon his ecclesiastical career, taken his side amongst the contending parties in the Church, and begun to exercise something of that public influence which was destined to prove so powerful over the interests of his country for the next quarter of a century. The clear presumption therefore is, that the intervening years of his ministry at Crail were years of activity and usefulness. 'His labours,' says his biographer, 'were most acceptable, and gained on the hearts of the people by calmness, condescension, and affability.'¹ He exemplified in a singular manner, it is somewhat naïvely added, 'the evangelical precept as to the wisdom of the serpent and the innocence of the dove.' At the same time it is admitted that there were those among his brethren in the Presbytery who regarded him with suspicion. Some of the moroser sort, like Mr. Blair of St. Andrews, used to say, that *they did not believe him sound* (a word then and since of weighty import), *and that he spoke through a bishop.*²

Substantially the same impression is conveyed by his Covenanting biographer of this period of his ministry, although the suspicious features are laid in with darker colours. With all his dislike of Sharp, this writer cannot conceal the growing influence of his character and ability. He insinuates that he appropriated the whole stipend at Crail, instead of leaving provision for a helper, notwithstanding his professed eagerness on his appointment for assistance in so large a charge. He dwells with curious malice upon the bad opinion which Rutherford and others had of Sharp; but is forced to admit, in the face of all his insinuations, that Sharp's 'respect was grown so great' among his brethren generally, that he easily swayed them to his views. A special intimacy was formed between him and Mr. Wood, one of Rutherford's colleagues in St. Mary's College, which lasted through various vicissitudes, and of which we see fruits in the correspondence before us.

The Church of Scotland at this time was divided into two factions, violently contending for the mastery. These factions had sprung naturally out of the course of events during the Civil War. Scotland had entered into that war with a thoroughly honest, if sternly fanatical purpose. It knew its own mind plainly; what it was fighting for; and it kept steadfastly to the same mind and purpose through all the changing incidents of the contest. Whilst the religious feeling and intelligence of England were carried forward into more extreme phases of development with the advance of events, the Scotch remained true to the principles of 'the Solemn League and Covenant, approved

¹ *True and Impartial Account.*

² *Ibid.*

by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and by both Houses of Parliament and Assembly of Divines in England, and taken and subscribed by them, anno 1643.' The establishment of Presbyterianism in the three kingdoms as alone answering to a 'true reformation of religion, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God,' was the great idea of the Covenant. It was the animating thought of the Scotch mind through the whole crisis. Whence this idea had its origin, and grew into such a pervading fanaticism as it did, under what influences it had strengthened during the reigns of James and Charles I., till it seized the religious imagination of Scotland like a passion and swept all before it, it is not possible nor necessary for us now to trace. Of the prevalence and potency of the idea there can be no question. It had laid hold of the popular mind of the country to the exclusion of every other. Presbytery was religion, and there was no other religion. It was the 'common cause of religion, liberty, and peace' in the three kingdoms. Whatever was opposed to it—Popery, Prelacy, or Independency—was of the nature of 'heresy, schism, profaneness,' alike 'contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness.'

A fanaticism such as this was obviously of the straitest kind. It had, as it showed, enormous power of impulse, but no capacity of expansion, no element of accommodation. All its natural tendency was to contract farther rather than to expand. The Covenant, in fact, contained from the beginning negative elements of an intensely narrowing character. It pledged its subscribers not merely to the preservation of what they conceived to be the 'liberties of the kingdoms,' but, moreover, to the discovery and punishment of all who seemed to them to oppose these liberties and the true reformation of religion, as 'malignant and evil instruments.' There was a deep-seated jealousy in its principles, like the jealousy of the old Mosaic law. The Covenanters were the chosen people, and all beyond their pale were to be driven, like the Canaanites, if not from the land, yet from every office of trust, from every position of national service and government. A system like this speedily bred its natural fruits in intolerance and schism. The exigencies of a great patriotic crisis could not be kept within the trammels of a narrow fanaticism; while the fanaticism, from its very intensity, served to nourish an exclusive set of devotees, who not merely would not yield anything of their principles, but who were constantly stretching them to a more fanatical extremity.

The imprisonment of Charles I., and the rise of Cromwell, brought these results into prominent display. The Parliament of Scotland, true to that positive side of the Covenant which

pledged its subscribers to the defence of the 'King's person and authority,' was comparatively indifferent to its main principle of reducing the three kingdoms to a religious uniformity; and, accordingly, it entered, in the spring of 1648, into what was called 'The Engagement' with Charles. In other words, they agreed to take up arms in his behalf, on terms which by no means went the whole length of the Covenant. The King yielded so far as to promise a parliamentary sanction to its requirements, provided that *none should be compelled to subscribe it against their wills*, and to give Presbytery a three years' trial in England, provided that he and his *household were to be allowed to retain their own mode of worship*. Here was a clear dereliction from the grand Covenanting idea. The men who had been its real authors, whose stern faith it had embodied, whose holy ambition it had fired, were immediately roused to opposition; and from this event began a division in the Church and country which soon passed all bounds of healing, and covered the land with the most bitter animosities and coarse exasperations.

Not that the cause of the Engagers came to any substantive result; for the army of Cromwell at Preston, in August 1648, soon dispersed the army raised by the Scottish Parliament, with the incapable Hamilton at its head, and weakened by the denunciations of the Church against all who had joined it. But the spirit engendered by this difference was not to be allayed. The Church, not content with the triumph secured to its principles by the defeat at Preston, carried its pretensions to an incredible height. It resolved that all who had joined in the Engagement, or even expressed approbation of it, should be treated as malignants, and excluded from all offices of honour and trust. No one should flourish, or even live peaceably, in Scotland, who had not been true to the whole Covenant. The Marquis of Argyle placed himself at the head of this party, and for the time they were triumphant alike in Church and State. A new Parliament passed the 'Act of Classes,' designed to discriminate between the godly party and the malignants, and to thrust the latter from all service or power. Then, as Kirkton says, with that touch of stateliness in his style which tells here and there that he is satisfied with the march of events, 'the ministry was notably purified, the magistracy altered, and the people strangely defined.'¹

This was the heyday of the Covenant, from the close of 1648 to the spring of 1651,—Scotland's 'high noon,' in Kirkton's language, when the country was as 'a heap of wheat set about lilies, uniform, a palace of silver beautifully proportioned.'²

¹ *History*, p. 48.

² *Ibid.* p. 48.

Then the Covenanters had not only themselves free scope, but the delight, so dear to them, of restraining others. The young King, despairing of retrieving his fortunes otherwise, had at length been tempted from Breda, to try the chances of war in his hereditary dominions. The possession of the royal person was an unexampled opportunity for the improvement of their principles. He was not only made to swear to the Solemn League and Covenant, and subscribe it, but to declare that he did so without any sinister intention. He was made to attest by his signature his father's guilt in opposing it, by which so much of the blood of the Lord's people had been shed, and also the idolatry of his mother as a Papist.² He was made to hear many 'prayers and sermons,'—'so many as six sermons on one fast-day without intermission,' says Burnet.³ The worthy divine confesses that he himself was not a 'little weary of so tedious a service.' We may imagine what the feelings of Charles must have been. A more melancholy page of history is nowhere to be found than this brief reign of the Covenant in Scotland. Men fitted to be heroes and martyrs were abundant there in the seventeenth century, men animated by high and self-sacrificing thoughts; but on neither side, Covenanting nor Prelatical, were there any men capable of fair and righteous government. Cromwell had more of the spirit of a true ruler, of a 'king of men,' than all the Scottish nobles and clergy combined.

Such a reign as that of Argyle's and the Covenant could not last long. It was impossible that any people, however stern the prevailing enthusiasm, could long maintain the high-pitched and unnatural fervour signalized by the Act of Classes. Moreover, the progress of Cromwell came to break up the unity of the prevailing fanaticism. It soon appeared that there was a party more exclusive even than those who had possession of the King. True to the spirit of their principles, this party looked with jealousy on Charles and those who immediately surrounded him, as but half-hearted in the cause. The compulsion put upon him to swear and subscribe as he had done was notorious. He had evidently acted hypocritically throughout, to secure his own ends, and not for the sake of principle. What but evil could come from such a connexion? It was plain that the Lord had a controversy with the land. The defeat at Dunbar was the natural fruit of a treaty with a King who had given no evidence of a godly change, and of union with men who were not heart-whole in the great cause. As yet the Court, the Government, and the Church had been but imperfectly purged.

¹ The famous Dunfermline Declaration, 16th August 1650, which Charles never forgave.

² *History of His Own Time*, vol. i. p. 99.

Such was the tone of a remonstrance addressed to the Committee of Estates in the autumn of 1650; nor was this party content with remonstrance; they raised an army in the west, led by a Colonel Strachan, and actually offered war. The soldiers of Cromwell speedily dispersed them; but the spirit of the party remained unbroken, and soon showed itself in new combinations. On the other hand, the main Covenanting party, which had possession of the King, and which proceeded to his coronation at Scone on the 1st of January 1651, were more and more convinced by the course of events, that the process of purgation legalized by the Act of Classes had become a source of weakness to the royal cause. How could this cause prosper, or the English soldiers be driven from the country, while nearly one-half of the population were rendered incapable of bearing arms, or in any way engaging in the service of the Government, by some charge of malignancy, by having either been concerned in, or having approved of, the Engagement of 1648? Such a policy was plainly ruinous. The King was naturally impatient of it, and complained that many of his best friends were kept from his presence, or precluded from rendering him assistance. Many in Parliament had never approved, but only accepted it at the dictation of the Church. The spirit of the Engagers had merely yielded for the time before the storm provoked by their want of success. In short, a strong feeling began to prevail in favour of the repeal of the Act of Classes.

It was necessary, however, to proceed with caution toward such a step. The Church had been the moving spring of the exclusive legislation. Some of the most eminent of the clergy, like Rutherford and Guthrie, were deeply committed to it. It had been their own inspiration. It was impossible, therefore, to proceed without negotiating with the Church. A meeting of the Commission of the General Assembly¹ was held at Perth, on the 14th December 1650. The question as to the composition of the royal army necessary to defend the country against the invasion of the English sectaries was put before the Commission in an ingeniously abstract form. The reply was cautious,² but opened up the way for further advances on the part of the Parliament. It was held that persons who repented of their malignancy, and satisfied the Church by conforming to its discipline, might be readmitted to the army. Immediately the churches were filled with penitents clothed in sackcloth; among others the Earls of Lauderdale³ and of Crau-

¹ Sharp was present at the Commission, also at many subsequent meetings; he was nominated one of the members of Commission on 18th July 1650.

² Wodrow, vol. i. p. 2.

³ The Earl of Lauderdale did penance and craved pardon before the Presbytery of St. Andrews, December 23, 1650, for the 'late unlawful

ford, destined ere long to a very different celebrity. The Parliament stretched the latitude given by the Church to the utmost, and even much beyond it. There had been a special reservation in the deliverance of the Commission as to the character of the officers of the army; but no sooner was the door opened, than, Wodrow states, the Parliament made haste to 'nominate some of the most considerable of those formerly reckoned malignants.' So that the bulk not merely of the army, but of the officers, were men who had been 'involved in the Engagement, or in some respect or other opposed to the work of reformation since 1638.' The result was that, after further negotiations which we need not trace, the Act of Classes was rescinded in May 1651; and in the following July, when the General Assembly met at St. Andrews, it immediately became evident that there was a strongly divided feeling in the Church as to what had taken place, and as to the encouragement which the Commission of Assembly had given, bit by bit, to the new course of policy. Was the Church, by its General Assembly, to approve of this policy, and ratify the actings of the Commission? A powerful party, led by men who from the first, from the time of the 'Engagement,' had opposed treaty with the King, save on the highest principles of the Covenant, were found opposed to all 'the resolutions and actings' of the Commission. But no longer dominant, they were unable to bend the Church to their will. They adopted, accordingly, the policy of protest and withdrawal,—a policy to which the constitution of the Scottish Church gives a fatal facility. A protestation against the lawfulness and freedom of the General Assembly, on the ground that its composition had been interfered with both by the King and the Commission, was given in by Rutherford, and subscribed by Guthrie, Gillespie, Cant, and Menzies.¹ The Assembly met protest by deposition. Three of the leading protesters were deposed. The long smouldering division in the Church now burst into an open schism. Those who adhered to the 'resolutions and actings' of the Commission, and who generally approved of the new policy, received the name of Resolutioners. Those who adhered to the protest were called Protesters, sometimes Remonstrants, from their affi-

engagement against England,' etc., and was afterwards, in the parish church of Largo, admitted to the Covenant and Communion.—*St. Andrews Presbytery Records*, p. 60-1.

¹ See this 'Protestation,' and also a very interesting account of this famous Assembly, in Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, pp. 626-631. The account of the Assembly is extracted from the Wodrow MSS., and was written at the time by Mr. Alexander Gordon, a member of the Assembly. Wodrow says that in 1703 he transcribed and collated Gordon's original MS. There is no hint of Sharp being a member of this Assembly.

nity with the extreme Western Covenanters, who had remonstrated, nearly a year before, with the Committee of Estates, and had not hesitated to encounter the veterans of Cromwell under Colonel Strachan.

Such was the state of the Church when Sharp entered upon his ministry at Crail. The early years of his ministry were the years whose history we have now briefly traced, when the principles of the Covenant were upon their trial. We have no means of ascertaining by what steps Sharp gradually took his side in the controversies of the time. There is no evidence that he mingled much in them. He certainly occupied at first no prominence. But there could be no doubt from the beginning on which side he would be found ranked, and nearly as little doubt that his remarkable abilities and capacity for business would soon bring him into a prominent position. It is evident, indeed, from the account of his hostile biographer,—we have not seen any other evidence for the fact,—that he was scarcely settled at Crail before his abilities began to attract notice, not only among his brethren in the Presbytery of St. Andrews, but throughout the Church, so much so, that he received a call to be one of the ministers of Edinburgh. ‘The splendour of his gifts and the heat of his zeal’¹ (he is represented at this time as being very zealous for the Covenant), are ironically said to have been the cause of this offer of preferment, which was apparently made in 1650. There is no evidence, however, that he contemplated removing at this time from Crail.

Shortly after the split between the Resolutioners and Protesters, Sharp is found, along with Douglas, and other leading clergy among the Resolutioners, attending a meeting of the Committee of Estates, at Alyth, in Forfarshire. The seat of the Scottish Government had been gradually driven northwards, and Alyth was probably the most southern point at which the Scottish clergy and nobles supposed themselves safe in meeting. Even here, however, as it proved, they were not beyond the vigilance of the English soldiers; a party of horse setting out from Dundee during the night, came upon them unexpectedly on the 28th of August (1651), and carried off about eighty ‘gentlemen, soldiers, and noblemen’s servants,’² along with ‘several ministers;’ among others, Mr. Robert Douglas of Edinburgh, and Mr. James Sharp of Crail. They were deported to London, where Sharp is still found a prisoner in the end of March 1652. For, on the last day of that month, a letter of condolence is agreed to be sent to him by the Presbytery

¹ *Life*, 1678. *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. ii. p. 32.

² *Lamont’s Diary*, p. 41. See also Nicol’s *Diary of Transactions in Scotland*.

of St. Andrews, and his friend Mr. James Wood of St. Mary's College, and Mr. A. Honeyman, are appointed to draw it up.¹ Shortly after this date he appears to have been liberated, although we possess no information of the exact date or mode of his liberation. His enemies, of course, have a theory on the subject. They assert that he was guilty of some base compliances to Cromwell; while others remained firm to their allegiance, he is accused of having 'taken the tender,' whereby he renounced the monarchy in the person of Charles and his successors. But of this charge, freely urged by Wodrow and others, there appears to be no evidence whatever, and everything in the subsequent career of Sharp tends to contradict it.

The next glimpse we get of him is in the spring of the subsequent year, when he entered into marriage with a young lady in his own neighbourhood. The fact is recorded under the date of April 3, 1653, by the *Chronicle of Fife*, otherwise known as *Lamont's Diary*.² The name of the lady was Helen Moncrieff, a daughter of William Moncrieff, the Laird of Randerston, a small property lying between the village of Kingsbarns and Crail. The marriage-feast, it is particularly mentioned, was at 'her father's house in Randerston.' We know little or nothing of this lady, save that she bore to Sharp a son (afterwards Sir William Sharp), and two daughters, one of whom was with him at the time of his assassination. But the scandal which has been so busy with his own name, has not, of course, spared his wife.³ It is one of the most painful features of the dark scandal of the seventeenth century in Scotland, that it seldom turns aside even from the privacies of domestic life. It is at once malignant and vulgar, to a degree that shocks every feeling of delicacy. No pearl of affection, however sacred, is safe from its foul touch.

Onwards from about this time Sharp was evidently an active and influential partisan on the side of the Resolutioners. We fail, however, to trace his activity for upwards of two years. It is only in 1656 that we see him in Baillie's *Letters* emerging into full prominence as a leader of his party. The first mention of him, so far as we have observed, is in a letter dated December 1655, to his cousin, 'Mr. William Spang,' to whom he sends long accounts of the course of ecclesiastical affairs in

¹ *Presbytery Records*, p. 64.

² First published by Archibald Constable.

³ *Life*, 1678, p. 42. The portrait of Sharp's wife here is of a piece with his own,—daubed with the most vulgar colours. It is deserving of notice also, that the writer represents Sharp as married before his imprisonment in England, and explains his eagerness to return by his having a 'young wife at home.' The mistake is a small one in itself, but not insignificant in its bearing on the general untrustworthiness of this *Life*.

Scotland. These accounts are sufficient to show how important a person Sharp had become by this time. He moves among the chief counsellors of the Resolutioners, along with Douglas, and Dickson, and Hutchison, and Wood. His influence with Douglas and Wood is particularly marked.¹ With Baillie himself it is evident also that he is becoming an important person, and is looked upon as one of the most likely instruments of usefulness in the necessary contentions with the Protesters. The latter party had got great influence with Cromwell. In reactionary dislike from Charles and his ungodly ways while in Scotland, they turned themselves towards the Commonwealth government, which in return extended its patronage to them, and bestowed office upon some of their number, notwithstanding their deposition by the Assembly.² This favour of the English Government for the Protesters was a great discouragement to the Resolutioners, and Baillie's *Letters* are full of suggestions for having their case more fully set before the Protector, and the spirit of their opponents exposed. In a letter to Mr. James Wood, dated December 8, 1656, he dwells with emphasis upon Sharp's fitness for this special task:—'Mr. James Sharp must procure a message for two or three of our mind to decipher these men (the Protesters) to the whole world without more circumlocution.'³ And again, in the first letter from Baillie to Sharp himself, in the collection dated January 18, 1657, he says, 'I hope you shall by God's help get the desires of those heady men crushed; but all my fear is that the end of your strife will be the Protector's determination to subject our poor Church to some new Erastian model, which shall be very grievous, albeit far more tolerable than the tyrannik Turkish yoke of the Protesters.'⁴

Sharp, in fact, had already in the previous summer⁵ been appointed the confidential agent and representative of the Resolutioners, to maintain their cause before the Protector, in opposition to a deputation sent by the Protesters to promote their interests. Baillie writes to him there in March, and he

¹ Baillie's *Letters*, vol. iii. p. 281.

² Mr. Patrick Gillespie, for example, who was deposed by the Assembly at St. Andrews in 1657, 'was admitted by the English to be Principal of the College of Glasgow in 1653.' This appointment was a sore vexation to Baillie, who was Professor of Divinity at the time. The same year Leighton was admitted Principal of the College of Edinburgh, which shows, at least, that 'the English' were impartial in their favours.

³ Baillie's *Letters*, vol. iii. p. 327.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 337.

⁵ The 'Instructions to Mr. James Sharp for London,' are dated 25th August 1656, and will be found printed in the Appendix to Laing's edition of Baillie's *Letters*, pp. 570-2. They are signed by Dickson, Douglas, and Wood. The proposals of the Protesters are added on the following page, p. 573.

responds in July, writing somewhat briefly in reply to three letters from Baillie. In October and November he writes again; and it appears to us that these letters are particularly deserving of study, with a view to the interpretation of Sharp's subsequent correspondence. They show the same characteristics precisely as his later letters, the same cautious, reserved, and ingenious rather than explicit handling of the affairs intrusted to him. He seeks to compose Baillie's fidgetiness, counsels him to 'silence and patience,' quietly insinuates that his position 'at the source of affairs' gives him special knowledge of what is going on, and a special right to advise his brethren in Scotland,—exactly in the strain in which he afterwards wrote to Douglas. All this is very significant as to Sharp's character. The man was clearly a born diplomatist. It was not in his nature to be frank and outspoken, but rather to compass his ends by adroit policy and wary means.¹ Such is the impression he makes when he had plainly no ends of his own to serve, and no one has ventured to say that he had.

It is universally admitted that Sharp discharged his mission to London at this time with consummate success. The mission was of a delicate and difficult nature, as any one may satisfy himself by looking at the 'Instructions' given to him. The Protesters were represented by two of the most active and able of their number, Patrick Gillespie and James Guthrie. They had the ear of the Protector and some of his immediate friends, such as Dr. Owen, and the Generals Lambert and Fleetwood. The story is told that in one of the interviews granted by the Protector, Guthrie spoke first, setting forth the interests of the Protesters, which he did so long, that Cromwell 'looked upon his watch, and told Mr. Sharp that he would hear him at another time, for his hour for other despatches was approaching. But Mr. Sharp begged to be heard, promising to be very short. His request being seconded by his intimate friend the Lord Broghill, afterwards the famous Earl of Orrery, Oliver was prevailed upon to give him an audience; and then in a few words he turned Mr. Guthrie's arguments against himself and the cause he defended, and gave such a rational representation of his constituents and their party, that Oliver was not only satis-

¹ How like him, for example, the following caution to Baillie:—'If you mar not your own business by unseasonable stirring and not keeping close what may be suggested to you as a remedy for the present, that may be done shortly which will give satisfaction' (p. 342). It deserves notice also that these letters show the same mixture of worldly penetration and religious allusion which has appeared so suspicious to some students of his letters to Douglas, as, for example, 'Mr. Gillespie and all of them are better known here than they suppose; the Lord our God is holy and true, and will not always further crooked designs' (p. 348).

fied they had justice on their side, but also so much taken with Mr. Sharp's genteel management and address, that he told the bystanders '*that that gentleman after the Scotch way ought to be styled SHARP OF THAT ILK.*'¹

This is the account no doubt of a friendly hand, but there is abundant evidence besides of the prudent cleverness and success of Sharp's policy on this occasion. Baillie is scarcely less complimentary than the statement we have quoted. 'In diverse conferences,' he says, 'before the Protector, Mr. Sharp made them (the Protesters) appear so unreasonable, that after more than a year's solicitation they could obtain nothing at all.' And more conclusive, perhaps, than either, is a letter from the well-known London ministers Mr. Calamy and Mr. Ashe on the subject, addressed to Douglas and Dickson. The letter is dated December 1657, and bears that 'our reverend brother, Mr. Sharp, hath with much prudence, courage, and laboriousness unweariedly attended and managed the trust committed to him; (yea, as we believe) he hath secured your cause from sundry aspersions which otherwise might probably have reproached it, and he hath gained respect in the opinions of some in highest place, by his wisdom and meekness in vindicating it from misrepresentations.'²

This, the first of Sharp's official journeys to London, is in every respect significant. It brought him into familiar and influential relation with the 'London ministers,' a relation which we see constantly reappearing in his subsequent more important visit. It seems to have been the commencement of his friendship with his correspondent the Rev. Patrick Drummond, the first of his letters to whom is dated from Crail shortly after his return. It placed him definitely, if not at the head, yet in the very front among the leaders of the Resolution party, and particularly, it brought him into direct collision with the Protesters, in a manner which neither they nor he evidently ever

¹ *True and Impartial Account*, p. 34.

² This letter is printed in the *True and Impartial Account*, p. 35. Since the above was written we have, by the kindness of Dr. D. Laing, perused Sharp's own account of his mission to London at this time, preserved in letters to Douglas, transcripts of which, copied from the Wodrow MSS., are in Dr. Laing's possession. Sharp wrote to Douglas at great length on February 12, 1657, and again on February 14th and 23d, describing with minute and even tedious detail two debates which he held with the Protesters before Cromwell. The letters give a curious glimpse into the character and motives of the two parties in Scotland, and also into the habits of the Protector, but they cannot be said to add much to our information; nor do they alter in any degree, but rather strongly confirm, the view taken in the text. They are marked, in a singular manner, by the same characteristics as the letters to Baillie, described on page 421,—the same mixture of caution, worldly sagacity, and unctuous religious phraseology.

forgot. He was their sworn foe from this period, plainly detesting them and their ways, and doing all he could to thwart and oppose them. They in return repaid his enmity and opposition with a cordiality of hatred and an opprobrium of scandal which did not cease even with his assassination.

But we hasten on to that special and critical period of his life and conduct upon which our letters throw light. Sharp appears to have returned from London in the beginning of 1658. He writes to Baillie from Edinburgh in February, apparently on his way homeward. In August we find him settled again at Crail, writing from thence to his friend Mr. Patrick Drummond. He apologizes for being so long in communicating with him after his return, and then proceeds to speak of the 'bleeding condition of this poor Church,' and the readiness of himself and his friends to do their utmost 'for healing and closure.' But all without effect. 'No peace,' he adds, 'can be had with these men but upon their own terms, how destructive soever to truth and order.'

'CRAILL, 8th August 1658.

'DEAR SIR,—I have failed much and long in not writing to you, and my apology for this neglect would take more time than I could now spare. I must be in this at y^r mercy. You have long ago seen and perused our late declaration, and thereby perceived our tender resentments of the bleeding condition of this poor Church, and readiness to stretch ourselves to the utmost for healing and closure with those brethern in the Lord. But what we did bear and presage is come to pass. No peace can be had with those men but upon their own terms, how destructive soever to truth and order. Their leading men do so act and influence that party, being encouraged thro' the favour of the times, and heightened by the sway, they consider that those of their way who have got themselves into places of power and trust may carry in this nation, that nothing will satisfy them unless they have all their will, whatever may be the consequent thereof. They have lately emitted a most bitter invective piece,¹ which will appear to be such to you if you have seen it. I hear it is not owned by all their party, but they have stretched their wits and consciences (I mean the penners of it), *ad ultimum conatum*, to render us odious, and make a clear discovery of their spirit and way. Tho' their most false alledjeances and gross misrepresentations of matters of fact be set off with all their speciousness and plausibility they could make, yet we hope it shall not take impression upon the sober and unbiassed;

¹ The 'invective piece' here referred to is Rutherford's 'Preface to the Reader,' in his 'Survey of the Survey of that Summe of Church-Discipline, penned by Mr. Thomas Hooker of Hartford, Connecticut, New England,' as may be gathered by a letter from Baillie to Douglas on the subject, about the same time (p. 375). 'With all reverence to my much-honoured and beloved brother,' Baillie says, 'I profess my grief and scandal with some pages in it.'

and I am desired by Mr. Douglas and Mr. Hutchinson, who had a letter from you lately, to entreat you to speak to those of y^r acquaintance, that if that piece have or shall come to y^r hands, they would allow us more charity than what that Libell doth give to us, till they see our vindication, which we are necessitate to emit for clearing the truth and our innocency. And we purpose to do it with this resolved intimation, once for all, that henceforth we will no deal any more with them by print, nor publish anything relating to our differences, whatever reply they may make. If they will have the last word let them take it. For our parts, after our full clearing of ourselves, we will leave our cause to the Lord and the consideration of all the unprejudiced. I would give you some hints of the injurious usage we have from that pamphlet, but conceiving it needless till you see our full answer, I shall forbear; and now put this trouble upon you to deliver the inclost to Mr. Manton. Our brethern conceive it unnecessary to trouble Mr. Calamy and Mr. Ash, with our friends with you, by frequent letters. They desire their affectionate respects to be tendered to them, and do expect y^r prayers towards the welfare of this distempered Church. I long to know how it is with you, and if the motions which I know were made to you by y^r friends for entering into the Lord's vineyard have yet prevailed with you. I trust to have the satisfaction of hearing of the Lord's driving you to employ y^r talents even in this poor despised Church. I must leave off. The good God hold you in his keeping. Account of me as one who does unfeignedly respect and love you.'

In the interval between the date of this letter and the beginning of 1660, Sharp is not conspicuous, but still far from idle. He had made an intermediate journey to London in the spring of 1659, on the change of affairs following Cromwell's death.¹ It is not, however, till the beginning of 1660, that he again appears prominently upon the scene. General Monk left Edinburgh on his march to London in November 1659. He did not reach London till January; and on the 15th of this month Dickson and Douglas wrote to him, signifying their confidence in him as to the affairs of Scotland, and the necessity of some one being with him to advise him as to these affairs.² Sharp is the person they suggest for this purpose. Monk enters into their proposal heartily, and replies that the sooner Mr. Sharp comes to him 'the more welcome he shall be.' Accordingly, on the 6th of February, several ministers met at Edinburgh, and having approved of Sharp's nomination to represent them, they drew out, as in the former case, instructions for him. These instructions will be found printed in Wodrow,³ and it is not necessary that we repeat them here.

¹ Letters, in Wodrow ms., to Douglas as usual. See also Baillie's *Letters*, vol. iii. p. 396.

² Wodrow, *Introd.* p. 4.

³ P. 5.

Suffice it to say that they show that even the comparative liberality of the Resolution party was of a limited kind, the 'lax toleration' which had been allowed under the wise and firm hand of Cromwell being one of the matters which Sharp is to represent as demanding remedy. He appears to have set out to London immediately on the back of this commission, for on the 14th of February he signifies to Douglas his arrival there on the previous day, and his kind reception by Mr. Manton, the well-known Presbyterian divine. He continued there, busy with his negotiations, till the beginning of May, when, at the instigation of Monk, and with the approval of Douglas, he made a journey to Breda to see Charles, and give him information as to the state of parties. He returned to London on May 25, and remained there till the beginning of August. During all this period of six months, Sharp's letters to Douglas are unintermitting. They are printed sometimes fully, and sometimes in an abbreviated form, in the *Introduction to Wodrow's History*.

It is unnecessary to raise any question as to Wodrow's fairness in his manner of presenting these letters. It is evident on the surface that the writer considered Sharp to have acted treacherously in the discharge of his mission; that, in short, he had prejudged him, and consequently that he presents the letters in such a shape as he supposes most likely to bear out this prejudgment.¹ But there is no reason to conclude that he has misrepresented facts, or 'garbled' the letters, so as to make them tell a substantially different story from what they do in the original.² We are content to accept them as they are printed, and after a careful examination we are satisfied that they do not necessarily bear the interpretation which Wodrow puts upon them. They do not absolutely exclude that interpretation. On a certain view of Sharp's character, it is quite possible to hold not only that he was deceiving Douglas throughout, but to find modes of expression in the letters which countenance this idea of hypocritical villany. This arises from Sharp's peculiar character as a correspondent. He writes continually, as we have already said, with that diplomatic reserve and apparent cunning which justifies suspicion of his motives. He does not do so, however, more in these letters to Douglas than in all his letters which we have seen on public matters. And it is needless to say that he repeatedly asseverates in these letters, in a quite natural

¹ P. 4.

² The original letters were in Wodrow's own possession. They were purchased, with other MSS. from his collection, by authority of the General Assembly. The MSS. referred to by Dr. Burns as in the College Library, Glasgow, are *transcripts*.

way, his continued hope that the Presbyterian cause would triumph in Scotland, whatever might happen in England, and that he was doing all in his power to secure this result. He urged Douglas also to come to London to assist him in his negotiations, although he did not favour any general deputation of the brethren, 'knowing their temper,'¹ and he heartily wishes 'his own neck out of the collar,' and that he were well rid of the task imposed on him. All these expressions of interest in the Presbyterian cause, of weariness with his work, of assurance that the King would not 'meddle with the Church-government'² of Scotland, are of course, to the Presbyterian historian and those who have followed him, just so many remarks designed to deceive Douglas,—to throw dust into his eyes. This is because he has already made up his mind about Sharp, and believes that he was at this very time, when writing such letters, 'concerting' for the overthrow of the Church of Scotland. But by themselves, the letters contain no evidence whatever of such double-dealing. They are cautious and diplomatic, but with no further artfulness than has been already shown to be characteristic of the man in all his previous correspondence. In some respects, indeed, the letters are singularly honest and firm, in so far as they represent to Douglas the hopelessness of establishing Presbytery in England, and the accumulating force with which the public mind there was inclining, not only towards Episcopacy, but the High Church form of it. He was obliged, he acknowledges, 'to get and keep acquaintance with the Episcopal party,' as well as Presbyterians, and others about the Court, though no friends to Presbytery, and although he knew that thereby he would 'be exposed to the constructions of men.' His position, in short, was a very difficult one. It is plain that he encountered all its difficulties with the spirit more of a diplomatist than of a Covenanter. Probably he did many things, and listened to various proposals from which Douglas would have shrunk, and Baillie would have turned away with undissembled aversion; but there is no evidence that he was a party at this time to any scheme for overturning Presbyterianism in Scotland.

Such is the impression left upon us by these well-known letters, and the letters before us strengthen this impression. There are none of them, indeed, at least none of the series to Mr. Patrick Drummond, written during the same period,—because Drummond was in London, and as we gather, must have been one of Sharp's closest friends and advisers there. The series, however, takes up his history shortly after his return, and carries it on during the period of the Parliamentary session, which was full of such grave results to Scotland.

¹ P. 33.² P. 46.

He returned to Scotland on the 31st of August, bringing the well-known royal letter with him, of which he is supposed to have been the inspirer, if not the writer. This letter was addressed 'to our truly and well-beloved Mr. Robert Douglas, Minister of the Gospel in our city of Edinburgh,—to be communicated to the Presbytery of Edinburgh.'¹ It expressed satisfaction with the conduct of 'the generality of the ministers of Scotland in this time of trial,' with a glance, however, at some who, 'under specious pretences, had swerved from their duty and allegiance.' It gave assurance of the royal determination 'to discountenance profanity, and all contemners and opposers of the ordinances of the gospel.' 'We do also,' it adds, in a sentence of great significance, which became the turning-point of future legislation, '*resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland as it is settled by law* without violation, and to countenance in the due exercise of their functions all such ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably, as becomes men of their calling.' It further approved of the Acts of the General Assembly of 1651, held at St. Andrews, which confirmed the policy of the Resolutioners, and notified an intention of consulting Douglas and some other ministers, 'in what may further concern the affairs of the Church.'

There can be no question of the plain meaning of this letter. If ever royal word was pledged, the word of Charles was pledged by it to the maintenance of Presbyterianism in Scotland. If there could be any cavilling as to the meaning of the expression, 'the government of the Church of Scotland as settled by law,' there could be no doubt of what everybody in Scotland would understand by it, in connexion with an approval of the Assembly of 1651 and the intention of consulting Douglas as to the further ordering of the Church. It is not our present business to consider the letter in relation to the subsequent conduct of the King. It matters little really, with a character like Charles's, whether he gave it honestly or not,—whether or not it represented his fair intentions in August 1660. The question which concerns us is the conduct of Sharp at this particular crisis. He was the person really responsible for the letter. It was given by his advice, if not according to his dictation. Supposing him to have been the man that Wodrow and Burnet describe, and that Douglas and Baillie apparently both came to believe him to be, then, of course, the letter was merely a cunning device further to keep up appearances till the time was ready for a change of policy. Accepting for a moment this supposition, it does not appear to us to have been a very happy device. Such cunning as is thus attributed to Sharp,

¹ It is printed in Wodrow, p. 81.

might have brought forth better fruit. If it was necessary to bring a royal letter at all with him to Scotland, wit like his might have divined something less explicit, something which would have left a way of escape for the royal honour, instead of so broadly forcing a lie into the King's mouth, and making, according to the already quoted saying of Middleton, 'his Majesty's first appearance in Scotland to be in a cheat.' But let us see what he himself says about it. Let us, before drawing our final conclusion, see what explanation he has to give of his whole conduct, both while in England and in the eventful eight or nine months following his return to Scotland,—months of such significance, during which we have hitherto known little or nothing of him.¹

The first letter we quote does not bear any date, but is obviously written before any of the others, all of which are dated, beginning with the 13th December (1660). It appears to have been written some time after his return, but while the memory of Drummond's kindness to him in London was still fresh—probably in October.² It opens:—

'MY DEAR AND MUCH-VALUED FRIEND,—My long silence must needs render me obnoxious to yr censure and jealousy of me, whom you have obliged by so many ties as cannot but endear you to me. Unless I would shake off all bonds of gratitude and sense of deservings, I would make some apology for my neglect, which yet would take up more paper and time than now I can spare, and, therefore, shall cast myself upon yr pardon and wonted indulgence, and shall not offer to excuse from my laziness and pressure of business since my return. I designed to have accosted you by my brother, but at his first coming to London, he wrote to me, that he was to be immediately dispatched, which put a stop to my intended trouble, to be given you by him now. I shall tell you without compliment that I am infinitely yr debtor, and think myself bound to be as much yr well-wisher and servant, if it can be of significancy, as you can desire, and hope you will not measure my respects to you by the expressions thereof by letters. Had I my wish I would rejoice to have the opportunity to evidence what a value I have for my dear Mr. Drummond; but I forget myself when the pen runs in this strain. Before my coming to Scotland some of the Remonstrators were put under restraint, of which you

¹ Of this period all that is said by his latest biographer, Thomas Stephens, the author of the *Life and Times of Archbishop Sharp*, is: 'He does not again (after his return) appear in public life, except to preach before the Parliament, till he was summoned to London by the King's command in October 1661.' This book, besides being blindly prejudiced in spirit, has no value whatever—not having helped us to clear up a single fact or feature of Sharp's life.

² The allusion to Rutherford confirms this. Active proceedings were taken against Rutherford at this time by the Committee of Estates, and his book *Lex Rex* burned before the gate of St. Mary's College in the end of October.

heard. There are some here who can bear me witness, how much I endeavoured to prevent exercising of severity towards them, and what pains I took is known to Mr. Blair, to obtain an indulgence to Mr. Sam. Rutherford. But, *frater*, their principles, spirit, and actings, have been so fatal to the quiet and honor of this poor country, to the peace and reputation of this church, as I am afraid God has some controversy against them. Their folly of late hath and yet doth betray them to those inconveniencies as are grievous to honest sober men here. I am afraid the consequence thereof shall not only be prejudicial to themselves, but to others who are not involved in their guilt. There may be a report of persecution with you, but beleive it, all moderation consistent with the public safety is used towards them, and would they disown those tenets, which are condemned by all Protestant Churches, and destructive of the authority of the King and the public interest, nothing would be denied to them which could be rationally proposed. Some of the leading men amongst them did needlessly slay themselves, and were so far involved that indifferent men find difficulty as to their coming off.

‘I have no particular account of the affairs of the Church of England, but what I perceive by the King’s declaration. I am sure by one clause therein, relating to the declaration pressed upon him at Dumferline, he hath done us a great deal of right, and said more for our vindication than we could have expected. I shall entreat you to present my respects to Mr. Calamy, Mr. Ash, Mr. Manton, Mr. Bates, and let me know how it is with them, and how they are satisfied with the present condition of affairs. I hope you pay yr wonted visits to my Lord Lauderdale, whose deservings towards his mother Church renders him very precious to all honest men here. They are renewing their invitations to me to enter the vacant place in the New College, which I did communicate to you. I confess, I incline rather to go thither than to Edinburgh. If you can be induced to embrace a call to a considerable congregation in Fife, I can undertake for clearing your way, and do think you might do service to Christ and this Church, and have matter of more satisfaction to employ yr talent in yr own country than abroad. Pray you take this hint as serious, and let me know if you can be prevailed with. I am sure my Ld Craufurd will assist me in this desire, and my Lord Lauderdale would not be so injurious to Scotland (tho’ I had no claim to make upon the interest of Craill), as to advise you to spend the best of yr time where you are, when a door may be opened for you here. I shall be at this place during the session of the approaching Parliament, and be sure to give you oftener trouble by letters than I have done. And till I hear from you and know your mind I will not entertain thoughts of any other.’

The interval between this letter and the next, which is among the most important of our series, was evidently a time of much surmise and speculation in Scotland following the publication of the King’s letter. On the one hand, some of the

Synods, particularly the Synods of Lothian and Fife, sent up addresses of thankfulness to the King for his letter, and for the assurance which it conveyed to them of the settlement of the Presbyterian government. On the other hand, not a few seem to have had their suspicions excited of coming changes, notwithstanding the letter. Sharp himself had evidently begun to be suspected. He had apparently attended the Synod of Fife in the autumn,¹ and been the chief party in moving the address which they had sent to London to be printed and presented to his Majesty ; but the minds of many were ill at ease about him, and strange rumours had reached even the ears of his friend Drummond in London. Drummond seems to have communicated to him with frankness and honesty what he heard. And the following is Sharp's reply, going at length into the subject of those rumours, and full of interest as bearing on his motives and character :—

‘ Having come to Edinr. upon the 12 current (Dec. 1660), I received three of yr letters. The last, of Decr. 5th, came first to hand. The other two I had after from Thomas Moncrief. I confess I was not a little startled with them all three, for which you will say I had cause upon my reading of the matter of them, as if those calumnious reports of me had taken impressions upon you. Since ever I knew how to make and use friendship, my endeavour hath been so to observe the law of it as not to give way to my thoughts to injure my friend till I had acquainted him with my jealousy, and known what he could say for his justification. I shall not now give you a return to yr descants, and shall do you the right of giving beleif to yr assertion that they were not intended for me, tho' I may suspect that when you wrote them I was not altogether out of yr prospect.

‘ As to the matter of yr letter, I shall in the first place thank you for yr freedom therein, as a special testimony of yr friendship and kindness, which I do so much value, as it would be exceeding greivous to me if by my carriage I shd diminish, much more lose, my interest in it. I shall not now enquire of the rise and grounds for those reports, hoping that that smoke will vanish as other endeavours formerly to sully my name have thro' the Lord's mercy to injured innocency been blasted. But if those considerable persons you say do suspect my integrity be such as know me and have good will to me, I shall be the more afflicted, yet not without expectation that their charity will lead them to forbear sentencing of till they have proof of my guilt. Two days ago I had a letter from a friend at London, noticing that a great person there had expressed his great dissatisfaction with the letter of the Synod of Fife lately printed at London, and laid the blame of it, and particularly of the compliment in the close, upon me, adding that my practises since my coming to Scotland had prejudiced the King's services, and my carrying of the King's letter, and engaging all the Synods of Scotland to pay the return of thankfulness for it, had so

¹ The Records are not extant.

fixed Presbyterian government here, that for many years it were in vain to attempt the breaking of it. Some of my friends here tell me they have heard of dissatisfaction with me at London on that account, and by yr letters I find I am buffeted by another hand. *Patience and mens sibi conscia recti* are the surest founds I can look to. But for yr satisfaction and of those who have any regard to me, I shall give my answer as at the bar of those who will take upon them to judge me in those matters to your three interrogatories. To the first two, *simpli-citer negando*; if any person in England do say that I did engage, directly or indirectly, to endeavour the alteration of the government of the Church of Scotland, they speak without ground from me, and do me wrong. And since my coming home I have not spoke with any one minister disaffected to the Government, and have been so far from contriving and laying methods with ministers or other persons for introducing innovations, that I beleive whoever do intend them they are out of hope of finding me upon their side. As to yr 3d question, I think more for no other tye upon me, but the concernment of that noble person in the King's letter, who hath so much countenanced and highly obliged me. I were an ungrate unworthy man if I shd be accessory to any thing which may lessen the esteem and account which all honest ministers here bear to that letter, and the procurer of it. But I tender the King's interest and reputation more (which will have the surest and most lasting foundation in the hearts of good people) than to endeavor the voiding of that letter which hath been so satisfactory and refreshing to the most of the Church of Scotland. I have the vanity to say I have acted in my poor way, and suffered for the King's interest in times of greatest danger, to the hazarding of my life, the impairing of my health, the prejudicing of my means of subsistence, when others who now pretend much for it durst not or were not in capacity to do for it. I have done more for the interest of Presbyterian government in Scotland than any minister who can accuse me. I am of the opinion that whoever will endeavour at this time the change of Church-government here, they shall neither do the King or the country service. This is my support, that the Lord knoweth that regard to the interest of the King and this poor country did influence me in my actings, and not respect to my own advantage, which if I had mindet I might have prevailed by a more promising way than this I have taken. I am no declaimer against the government of the Church of England since I came home, much less did I conceive it to be proper for me while I was there; my occasions led me to converse with men of differing opinions and interests, calmness as to all I thought did best become me.

'I had the opportunity to be known to some prime Episcopall men who I suppose are now Bishops. All that ever I spoke to them as to Church matters here did amount to no more but this, that the actings of some of our church men had rendered the government owned in this Church obnoxious to exceptions by reason of the encroachments made upon the King's authority *in civilibus*, and the evacuating of it wholly *in ecclesiasticis*, but I conceived now there would be no great

difficulty of restoring the King's interest to its lustre in Scotland. And if I were convinced that moderate Presbyterian government would not be as consistent with the King's interest as Episcopal, I would disclaim it. I remember I said to the King, while my Lord Lauderdale was by, that now his M. had an opportunity to secure his interest in the Church of Scotland, and if it were not done, I am not to be blamed. The King did then smile, saying to me, "You will be counted a malignant when you come home." I have since my return professed to the brethern with whom I had occasion to speak of those matters, that I see no way for the Church of Scotland to redeem themselves and their doctrine and practises from the imputations which lye upon them, and to secure the order of this Church, but to disown whatever hath been prejudicial to the King's interest, and make it appear that his authority may be as much owned in this Church as in any other of his dominions. For I saw evidently that for us ministers in Scotland there is no resource but in the King's favour and countenancing of us. I confess if this be guiltiness I have my share of it since my coming home, who have not without success endeavoured to make brethern sensible of the equity and advantages thereof. I beleive the best of our ministers who are known to be fixed for Presbyterian government are disposed to yield more in Church matters to the King than before to any of his royal progenitors since our reformation from Popery. And for this end my desire and wish is for a General Assembly immediately after the Parlt., by which I am confident the King, with the consent and good liking of our Church, shall have what can be reasonably preponed for his authority in *ecclesiasticis*. This is all the design I have been plotting, and this I dare own, conceiving that the King's service, this poor kingdom's peace, weal, and reputation, will be better consulted and provided for in this way, than by attempting that change of government, which, by any observation I can make, I beleive will be found a hard grievance to undertake. And whatever may be the pretensions of some, either with you or here, of introducing Episcopacy into this Church, I have cause to question their reality, and do think that when the matter is put to the push, it will be found that the setting up of Bishops is not at the bottom. I am not convinced that conscience or zeal as to the matters of Church-government doth sway much with some men, and I fear that the most will unite in this design to tread upon the ministers, and render us vile and contemptible; and am presaging that this will be prosecuted to that extremity, that in a short current of time it will open a door to bring in that with all disadvantages that most would avoid. I shall be content to fail in this prognostic had I been a witness of any other design. I think the little experience I have had of the affairs of the times and condition of persons might have taught me to have conveyed the management of it with more dexterity and sickerness than can be supposed to be done by me, who since my return had no letter from England save what my Ld. Lauderdale was pleased to honour me with, and one from Sir Robert Murray, and from the E. of Tweeddale, the Countess of Balcarres, and yourself, and one this week from a north

country gentleman at London. Nor did I write to any but to those persons named, save one to the E. of Middleton in recommendation of a friend, and another about 20 days ago, which I thought was fit for me to do on his coming down, having received civilities from him beyond sea, and at London. And I sent also to Newburgh upon the same inducement, but to neither of them did I write of any particular relating to Church or State.

‘ My dear friend, these reports are industriously raised and spread of me, and some from another fountain than is supposed. I am looked upon as one having some interest here. While I was at London I had favour in the eyes of the King. My dearest Lord Lauderdale was pleased to own me. I am suspected as wholly his, and that not without cause. This hath exposed me to envy and obloquy. I find I have bitter enemies upon that score, who do make it their work to blast me. I am a Scotchman, a Presbyter. Their plot is to keep this poor inconsiderable nation in a slavish dependency. I hope I shall never be accessory to the serving of the lusts of men.

‘ How best my heart may charge me as to the root and inclination, yet the course of my life, I bless the Lord, will not give evidence of my ambition and [*words wanting*]. I have served the interest of others more than my own. I never did seek anything of any. I owe nothing to any to engage my dependance, save to the King and my noble Lord Lauderdale. In that matter you had a hand in, and rather than that shd bring any taint upon me, I can with greater willingness part with it than I did accept it.¹ Whatever lot I may meet with, I scorn to prostitute my conscience and honesty to base unbecoming allurements, that considering men will judge to be my snare, or sentence me to a folly or madness I know not for what. No person obliged me but my Lord Lauderdale. My integrity and fidelity to his Lop. I can testify, in spite of malice and calumny. I hope to retain it while I live. Pardon this tedious scribbling; my perplexity drives the pen I know not whither. If you change the thoughts you once had of me while you were privy to my most secret plottings, and know my honesty and singleness, you will do me wrong. This must be a greater blast than I can imagine which hath shaken you, but I know you will do right to him who shall never cease to be your affectionate friend and servant,

JA. SHARP.’

On the same day he writes further to Mr. Drummond, with special reference to a charge of ‘prevarication on my Lord Lauderdale’s concernment:’—

‘ While I am closing the other, Mr. D. Ferguson cometh to me, and by discourses with him I have of those persons and speeches which I suppose gave occasion to yr pathetic letter. I adore Providence for their discovery, and thanks for yr friendly monitions, but I am amused at the horridness of their calumnies. Shall I be judged a monster of ingratitude, and one given up to the height of infatuation for I know

¹ His appointment as chaplain to the King, with a salary of £200 a year.

not for what? I am charged as well with conspiring against his sacred Majesty as prevarication in my Lord Lauderdale's concernment. For my innocency as to that I appeal to God, to the King, and to my Lord Craufurd, who can give testimony to my integrity therein. And I would beg it upon my bended knees, as the greatest favour, that my Ld. Lauderdale would be pleased to ask his M. if I ever spoke to his prejudice; but in that concernment did tell the King that he could not by any act do greater right to his service in Scotland, nor satisfy the ministers and good people therein more than to employ my Ld. Lauderdale in that trust. And at my taking leave his M. knows what gratulation I expressed on that account. Of all treacheries the devil could have suggested, this was farthest from my thoughts. Who have said this of me they may say anything. Nothing can be imagined to be more cross to my obligations and interest. Well, I am a Scot and a Presbyterian, at a distance, so I cannot answer for myself, and so am obnoxious to this inhumanity. If you have any regard to me, let me have an account of this by the next. I wish you may never experience the bitterness of such an affliction.'

The same day still he writes the following important letter to Lauderdale himself:—

'I was honoured with your Lop.'s letter by my Ld. Craufurd; and though it be grievous to me and others to be disappointed of yr Lop.'s presence at the ensuing Parlt., yet upon after consideration that yr being with the King may be more usefull to this poor Church and country, and satisfactory to yourself, submission in this, and prayer for your Lop.'s wellbeing, shall be my endeavour.

'By what I have heard from my Lord Craufurd and others I have large matter of thoughts of heart, which I shall not suffer to break forth into those passionate expressions to which I am tempted. I must have recourse to yr Lop.'s discerning and experienced nobleness, and therefore shall not say much by way of complaint of my infelicity, trusting yr Lop. will not judge me to have been such a fool as to have resigned myself to the lusts of men in prosecution of their private ends, when I knew not for what. Were there no respect to be had to the public ties and the honor of this poor kingdom (which will not be a little concerned in the change of Church matters) yet tenderness of the King's interest shd sway with those who are faithful to his service. My Lord, I am not for meddling with the government of the Church of England, and all ministers who are not Remonstrators are of the same opinion.

'I am for the King's prerogative against these diminutions which our contests have put upon it. I think the Church of England should be more wary and tender of their own peace than to endeavour the disturbance of this Church. I think the King's interest to be much concerned in having Scotland united in an entire obedience to his royal authority. Nothing can be more prejudicial to this than the offering at this time to change the government of this Church. The fatalities which attended the violent attempts of former times shd give a shrewd

document¹ for this time. I shd prevaricate with yr Lop. and be unfaithful to the K.'s service, of which I hope you will not suspect me, if from the knowledge I have of the inclinations of ministers and people here, I should say that all attempts of introducing changes upon us will be welcome, or prove successful. They speak without ground, in my opinion, who say that any considerable party among the ministers will appear for Episcopacy. Those of most understanding and interest I meet with amongst the nobility, gentry, and burrows, are convinced of the inexpediency and danger of such motions to be made in Parlt. I am confident the parson of Flisk is fully under this conviction. Yr Lop. and the King's friend here will not want the prayers and fidelity of honest ministers. I shall add no more at this time, but in spite of malice and calumny I shall crave leave to say this, that *in verbo sacerdotis*, I never did yr Lop. disservice, and do value my interest in and obligation to yr Lop.'s favour more than that of any subject alive, and while I breathe trust to approve myself yr Lop.'s most obliged faithful servant.'

Another letter follows, on the 18th of the same month, to Drummond, the first part of which is occupied with a defence of his friendly relations to Lord Lauderdale. He protests in a somewhat extravagant manner that he had made it his work to secure for Lauderdale 'his deserved esteem amongst all honest ministers,' and that he was more prepared 'to sink or swim with his Lordship upon whatever adventure than with any else' he knew of. He is sensible of the vanity of such tattle; 'but a man rubbed upon on his honesty (which, thank God! he hath hitherto in all changes preserved without stain), may be indulged in this folly.' He then writes again, in vindication of his general conduct, as follows:—

'Who those considerable persons are, who you do assure suspect me, I cannot divine, but if right be done to me they will find their suspicions causeless. I remember you have sometimes privily called me a politician. I have had occasions to give some proof to you that I was an honest Scotsman, and hope to live and die one, and never to engage in that which doth appear to me to be prejudicial to the interest of my country, which had it not weighed with me above my private, I wanted not proffers of more promising accomodation in England than in these times can be expected in Scotland. I have a tang [?] of vanity upon my conscience that I did in my poor way endeavour to serve my country faithfully. I acknowledge I have found you a faithfull friend, and take yr late letters as a recent demonstration of it, and that you concern yourself in my integrity and honesty. I hope you shall not meet with disappointment upon that account. Whenever I design anything to the prejudice of State or Church, I promise you shall be privy to it; and, therefore, if reports fly abroad (from which the most innocent in these times cannot assume

¹ Used in its original Latin sense of 'teaching.'

to himself exception), let them not take impression till you know what account I can give, which, in point of honesty as a Scotsman and minister, I hope I shall make good to all men. If the late sigillations have had any rise from this, I shrewdly suspect the hand of Mistress Christian,¹ who loves you as she does me upon one and the same score. What impression she hath endeavoured to put into some of her sex here, who may have transmitted that poison of asps to my blasting there, I know not. I shall reserve my quarrell to you, for yr charging me that I had consulted more my interest and repute if I had done more and spoke less. I can say this, that tho' neither my employment, duty, nor disposition lead me to be a solicitor for business of such nature, yet none of my countrymen have cause to complain of my neglect of friendly offices as occasion served, much less those who could expect nothing from me upon the account of engagement, obligation, or relation; and I believe I did more towards gratifications of that nature than could have been expected from one of my condition. When I learn the persons who have occasioned this monition I shall be more satisfied. Let me close with this. How I can be charged with the love of money I know not, for I protest to you my last journey cost me 40 pieces over and above my allowance, and I had not sixpence all the time I was in London besides of any person, and for what the King by his papers was pleased to grant me. When the Exchequer shall be in a condition to satisfy the cravings of those who will not be denied, and will be preferred to me, I may 20 years hence make some reckoning upon it, for at present there are more sums referred to the Exchequer than are like to be satisfied these score of years. For ambition, if I have what many of my countrymen of all ranks (I bless God) do give me upon apprehension of my being of some use to the public interest, I know not why I should aspire to that respect that any man who is not blinded can dream in this age will be paid to a Scots Bishop for other conveniences through the Lord's allotment of a comfortable portion. I need not envy any fat income, which, from the poverty of Scotland, can be expected in these times, and sure you will not think me such a fool as to renew those risks you mention for a thing of nought. I must leave off; the pen runs into this extravagancy; but I hope you will by the first let me know if those my letters have come to hand, and beleive that I am unchangeable yrs in all service.'

This closes the first series of our letters, with the eventful year 1660. On the first day of 1661, just a year, as Wodrow pathetically remarks, after Monk marched for London, and ten years after Charles's coronation at Scone, the Scottish Parliament convened. The Earl of Middleton arrived at Holyrood as Royal Commissioner only the day before. In the morning the members assembled at the Abbey and rode thence to the Par-

¹ This Mrs. Christian appears to have been the wife of Mr. Patrick Gillespie. She figures as a person of activity throughout a good deal of Sharp's correspondence.

liament-House in great state. 'The Earl of Crawford bore the crown, the Earl of Sutherland the sceptre, and the Earl of Mar the sword. Duke Hamilton and the Marquis of Montrose rode behind the Commissioner covered.'¹ 'There you might have seen,' adds Kirkton, with his usual touch of poetic elevation, 'them who some weeks before were companions to owls, hiding themselves from messengers pursuing them for debt, vapouring in scarlet and ermines, upon good hopes to be all men of gold.'

Scotland was certainly unlucky now, as she has frequently been in great crises of her history. Without adopting all the aspersions of Wodrow and Burnet, the Restoration Parliament was obviously ill fitted for its critical and difficult task. It seems scarcely to have considered its work seriously. The great Revolution of the past year had filled with wild and vague hopes men who for some time had scarcely been able to lift their heads. The temper of the country was greatly changed. This is confessed on all hands,—in Douglas's letters² and in Wodrow's description. The municipal elections, which had taken place as usual in the previous November, showed this unequivocally. 'Generally speaking, all who had been active in the work of reformation during the former period were now turned out of all trust.'³ It is plain that the spirit of the nation, in the north, east, and south at least, was wearied with the Covenanting exactions and the excesses of religious strife which had so long prevailed. The elections to the Parliament in shire and burgh showed the same result. Special means, moreover, were taken to secure the interests of the Court in these elections. The Parliament of 1661 was in consequence such a Parliament as had not met in Scotland for a long period. It not only contained new elements, but it was animated by an entirely new spirit. It was not only not Puritan: it was no longer religious. That admixture of religion with sobriety, of earnestness with moderation, which has been found practicable elsewhere, has been seldom exemplified in the religious history of Scotland. The nation has been in its turn wildly fanatical, or wildly sceptical and indifferent. It has passed from one extreme to the other—from the Covenant to David Hume—

¹ Wodrow, p. 90.

² One passage from Douglas's letters is very significant. Writing to Sharp in London, on the 31st March 1660, he says:—'There is now a generation risen up which has never been acquainted with the work of reformation. You will not believe what a heart-hatred they bear to the Covenant. What can be expected of such but the marring and defacing of the work of reformation settled here?' (Wodrow, p. 16, and *ms. Letters*.) This was the party which came into power at the Restoration, and need we wonder, therefore, at the result!

³ Wodrow, p. 85.

but it has seldom chosen, it has seldom found, the *via media*. Certainly, in the present case, it found no middle path. A Parliament of dissolutes succeeded to a Parliament of fanatics; a face of 'gravity and piety' was supplanted by a 'libertinage'¹ which made the 'times odious' to all good men.

The Earl of Middleton himself was a rough soldier, more fitted for the camp than the senate. He had been one of the prisoners taken at Worcester, and after his liberation he joined the King in Holland, and was sent by him to Scotland to head the Highlanders, and carry on the guerilla warfare against the English troops in possession of the country. When this resistance came to an end, he returned to Breda, and seems to have acquired great personal influence with Charles. Along with Lauderdale, Glencairn, Crawford, and Rothes—all of them Presbyterian-Monarchists during the previous ten years,—he naturally came to the front at the Restoration; and his rough imperious humour and personal devotion to the Sovereign probably pointed him out as the person most fitted to act as his representative and commissioner in the Scottish Parliament.

The proceedings of Parliament were opened by a sermon from Douglas. Glencairn, already appointed Chancellor, was chosen President, and the Lord Commissioner made a speech 'recommending peace and unity.' Sharp's movements have not hitherto been traced during this period. The letters before us not only enable us to do this, but throw considerable light on what may be called the private history of the Parliament. He had come to Edinburgh, evidently for the occasion of its meeting, and is very soon found in close relations with Middleton. On January 9th and 10th, he writes to his friend James Wood, now Provost of the Old College of St. Andrews, chiefly as to some private affairs of Wood's own, but with some instructive hints also of what was going on in Edinburgh, and especially as to the temper and disposition of Middleton. On the 17th January he renews his correspondence with Mr. Patrick Drummond, which continues frequent to the middle of April, and then finally closes, so far as we know. We shall as briefly as possible sum up what he thus reveals of his own motives and character, and of the doings of the Parliament, and thereafter leave the subject of our already somewhat protracted memoir to the judgment of our readers.

In his first letter after the opening of the Parliament, to Drummond, dated 12th January, Sharp reverts to the evil rumours which were still in circulation about him, 'the blasting from the tongues which folly and perverseness have and do still design against me.' The 'surest fence,' he says, 'is a God

¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 207.

who knoweth that my regard to the interest of my country and this kirk doth prejudice any selfish consideration.' He then relates how Middleton had sent for him when he 'had been in town two days' (he is careful to note that he 'did not go till he was sent for'), and 'desired,' he continues, 'I might, as the King's chaplain,¹ perform the offices incumbent to me while he is at table, which I could not decline, and being pressed to preach to the Parliament upon Sunday last (the second Sunday after its meeting), I gave them two sermons upon the last verse of the 18th Psalm, in which, abstracting from matters relating to the Church, I spoke my conscience, and I hope truths, as to our deviations in our State actings from our true interest, our fidelity to the Crown, and regard to the honour and well-being of our country. I hear some expressions are carped at and misrepresented by some women and impassioned people, but the judicious and sober were satisfied.' It is evident that Sharp's sermons had been of a more pleasing tenor than Douglas's on the preceding Sunday. The latter was supposed to have spoken too much in justification of 'the proceedings since 48,' and to have given 'too large a testimony to the two late Dukes of Hamilton.' The Parliament was urgent that Sharp should publish his sermons. He expresses reluctance to do this, because no acknowledgment of a similar kind had been made of Douglas's sermons, but fears that he 'must yield' to their importunity, and 'prefix a dedication to the Commissioner.'

He then adverts to the 'much discretion and moderation' displayed by the Lord Commissioner, in the same tone in which he writes to Baillie² about the same date. But his remarks on this

¹ It has been already seen that Sharp had been appointed one of the royal chaplains before leaving London.

² Vol. iii. p. 421. There is a clause in this letter as to Baillie's appointment to be Principal of Glasgow College, which deserves notice. Dr. Laing, in his *Memoir of the Life of Robert Baillie* (vol. iii. p. lxxvii.), has quoted certain passages from 'Sharp's unpublished correspondence,' which show plainly enough that Sharp had some doubts of Baillie being the best man for this office in the circumstances of the time. These passages appear to Dr. Laing to be scarcely in harmony with those addressed by Sharp to Baillie himself. The following extract seems to show that whatever doubt Sharp might have about Baillie's fitness for the place, he was honestly anxious that the old man should not be disappointed:—'I shall put you to the trouble to offer from me this presentation for Mr. Bailey, whom his Lordship knows to be an honest man, and that upon his Lordship's notion the King was pleased to pass his word that Mr. Bailey should have the place. I am informed that it is designed here that that place should be conferred on another, which would be injurious to Mr. Bailey, and break his heart.' In a subsequent letter, January 31, he returns to 'Mr. Bailey's business,' and thanks Drummond for his care of it, and the good account he gives of it. We confess that the passages quoted by Dr. Laing do not seem to us necessarily to bear the same disingenuous meaning that they do to him. While

subject to Mr. Wood, in his letter of January 10th, deserve particular notice. 'To-morrow,' he says, 'the Parliament doth sit, when it is thought all Acts entrenching upon the King's prerogative will be rescinded.' (This Act was passed on the 11th January.) 'The Commissioner, by his carriage, hath exceeded the expectations of many, for his judgment, dexterity, and moderation, by which he hath gained a very great esteem. *Yesterday, at the meeting of the Article Lords, he gave a very seasonable check unto the motion, and dashed the desire of the high party who would have all overturned since 38*'—the first germ of the Rescissory Act passed on the 28th of March. It is interesting to read this in contrast with Burnet's statement. Instead of being the inspirer, Middleton is here seen as the check of the violent spirit of legislation. Does not this, as well as many other hints, show us that the violent changes now made, both in Church and State, were after all not so much the cunning design of one or two men, Sharp among them, as the natural fruit of the enthusiastic national subservience, in reaction from former resistance, outrunning even the temper of the King, and the demands which, at first at least, he was inclined to make upon the country?

But we must pursue the thread of Sharp's movements. Our next letter, to Mr. Drummond, bears the date of January 26. It narrates how he had been ten days out of town, during which time the Presbytery of St. Andrews had 'loosed' him from his charge at Crail, in order to his 'embracing of a call to the vacant profession in the New College' (St. Mary's). This took place on January 16.¹ He then proceeds:—

'I had the vanity by my last to tell you of my preaching two sermons before the Parliament, and the pressings of some to publish them and dedicate them to the Commissioner. *It was a part* of my inducement to go out of the town, that I might avoid the heat of that opportunity; and now I hope I shall be master of my own resolution, which is never to suffer them to be printed, and thereby put myself upon the necessity of such a dedication. I spoke nothing but what my conscience told me in reference to our late public actings since 47, which have been unhappy and dishonorable to us, and flowed from those principles and spirit of some who did bear sway in all our judicatories

anxious that his old friend should not be disappointed, he could not help feeling at the same time that the place required a man of more active and resolute temper, which the event sufficiently showed that it did. And there is nothing in any of his letters to Baillie himself that did not leave him free to express this as an opinion held by many of Baillie's friends. Some allowance must always be made for the different points of view from which a man writes in matters of this kind.

¹ Synod of Fife. Printed for Abbotsford Club, p. 204.

which are inconsistent with any settled government, and most destructive of the true interest of Church and State. What I preached was approved by all the judicious who heard me, and Mr. Douglass, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Wood, with other ministers who had an account thereof, were satisfied, and have expressed their satisfaction to me. . . . I write this to you that you may have some account of the truth, and I think some time of sending a copy of my sermons to you, which I am confident you would approve, because differing reports may be made with you, and since my preaching they have set up some who by their extravagancies have given offence. You know our Scottish humours and ministers as ready as others to fall into indiscretions. The continuance of great sins tickles some, popular airs feeds others, some are alarmed with the fears they conceive from the late brisk proceedings of the Parlt., especially the Recissory Acts, of which you hear I suppose from other hands. Ministers now are as great strangers to State transactions as before they were medlers with them. For me, I know what jealousies and eyes are upon me at the Court here, therefore think it is fit for me to carry unconcernedly. I do not enquire of business, when I am asked I tell my judgement. Once a day I go to the Abbey, officiate at my Ld. Commissioner his table, which I have done upon his invitation, as I wrote to you formerly. He uses me civilly. By any thing I can yet perceive amongst them, I find no design to alter our church-government, and tho' they had it I do not see how it can be effectuated. Some discontented, others who have nothing else to do but to frame conjectures and spread them, talk and write what they fancy. No man nor action escapes the teasing by tongues. I want not my own share of that happiness, whether my preferment to be the only minister who attends the Court doth make me *the subject of people's* talk, the object of envy from others, I know not, but I am sure my employment nor fate are not very pleasing to me. If you see our Diurnals you will relish the strain, because penned by Thos. Sidserff.¹

On January 31, Sharp writes again to his friend, still dwelling upon the calumnious reports spread concerning him. After general statements, in his usual way, he comes to particulars:—

‘I have been formerly represented as if I had engaged while I was in London to introduce Episcopacy into this Church, and now I am reputed to be an apostate Covenanter. Sure the next will be that I am turned fanatic and enemy to the King. For the first I made a full confession of my guilt of accession to such a design to you by my letters 6 weeks ago; what truth occasioned the report of the other I cannot divine. In my sermons all I spoke which could give any hint of jealousy as to the matter of the Covenant, was that having mentioned that principle of the Apostles, in what station and place soever Providence hath put a man, be he king or subject, therein he ought most strictly to abide with God. Hence I inferred that

¹ Son of the well-known bishop of that name.

as the King is not to encroach upon the property and liberty of the subject, so neither the subject upon the prerogative and rights of the Crown. The magistrate is not to meddle with what is competent to the minister, and the minister is to keep within the compass of his sphere. One kingdom is not to concern itself in the civil or ecclesiastick administrations of another kingdom governed by different laws and customs, without a call from the King, and consent of that kingdom. This is all I said, either directly or by consequence, in reference to the Covenant. And I confess to you it is my judgement, which upon that occasion I could not dissemble. If it will bear that severe construction you write of, I leave to your consideration. I find there are people here who in this silence of contests betwixt the Remonstrators and us, having nothing else to do but to exercise themselves in observing and speaking of all persons and actions now upon the stage, take a liberty to pronounce of both as their fancy, discontent, fear, favour, dislike, or humour prompt them. My dearest Lord at Whitehall is not exempted from the fiddlings of those talemongers, which in my apprehension shd as little trouble his Lop. at this distance as I know they did while I was with him. All the prejudice they can do to his honour and integrity, to his master and country, will be to render him the more deservedly endeared to both, and bring upon themselves the just contempt of their insignificant folly. He is too wise and generous to be troubled with the buzings of such wasps. The genius of our nation hath delighted to keep in the way of faction, some are hankering after that way still. Experience hath given me the opportunity to know somewhat of men and their ways. My employment leads me to a fair carriage towards men whom I know to be of differing designs and interests. My inclination is against faction. I never loved it, nor shall promote it either in State or Church. My Ld. Lauderdale is the person alive who has obliged me most, to whome I owe and bear most honor, esteem, and service, next to my master the King. I see no security nor fixature for the interest of Scotland, but by being entirely the King's—what his Parlt. hath owned to be the rights of his Crown. I think they could do not less to make amends for former encroachments of them, and vindication of this poor country from the stain which the folly and impiety of the late times hath brought upon it. For the government of our Church, if any design for altering it I am not privy to it, nor do I think that knowing men will see it is to any purpose to endeavour it. Numerous foolish discontented people may raise a noise of their fears and jealousies when they dare not vent their dissatisfaction with other matters. The drift of the most of the Parlt. is to bring the ministrie under beggary and the extremity of contempt. This is apparent unto me, and will be so to the most ere long. The Recissory Acts in reference to the Covenant I have not seen, nor had any knowledge of, till they were passed. They say all done by them is to dissolve any obligation from the Covenant upon the subjects of Scotland to reform England by arms or any other seditious way. They have discharged also the receiving of it hereafter, upon certain information of an Act lately passed by the Synod

of the West, for the League and Covenant, which they ordered to be printed and copies thereof sent to Ireland, of which some of the State ministers in Ireland had notice, and sent information thereof to some Parliament men here. That Act, when Mr. Douglas and the rest of the ministers here did see it, was much disapproved by them as unseasonable, imprudent, and unhandsom in some respects I cannot now mention. *I say it to you* I presage much evil coming upon this risk, through the folly of some, the naughtiness and unfixedness of others, for our part, who are now here in this place. Mr. Douglas and I, who keep the same intimacy as formerly (tho' the clashes of some people here would have it beleived not to be so), have given in a paper¹ in Mr. Douglass' words to the Commissioner and Chancellor, the copy whereof I have herewith sent to you that you may see his prudence and moderation. What effect it will have I cannot tell, but I believe it will occasion somewhat to be done. This day I have offered it to the Commissioner and the Chancellor.

'I opened my heart to you formerly. If what you have spoken for me meet with the ill fate of not being beleived, I must bear it. I thank you for yr concerning yrself so kindly in me, and I shall possess my mind in quiet till the cloud which some endeavour to bring over me vanish. I thank God I fear no persons maligning of me upon any public account. In spite of malice I shall be found faithfull to the King and my country and to my Ld. Lauderdale. *I will not give two-pence what others say of me*; and without vanity I may say that were I not here at this time, and did take some pains with ministers and others, it would be worse with the Church than it is. It is resolved that the Parlt. will to-morrow pass an excellent Act against Popery,² of which there is great need, for by information there are above 5000 emissaries of late trafficking in this country. Yea, one known to be a priest had the boldness to put in for a place about the Tolbooth. I am endeavouring that there be an Act passed also against profanity, and for owning the doctrine and discipline of this church, for which some promises are given to us. Next week I am going to St. Andrews to be admitted Divinity Professor there,—you may know, but I myself do much more, how unworthy and unfit, but I cannot avoid it. Possibly I may from this University have occasion to wait upon my Lord this summer. Let fools play the game, they will bring forth the wind. Thos. Sydserf is our diurnal writer. The Commissioner has disclaimed the authorizing of him, and have promised to me, after complaint, to silence him. You know how much we are to build upon Englishmen, their talking now of billie Scots, and how it concerns us to be independent.

'Remember me to my assured and much valued honest Mr. Taylor, to Mr. Calamy, Manton, and Baxter.

'I am held in jealousy by the Court here. You know my meaning.'

¹ For this see Wodrow, i. 110.

² Act against saying of mass, seminary and mass priests, and trafficking Papists, passed 1st February.

The month of February gives us four very important letters from Sharp to Drummond. In order to understand the course of events and his relations to them, and particularly the course of his somewhat changing feelings from week to week, it is necessary to present them to our readers as fully as possible. They explain themselves better than any comment or summary of ours could do; and besides, it is only fair that Sharp should be allowed to speak for himself where the question is one to his own motives and actings. It is only necessary to state that the Rescissory Act, of which he makes so much in the first of the following letters, February 7th, was not the Act specially known by that name, which was not passed till the end of March, but an Act passed in the eighth session of the Parliament, January 25th, 'concerning the League and Covenant:—

'Feb. 7, '61.

'By my former, I wrote upon information more smoothingly of the late Recissory Act, in reference to the Covenant, than now I can do, having yesterday seen the Act, which, to my apprehension, doth not only nullify the civil sanction of the former and late Covenants, but doth make void any security we had by law for our religious concerns, which, how grievous it is to honest men here, and of what dangerous consequences, you may judge. We were promised and expected moderation, but what shall *be expected* when *such Acts pass*? Our Scotch humour is ever upon extremes, and if the Church-government did depend upon the vote of this Parlt., it would undoubtedly be overturned. But I trust the leading men of the ministry will stand fixed, and some men will not attain their ends. They are to pass an Act to-morrow for annulling the authority of all the Acts of the Parlt. since 40. The augmentations granted by that Parlt. were the other day, in the meeting of the Articles, voted down, but the Commissioner by his negative interposed; and so for the time the ministers may scape that blow, but generally all join in bringing contempt upon the ministry. The M. of Argyle is to be arraigned upon Monday next. The most able advocates cannot be induced to plead for him, concluding him a gone man. For a General Assembly we are at a stand. We know not what to wish about it, or the trying of it. Till the Acts be passed, Mr. Douglas, I, or any other minister, are as great strangers as you. I now begin to foresee a trial coming upon this Church. The Lord fit us for it.'

'14 Feb. 1661.

'Some Acts passed of late which we looked not for. Your Diurnals take notice of one with an elogium. Now you see our statesmen will have the world know we are not a priest-ridden nation. We ministers must bear what we cannot mend. We know nothing of their making of Acts, and when they are made we ought to put the best construction upon them, and let nothing drop from us which may cast an odium upon public proceedings. This principle all our sober men resolve to

work by. The account of the Acts rescinding the Parlt. 49, and of the declaration against the delivery of the King, you may have from others. Our Parlt. having now settled the matters of the King, I know not what they will do for the interest of the country. For religion we expect little, since all former sanctions are loosed. We have nought but what the King's letter does give us. If they will press an confirmation according to the terms of that letter, we shall take that till we have more. I have an Act to this purpose to offer to them tomorrow. Statesmen have been thought to regard the interest of the Church in subserviency to their own. We find it so now. Some talk of constant moderators, some of a meeting of such ministers as the King shall nominate previous to a General Assembly. Modells are in hammering as the designs of men do project, but beleive it our leading honest men are fixed in their way. Fear God, honour the King, and meddle not with those who are given to change, is the rule of their purpose. Whoever mind our disturbance by a change, may find themselves disappointed. You may have stories from this, but do not trust all is said. Many wish our Parlt. was closed; their long sitting here will not be for the good of the country.'

' 19th Feb. 1661.

' You put the fairest construction upon the Recissory Act. I wish we have not more of them, for here we go on in a carreer. I only think of taking away any hold we have for religion since 37. Yesternyht they have ordered all the Acts of Assemblies and Commissions of the Church since that time to be delivered to the Register and Advocate for their perusal. I have sent you a copy of an Act some of us have drawn here, and offered to our grandees to be past in Parlt., but I see no cause to hope it shall be past. I tell you my apprehension that endeavours will be made (and I know upon what account) to bring innovations upon us, but I am confident they will not take effect. Honest men are resolved to stick together, and what then can they do? I am hastening to the tide going for St. Andrews, where they will have me to be admitted to the profession in the new college upon Tuesday next. I shall return again this day 7 night.'

' 2d March 1661.

' I have been these 8 days past in Fife. While I was in St. Andrews my admission to that charge in the new college was performed after the usual manner. Upon my return to this place, I found two from you, one of the 15th, the other of the 8th, sent by Sir James Hamilton, who is now here. I thank you for your good wishes towards my translation, which I shd never have admitted if I had given way to my own inclination and consciousness of my great disproportionateness to such an employment, which requires a larger measure of the qualifications you mention than I can attain; but importunity of some, and the necessity of avoiding a greater inconvenience, put me upon yeilding myself to be disposed of by the Lord's pleasure, manifested in convincing providences for my invitation to and embracing of that

place. You may conjecture the poverty of our universities, when such an one as I am called to the charge. It had been very refreshing to me, and of greatest advantage to the people amongst whom I have laboured these 13 years, if you could have been induced to employ yr talent amongst them, of which I may say this poor church had never more need. But tho' you put a better construction upon my proffer than it deserves, yet I hope you will impute my pressing you to an inconvenience to my respect to my country, and to myself. You are not capable of being obliged by me, but give me leave to have my own sense of what I owe.

'As to the proceedings here, what shall I write? There is an Act printed homologating the proclamation of Ireland,¹ which, when you see in our news book, I believe you will say we have reason to be more startled at than anything yet past. I see no ground of hope now of any additional explanatory Act. The last week, when I was in Fife, among the Lords of the Articles there started a motion for rescinding all the Acts of Parlt. against Episcopacy and for Presbytery. At my return, upon my learning of it, I was amazed, and enquiring how it came to be mentioned, the account I had was this, that at first it was moved by way of railling with Craufurd, but after they came to earnest, and tho' they waved the determining of it for the time, yet by vote of all the committee save 4, it was marked to be taken into consideration before the rising of this Parlt. What matter of fear and grief this surprisal hath caused to ministers and people you may judge. Mr. Douglas and Dickson went to the K.'s Commissioner and Chancellor, desired a conference with them, after my coming over from Fife, and now since they have appointed Monday next, Messrs. Douglas, Dickson, Bailey, Smith, Hutchisson, and I, are called to be present. We know not yet who besides the Commissioner and Chancellor will meet. If those acts be rescindit, what confusion will be upon us! Bishop Sydserf may come and demand his place in Parliament. We are dealing that they may forbear to press Mr. A. Ker for exhibiting our Church Registers, the design of it being to see the sederunts in which passed some offensive declarations and acts, that so they may have matter of challenge upon occasion against some of our men. *Frater*, since the return of the gentleman by whom yrs came to me, I see we are importuned strongly from above: the resolution seems taken for gratifying of some there to endeavour a change in our church. I have my fears that the foundation upon which we now stand is not strong enough to hold out against this assault, which will tend to the persecution and suffering of many honest ministers. We think a speedy calling of the General Assembly were the only *salvo*, but I doubt much of their granting of that liberty. The Lord having now taken me off the charge of the ministry, I am thinking I shd not concern myself more in the affairs of the church, and to medle only with my charge in the university, and attendance at present upon that which my employment from the King puts upon me, and even from this sometimes I am thinking

¹ Act concerning Persons coming from Ireland without a Testimony, passed Feb. 22d.

to withdraw, if Mr. Douglas would give me leave so to do. I see I can do little good. The attendance I have exposes me to the censures and talk of people, according to their different humours and interests, which are afflictive often to me. I bless the Lord I have peace in my conscience, that serving the public good of the church while I had opportunities. Now were you sure, and did know what I see and fear, you would not think it fit for me to interest myself more in these matters wherein I can expect no better issue than to be tossed by people's tongues and bear the blame of the miscarriages of others, how innocent so ever I may be. I confess to you I am under this dubious perplexity. If the Lord interpose not, in a way we know not of, I see not how we can escape trouble. However, I still beleive it will be found a very difficult task when it is put to the trial to bring innovations amongst us. Some talk of constant moderators, others of constant commissioners of the General Assembly; but every day we are alarmed. I wish it may turn to nothing.'

Three letters further complete the series to Mr. Drummond, and bring the course of events to a conclusion, beyond which we need not go. Long as one of the letters is, we present it in full to the reader, as it is evidently very characteristic of Sharp, and, taken in conjunction with the brief communication which closes the series, appears to us very significant:—

‘EDIN., *March 5th.*

‘I read all yrs to Mr. Douglas, and dared not trust the secrecy of them to any others. What I write to you he also is only privy to. I hope you will be carefull that nothing thereof drop from your pen to any here. I forbear to trouble yr master with anything on those matters from my hand, and the other person you mention, fearing to give occasion to any inconvenience upon the account of these matters, which I fear can be little mended. You know the ticklishness of this, and with what caution that act you have caused to be written fair or the overtures are to be medled with. I suspect the eyes of some are intent upon observation of any tendency that way. There is need of wariness. Yr master is reserved for our help at the great stress, which I am speedily apprehensive is coming upon us. I see no lipening to our Parlt. I am confident were it put (to) the vote, within ten days Presbytery would down and Episcopacy set up. All I see can be done, is to keep matters from the evil in extreme. The contrivance is laid by those above, with their confidents here, to overturn all our settlement here. This puts me to the complaints and wishes you express in yrs of Febr. 25th. I have no hope of the passing of that Act, and we stand at the mercy of not rescinding all the remaining Acts for our Church government.’

‘EDIN., *19th March.*

‘Your *Mercurius Hibernicus* of March 9th I have receaved. That to Mr. Baily shall be sent to Glasgow by the next post. I am heartily sorrow for honest Mr. Taylor his hard usage. That Mr. Baxter, who declareth to the King he was no Presbyterian, and I am sure is no

sectary, shd meet with no more favours, is strange. I know not why Mr. Seaman is dislisted, but I know certainly he was no great friend to the King. I concur with you in that stanza of the Litany, and have more need of being delivered from all uncharitableness than you. I apprehend yr converse with yr city friends may not be very pleasing when the entertainment of it is railing upon our countrymen. That occurs to me, *etsi nos sumus digni hac contumelia indigni tamen illi qui fecerint*, for Scotland hath better reason to cry out upon the English perfidiousness, precipitancy, and inconstancy. It was never well with us since we had meddling with them, who know but too well how to abuse and despise us. I agree to Mr. Hutchison's opinion, expressed in his late sermon before the Parlt., that now no sober man does conceive himself bound in conscience by any obligation from the Covenant to meddle or impose upon England. I wish we had such quarter from them. Crestin¹ you know to be of a bickering temper, but I wish he had consulted the interest of his cause, and the reputation of Scotland better, for to have laid so much weight upon that infamous declaration pressed upon the King at Dumferline. If others who have not taken the Covenant conceive themselves bound to write in defence of it, I shall not enquire into the inducements, but I think the Act of Parlt., in Scotland, gives the rule to the subjects here, how in their station they are to demean themselves as to civil confederancies. What have I done why such a buzing shd be raised about you concerning my carriage? Before my coming from London I professed my judgement and endeavours for settling the King's interest and authority in our church. This I have everywhere owned since my coming home. At my first appearing in our provincial of Fife, I had occasion to speak of that duty incumbent to us, in point of conscience, security, and reputation. The effect of it did appear by that letter you caused print. Since that time, as I had opportunity, I have been pleading with those in authority here, for tenderness towards our church, and particularly towards the Remonstrator ministers. I have got 6 of them scraped out of the roll after they were ordered to be cited before the Parliament. I have done all the good offices I could to other ministers of an opposite way to them. I have watched for opportunities of free discourse for all the honest ministers who are of this town, and who have come to it, with the Chancellor, Commissioner, Thesaurer, the President, and have argued and pleaded with them for satisfaction of our desires. I have from time to time given you notice of what I could observe of the current of affairs here, of my hopes and fears, knowing you would give an account thereof to whom it was fitt. I wrote to you by Mr. Douglas's advice, and acquainted him with every letter and paper I sent to you, and whatever return I receive from you. And shall this be my measure, that the imputation of all miscarriages shall lye at my door, as if I did design or contribute to them, or it were in my power to remead them? Were you where I am you would have another sense of matters, and be convinced of my hard usage. I did appear for the Church of Scotland against schismatical

¹ The name is doubtful, and there is no clue to the person alluded to.

seditions and fanatic ways. I retain, and hope ever shall, the same spirit still. I never did nor can justify the exorbitancies to which our contests with our princes and magistrates have betrayed us, to our great guilt and reproach. I will not enslave my judgement in Church matters, to the dictates of persons or parties, nor serve the interest of any to the prejudice of the authority of the King, the peace of the Church, and the just reputation of its ministers. My attendance in the Abbey (which is once a day when the Commissioner comes to table publicly) may render me unhappily obnoxious to the cruel persecutions of the tongue, and what wonder, amongst a people given to jealousies surnisings, when they have been and are under so many amusings and alarms from public actings? But if my conscience condemn me not by being knowingly accessory to an evil way, I hope to have confidence towards God, whatever measure I may meet with from men. Who they are who have suspicion of me with you, and upon what ground, I know not. If nothing will satisfy but a testimony from Mr. Douglas and another, you may by a letter give them occasion to it. I mind not to furl upon those unbecoming *aurupia*.¹ I am sure thrice a week at least Mr. Douglas is with me or I with him. The rest of the ministers of Edinr. converse as before. My greatest intimacy hath been always with him, and as much now as ever since; if he did distrust me, he would not use me as he does. There is nothing of public matters I can learn which I do not impart to him. The conference I wrote to you of is not yet holden. They promise us every other day it shall be, but still it is put off. Mr. Douglas and I the last week had a large time in private with the Commissioner in reference to our Church matters. We besought the Parlt. might not enter upon the rescinding of those Acts, and that we might have a General Assembly, and that the Commission-books of the Church might not be called for. To the last he said he would give no satisfaction. As to the other two, he said he would give his answer when he received his return from England. Our desires came at last to this, that our Church-government might be kept without violation till a trial and experiment of our way for 2 or 3 years might be taken. If Mr. Douglas do not write (as I find him shy in it) I cannot help it, for within this month I have moved it to him 3 or 4 times. I can call God to witness I knew no more of rescinding those Acts than you did. Since that time, they having felt the pulse of the Parlt., and, since Mr. Murray's return, I find them resolute to prosecute their purpose, which till of late I never knew nor did beleive it, being before professed to me and Mr. Douglas that they had no instruction to medle with the Church. For all my court at the Abbey, I am not made privy to the motions till they come above board, and keep that way. I do not put questions to them, nor speak but when I am asked, when I open my dislike and fear of the consequences. If I succeed not they take their own way. Shall the blame be laid upon me? It is observed, the more ministers testify their dislike and express

¹ This rare and barbarous Latin word may be translated, 'slight gales of wind.'

their fears, they are the more stirred to prosecute their way; and shall it be my sole lot to be buffeted? My condition is somewhat differing from yours. I was a Churchman, engaged some way in public affairs. I had my share of toil, suffering, and danger. I have not been altogether useless to my King, countrymen, and country. I had no designs but the service of others more than myself. I thank God disturbing hopes or fears do not discompose me, nor is my judgement perverted by affection or interest. I do chain my affection and desire to that stream of providence which may make it to be well with the King and yr master my Lord. I am no fanatic, nor a lover of their way under whatsoever refined form, yet of late I have received a differing light of the King's judgement as to our Church than I found when I parted from Whitehall. This may be a riddle to you, but to open more in this way I cannot. I tell you it is, and hath struck me with amazement our evil is from those with you. I cannot exempt some among ourselves, of whom I am not one. The only wise God knoweth what the issue shall be, but, for anything yet appearing to me, I cannot see how this current will be stemmed, and this Church kept upon the bottom it stands. Altho' you like not my desire to retire now, yet pardon me to differ from you in my resolution not to meddle any more in those stormy and bespattering entanglements. If men will not regard my credit and peace, I must look to myself. The severity of the censure of a crasht credit and prostituted conscience I do not fear from men of credit or conscience. I have not stept awry; my uprightness will answer for me when this dust of jealousies, disappointments, fiddings, and clamourings are over. I have read in Tertullian's Life, that when the priests of Rome had causelessly cryed him up for a Montanist, they accordingly dealt with him *qui protinus offensus per hos in partes Montani transierit*.¹ I hope it shall not be my case, but sure my provocation is great. My melancholy thoughts often reflect on the German story, *Abi in collis et dic miserere domine*. Since the Lord by his good providence has taken me off from the exercise of the ministry, and called me to a station which doth not give me a direct interest in Church contests, if I keep to my post equal observers ought not to say it is upon design, and when you better think of it you will not conclude upon my holding to that duty that all men are liars, since I never engaged to you or any else to meddle without my sphere; and it is unreasonable to suppose me so

¹ In the life of Tertullian by Pamelius, sect. xv., prefixed to Migne's edition of Tertullian, there are two statements close beside one another which Sharp evidently had in his mind in this letter, although he quotes neither correctly. In the one Tertullian is represented as withdrawing to the party of Montanus, owing to the envious reproaches of certain Roman Ecclesiastics:—*'A quibus proinde etiam contumeliis affectus ad partes Montani desciverit;'*—in the other immediately preceding, allusion is made to a conjecture that he joined the Montanists because deprived of Catholic communion as soon as he began to favour their heresy:—*'Quare commotus ille prorsus in Montani partes transierit.'* The two passages have plainly been mixed up in Sharp's recollections.

foolish or overweening of my wit and interest with the grandees here as to think of giving them the rule, as prevailing with them in that which they look upon as cross to their design and undertaking, and, for anything I can perceive, they take their interest to be most concerned in. God help us when we see that the concerns of the gospel of the Church and ministry must be harled at the heels of the interests of men designing nothing but greatness, and taking advantage from the divisions, unstableness, insignificance of ministers. For my part, if after long contest with men of which it is time to be wearied, I cannot have leave to retire amongst my books, and bewail the evils which the folly and self-seeking of men are bringing upon my country, I must think, *de mutando solo*, and breathing in an air where I may be without the reach of the noise and pressures of the confusions coming, which I had rather hear of than be witness to; and for the preventing of which I have not been wanting in the using of those means which, to the best of my understanding, seemed probable. I have by you given my dearest Lord the true representation of passages here as I find them. I have used my freedom with our grandees here, but they are not those men who are influenced by ministers, or will be hindered or furthered in their purposes by what ministers offer to them. What can be expected from me? If I suffer from what they have done or will do, I must bear it, with the less concernedness that it is innocently; and if for all this I have from a sadened spirit wrote to you of this length, suspicions and jealousies shall be entertained of me, I have no fence but patience.

J. S.

¹ 'Morgan' came the last week down, and caused the service to be used in the cittadel. It is said he commands in chief, and the English forces must remain upon us till we conform to their southern mode. If this be an invention to facilitate designs, I know not. O poor Scotland!

'After I had sent this to the post-house, it came so late it was returned to me, and therefore I shall give you this addition of my judgement as to the government of the Church. Tho' I do think that the substansalls of Presbyterian goverment have a foundation in scripture, yet I am not of their opinion who will have the integrant parts of the constitution and way of it as it hath been excercised in Scotland these years past, to be *jure divino*, or consistent with that subjection which by the rules of the word is due to the King, much less which the law of the land hath made the rights of the Crown. It is all one for me to live under a regulated Presbytery or under a Presbyterian presidency. I thought the commissions of our G. Assemblies in the 47-48, and since have acted as exorbitantly as the highest prelates; *nullum habeo argumentum theologicum* against a constant well-qualified presidency; but the offence it will give here, with other bad consequences, bar me from having accession to the bringing of it in so. For what I can observe from the differences be-

¹ This is a Postscript to the preceding letter.

² General Morgan, commander of the English forces in Scotland.

twixt us and the Remonstrators, which the leaders do adhere to upon the account of conscience, in conformity, as they say, to the principles of Presbyterian government; from the differences of judgement amongst those who oppose them, which I perceive will every day oncrease; from the temper of the most of the nobility, gentry, and burrows of the kingdom; from the irresolution and damp which is upon the spirits of the most of the ministrie in Scotland; from the just prejudices which former actings cast upon the way of the Church; from the visible contempt upon all ministers, and the folly and fickleness of too many from all these considerations, and more, which I cannot mention to you by writing, I make this inference (I wish I may be mistaken!) that we cannot hold upon this foundation, but must ere long be subjected either to Erastianism of the worst form, or we must fall upon constant commissioners, moderators, or bishops. But if a change come, I make no question it will be greivous, and bring on suffering on many honest men, in which I would be very loath to have any hand. Thus you have a plain confession of my opinion in those matters, which I can say I have not uttered to any person alive, and I shall add that my apprehensions of those things had a swaying influence to embrace that place of the new college, where I may with less offence to myself or others, wait upon the Lord's pleasure towards us. *And yet I declare to you I have never acted directly or indirectly for a change amongst us, nor have I touched upon Church-government in sermons or conferences at our court or elsewhere.* I cannot justify our over-reachings, nor do I use to declaim agst the government of our neighbour churches; I would give to them the same measure we ought to expect from them. Whether this gives occasion to people to raise suspicions and surmisings of me, and to others who would have a change to take liberty to say or write I am what they would have me to be I know not, but no person here or with you can say, without injuring of me, that ever I spoke or co-operated for introducing a change; yea, had my way, which I proposed 3 months ago to ministers here, been followed, we had not been brought to this push.

'The ministers in Edinburgh and, I beleive, the most in Fife, are fixed. It is my fear, from what I hear, that ministers elsewhere will waver. Those in the west were so deeply engaged in the Remonstrator way, and thereby rendered obnoxious to the last, that their opposition can signify little. This being our condition, what can my pith do?

'My judgement as to past and present civil transactions I publicly declared in my sermons, which I cannot have opportunity to transmit to you. For our Church matters, all I have spoke to any can amount to no more in the construction of the severest animadverters than that the King's authority be owned, *in ecclesiasticis*, to which I find a general propension amongst the best of our ministers, for without this the State cannot be secured from tumultuatings, or the Church from schisms and parties, nor the ministry from extreme contempt, nor religion kept in any awe or regard. By what I could discern of the tendency of affairs when I was in England, and since my return,

besides the conviction of my judgement as to the interest of the magistrate in the Church, I look upon it as the only reserve which in prudence we could have our recourse to for our securing from intending violences and redeeming our reputation, and had we a G. Assembly, I am confident the King, by our own consent, would obtain more from us than ever King James sought. If this cannot be granted, if the King shd be pleased to call for some ministers here to speak with his M., there might be some good issue expected, provided they keep off for a time the recissions. Mr. Douglas, Mr. Wood, etc., are to speak with the commissioner to-morrow or the next day. My Lord your master may think it strange I do not write to his Lop., but I hope he will not mistake it. My forbearing is from the consideration of his place and station, and the eyes which are upon him. I hope you will do me the right to let this be known.'

'EDIN., 15th April 1661.

'SIR,—Some weeks ago I sent you a large return to yr last to me, which it seems hath given you so little satisfaction that it hath occasioned the breaking of yr way of trouble to yrself and kindness to me. The occasion of this bearer putteth me upon the renewing of yr trouble once more, if it be not distastefull. The bearer, if you will, on my account, vouchsafe him some of yr time and opportunity, can give you such an account of the past and present state of matters here as will save you reading a large narrative from me. For my part, I cannot look that I shall be justified altogether upon my own words, and neither ought I to be condemned or prejudiced upon the bare words of open speakers or clandestine whisperers against me; but my innocency, I hope, will answer for me in a time of more composure than this is. I do appeal to the continued tenor of my actions, which witness for me in the judgement of all impartial and unbiased observers, and I can with patience and hope commit myself, my credit, conscience, and what else is expressed that doth concern, into the hands of my faithful Creator, who knows my way and will bring my integrity to light. For all yr retirement now, you may know what it is to bear the lash of the tongue, and if you were in my stead, what measure could you expect, which you may be pleased to give, sir, to yr. affectionate and respective friend.'

Still some days later, we have a letter from Sharp to Wood at St. Andrews, in which he asks his friend in a mysteriously confidential way to come to Edinburgh, if only for a short space, that he 'may have the satisfaction of speaking with him;' and if he cannot come all the way to Edinburgh, to meet him at Burntisland or Kinghorn. He intimates at the same time that he has been urged to undertake another journey to London, but that he reserves his decision till he see his friend. This is on the 22d of April, and we learn nothing further from the correspondence before us. Whether Wood came to Edinburgh, or met him at Burntisland or Kinghorn, we cannot tell, but seven

days afterwards, that is, on the 29th April, the Lord Commissioner represents to Parliament¹ that the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Rothes being employed to wait upon his Majesty, it was fit that some minister should be appointed to go along with them, and that 'Doctor James Sharp, his Majesty's Chaplain,' was the best person for this purpose. And so, Sharp made not his final, but his third important journey southwards.

We do not attempt to trace him further in the meantime. We can scarcely doubt that by this time he knew what was likely to happen. There is a short letter, indeed, to Baillie,² without any date, but written apparently on the eve of his departure for London, in which he says, 'I am commanded to take a new toyle, but I *tell you it is not in order to a change of the Church.*' This may not have been the express object of his mission, but our letters show that he already plainly foresaw this end in view. It required no penetration to do this. During the months the Scottish Parliament had been sitting, the course of affairs had been unequivocal. The Covenanting interest was plainly down; the Royal interest supreme. The 'Scotch humour for extremes' was at its height. The movement was evidently not the mere plot of a few intriguing minds, but a vehement reaction of the national temper—the excitement of a Parliament drunken with loyal enthusiasm and selfish impulses. A genuine public spirit representing opposite interests, and balancing by its breadth and healthiness opposite sentiments, was as yet, and long after this, quite unknown in Scotland. The current of national feeling had swayed from the one side to the other. The burgh representatives, who might be supposed to have been most under the influence of the old enthusiasm, seem to have been the most unreasonable and forward in the new fanaticism. Sharp saw how the current was drifting. The passing of the Rescissory Act, and the 'Act concerning Religion and Church-Government,' on the 28th of March, must have convinced him that Presbyterianism was doomed, and that the Episcopal hierarchy would be once more set up. Was he to pass into the shade of opposition when the sun of royal favour was ready to shine upon him? It might be well for men like Baillie and Douglas, both of whom were near the end of life, to be true to their principles at the expense of their prospects. But he was still young, with all the impulses of ambitious activity strong in him. And so he went over to the winning side. This was no doubt what he wished to consult

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 193.

² In the ms. collection in Dr. Laing's possession; the original is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

with his friend Wood about, in the end of April. Whatever advice his friend may have given him, the issue was ere long apparent.

Such is the conclusion to which we come. The value of its bearing upon Sharp's character will be judged differently by different minds. As we said in the outset, Sharp is no hero. There is no stern metal of principle in him from the first. He must be pronounced, upon the whole, rather destitute of any high guiding principle. He is a man of keen sense, of accommodating manners, of great ability, without a tinge of fanaticism. And this is something to say of a man, in that time of sour tempers and disgusting quarrelsomeness. He was gentle in comparison with men like Patrick Gillespie and others with whom he contended. In comparison even with Baillie and Douglas there is something to say for his practical sense and wisdom, his reserve of feeling, and his charitable appreciation of other men's opinions and conduct. But he was of inferior moral calibre, certainly of inferior moral strength, to either of these men. He had none of their spirit of self-sacrifice, and but little of their earnest, if narrow, faith. His suppleness verged on deceit, and his cleverness on double-dealing. He was a man of the world, with that tendency to 'rise' in it which some men, and particularly some ecclesiastics, show from the first. This buoyancy is seldom associated with strong convictions or lofty principle; and Sharp certainly estimated opinions and convictions too slightly. It is to be borne in mind, at the same time, that Presbyterianism never was to Sharp what it was to Baillie and Douglas, still less what it was to Rutherford and Guthrie. He had accepted it. This he could not help doing, if he was to live in Scotland at all between 1648 and 1660; and upon the whole he had as much right to be there as any of his contemporaries. He laboured, as it appears to us honestly, for its establishment at the Restoration, so long as there was any hope of its being established. He only abandoned the cause when it was hopeless. This was not the part of a magnanimous man. It was not even the part of a sensitively honourable or scrupulous man, considering the part that he had acted.

ART. VI.—*The Biglow Papers.* Second Series. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1867.

The Tent on the Beach. J. G. WHITTIER. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1867.

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THE two nations of the civilized world which have most in common are the two whose acquaintance with each other is, in many respects, the most imperfect. Their separate political history is included within a century, and when they write of each other it is already to draw contrasts, like those drawn by Herodotus between the manners of the Greeks and the Egyptians. 'Fathers and mothers in America,' writes Mr. Trollope, 'seem to obey their sons and daughters naturally, and as they grow old become the slaves of their grandchildren.' 'An Englishman,' writes Mr. Emerson, 'walks in a pouring rain, swinging his closed umbrella like a walking-stick, wears a wig, or a shawl, or a saddle, or stands upon his head, and no remark is made.' Religion in America, asserts Mr. Trollope, is characterized by a certain rowdiness. Religion in England, declares Mr. Emerson, is torpid and slavish. Both authors confirm, by their example, the statement, that 'it is hard to write about any country so as not to represent it in a more or less ridiculous point of view;' and yet both are candid and able beyond the majority of critics. The relationship existing between Englishmen and Americans makes them ignorant of their mutual ignorance. They are near enough to set great store by each other's judgments, and not near enough to form just judgments extemporaneously. Their jealousies are those of competitors: their disputes the *χαλεποὶ πόλεμοι ἀδελφῶν*. Their community of speech is itself too often a medium of offence, for it dispenses with a study of the language; and in studying the languages we learn something also of the habits and social histories of France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. The facility of travel which makes it easy to acquire first impressions, is a temptation to the superficial traveller. The Americans have no good book about England. Mr. Willis's *Pencillings by the Way*, and Mrs. Stowe's *Sunny Memories*, are mere portfolio sketches. Washington Irving was half an Englishman; he liked our country, and made himself familiar with our manners, but in writing about them he confined himself mainly to pleasant literary and local

reminiscences. The least satisfactory works of the two foremost American authors of recent years are those concerned with their English experiences. Every chapter of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Old Home* exhibits his delicate picturesque power and quiet subtle thought, but it is the work of a retiring artist, wanting in unity and the historic grasp requisite to the comprehension of our national life as a whole. The mass of Englishmen will never forgive the writer for calling their wives portly and themselves 'bulbous,' while impartial critics are constrained to accept his own sentence on himself,—'Jotting down the little acrimonies of the moment in my journal, and transferring them thence to these pages, it is very possible I may have said things which a profound observer of national character would hesitate to sanction.' Seven years earlier, Emerson's *English Traits*, in spite of much that is true and telling in their keen and polished epigrams, had shown how deceptive the impressions derived from a brief sojourn amongst us may be. But it would be well if the majority of our lively sketches of American society were inspired by even as fair a spirit as that which animated either of those two accomplished authors. The ambition of the ordinary British tourist in the States is satisfied when he has seen Niagara, called at the White House, and been introduced to the *litterati* of Boston, to whom he afterwards refers with an exceptional complacency. To this day the only attempt to give a philosophical account of American civilisation by a writer on our side of the Atlantic, is the work of the illustrious and lamented De Tocqueville; and the changes of the last thirty years, in a country where events follow each other like the shifting scenes of a stage, call for a revisal even of his carefully considered estimates. Professor Cairnes's excellent book is avowedly limited in its range; and the still more recent *New America* of Mr. Hepworth Dixon, though undoubtedly the most suggestive of that writer's works, deals professedly with the outskirts and anomalies of Transatlantic life. Untravelled Englishmen know much less of America, less of her geography, her history, her constitution, and of the lives of her great men, than Americans know of England. Of the mistakes on both sides, ludicrous and grave, we have the larger share. Distance no doubt magnifies in their eyes our Chartist demonstrations and Fenian riots; but they have never so misconceived a British statesman, as, four years ago, we misconceived Mr. Lincoln, or gone so far astray in regard to any crisis of our history as we did in reference to the moving springs and results of their civil war. The source of this greater ignorance lies not so much in greater indifference as in greater difficulty.

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England is one, compact and stable. The United States are many, vast, various, and in perpetual motion. An old country is a study, but a new country is a problem. It is hard to realize the past, but it is harder to understand the present; to predict the future is impossible. Antiquity is brought to our firesides in the classics, till Athens and Rome 'to us are nothing novel, nothing strange.' We are more familiar with the Acropolis than the western Capitol, with Mount Soracte than the Catskills, with Peisistratus than with Jefferson Davis, with Tiberius Gracchus than with William Lloyd Garrison. Our scholars know more about Babylon than about Chicago. Dante immortalizes for us the Middle Age, Plantagenet England is revived in Chaucer, the inner life of modern England has a voice in Tennyson and the Brownings. Where is the poet who will reveal to us 'the secrets of a land,' in some respects indeed like our own, but separated in others by differences which the distance of 3000 miles of ocean only half represents,—which, starting on another basis, has developed itself with energies hitherto unknown, in directions hitherto unimagined? Who will become the interpreter of a race which has in two centuries diffused itself over a continent, the resources of which are not more than half discovered, and has to absorb within itself and harmonize the discordant elements of other races, for whom the resources of the old world are more than half exhausted? *Caveat sacro*; but it does not want poetical aspirations as well as practical daring:—

' This land o' ours, I tell ye 's, gut to be
 A better country than man ever see.
 I feel my sperit swellin' with a cry,
 That seems to say, " Break forth an' prophesy."
 Oh, strange New World, that yet wast never young,
 Whose youth from thee by gripin' want was wrung;
 Brown foundlin' o' the woods, whose baby bed
 Was prowled round by the Injun's cracklin' tread;
 An' who grew'st strong thru' shifts, an' wants, an' pains,
 Nursed by stern men with empires in their brains.'

An English traveller has recently said, that 'in no part of its (*sic*) national career have the United States been so successful as in that of literature;' but most critics will venture to reverse his judgment. The number of writers in the States is immense. Mr. Griswold informs us that he has in his own library more than 700 volumes of native novels and tales, and his list of 'remarkable men' is like Homer's catalogue of ships. Every Yankee village has its miniature copy of Milton, or Byron, or Shelley—

' A whole flock of Lambs, any number of Tennysons ;
In short, if a man has a luck to have any sons,
He may feel pretty certain that one out of twain
Will be some very great person over again.'

America has given birth to more than a fair proportion of eminent theologians, jurists, economists, and naturalists, but, with the exception of Russia, no great modern country has, in the same number of years, produced fewer works of general interest likely to become classical ; and Bishop Berkeley's sanguine prophecy of ' another golden age of arts ' in the happier Empire of the West still awaits fulfilment.

The conditions under which the communities of the New World were established, and the terms on which they have hitherto existed, have been unfavourable to art. The religious and commercial enthusiasms of the first adventurers on her shores, supplying themes to the romancers of distant countries and later ages, were themselves antagonistic to romance. The first recorded verse written in America, bearing the date 1630 (*i.e.* a generation after Spenser had celebrated ' The Indian Peru,' in his *Faëry Queen*), is a doggerel list of ' New England's Annoyances : '—

' The place where we live is a wilderness wood,
Where grass is much wanting that 's fruitful and good.

If fresh meat be wanting to fill up our dish,
We have carrots and pumpkins and turnips and fish ;
We have pumpkins at morning and pumpkins at noon,
If it was not for pumpkins we should be undone.'

The early colonists had to conquer nature before admiring it, to feed and clothe before analysing themselves. The spirit which tore down St. Regulus, and was afterwards revived in England in a reaction against music, painting, and poetry, the Pilgrim Fathers bore with them in the ' Mayflower,' and planted across the seas. The ordinary cares of existence still beset their successors, to the exclusion of its embellishments. While Dryden, Pope, and Addison were polishing stanzas and adding grace to English prose, with them,

' The need that pressed sorest,
Was to vanquish the seasons, the ocean, the forest.'

Their Puritanism has left only one considerable literary monument, in the massive work of Jonathan Edwards, published about the middle of the eighteenth century. The War of Independence, absorbing the whole energies of the nation, developed military genius, statesmanship, and oratory, but was hostile to what is called polite literature. The United States have had to act their Iliad, and it is yet unsung. They have had to piece together

the *disjecta membra* of diverse races, sects, and parties in a παντοπώλιον πολιτειῶν. Their genius is an unwedded Vulcan, melting down all the elements of civilisation in a gigantic furnace, and welding them afresh. An enlightened people in a new land, where 'almost every one has facilities elsewhere unknown for making his fortune,' it is no wonder that the pursuit of wealth has been the leading impulse of Americans, nor is it perhaps to be regretted that much of their originality has passed into machines instead of poems, or that their religion itself has taken a practical turn. The possible arena of their literature has hitherto been confined to the north-eastern corner of the Union. 'Lean and impoverished' as the common life of that comparatively barren sea-board may appear, it is there alone that the speculative and artistic tendencies of recent years have found room and occasion for development. Our travellers recognise a peculiar charm in the manly force and rough adventurous spirit of the far West, but the poetry of the pioneer is unconscious—'the moving incident' is not his trade. The boasted culture of the South has always been limited in extent and in degree. The rare hothouse fruit of wealth and luxurious leisure, it has been best displayed in an appreciation of the advantages of education in the Northern schools,—schools which it is impossible to overpraise. In the world of letters at least, the Southern States have shone by reflected light; nor is it too much to say, that mainly by their connexion with the North the Carolinas have been saved from sinking to the level of Mexico and the Antilles. Since the revolution days, it is amazing how few of the thinkers of America have been born south of Mason and Dixon's line. The almost solitary name of Calhoun is a poor equivalent for those of Prescott, Motley, Bancroft, Webster, Lowell, Bryant, Emerson, Sumner, Dana, Holmes, and Hawthorne, which belong to the single State of Massachusetts. Whether we look to India or Louisiana it would seem that there is something in the fire of a tropical sun which takes all the poetic fire out of Anglo-Saxon veins, and the indolence which is the natural concomitant of despotism has the same numbing effect. Like the Spartan marshalling his Helots, the planter lounging among his slaves was made dead to art by a paralysing sense of his own superiority. Some years ago a scheme to establish a Southern University was abandoned, because the 'cuticular aristocracy' refused to associate with the teachers. All genuine Transatlantic literature is inspired by the spirit of confidence in labour. It can only flourish in a free soil, and for all its vitality, all its aspirations, its scant performance and large promise, we must turn to New England. Its defects and merits are those of the national character as deve-

loped in the Northern States, and we must explain its peculiarities by reference to the physical and moral conditions by which they are environed.

The Romans lived under the same sky as the Italians; the leading traits of the modern Swiss are like those of the modern Dutch; another race than the Anglo-Saxon would have made another America; but we cannot avoid the belief that the climate and soil of America have had something to do in moulding the Anglo-Saxon race, in making its features approximate to those of the Red Indian, and stamping it with a new character. An electric atmosphere, a temperature ranging sometimes from 50° to 100° in twenty-four hours, have contributed largely to engender that restlessness which is so conspicuous 'a note' of the people. A territory which seems boundless as the ocean has been a material agent in fostering an ambition unbridled by traditional restraints. When European poets and essayists write of Nature, it is to contrast her permanence with the mutability of human life. We talk of the everlasting hills, the perennial fountains, the ever-recurring seasons. 'Damna tamen celeres reparant celestia lunæ, nos ubi decidimus—' In the same spirit Byron contemplates the sea and Tennyson a running stream, and Sir Walter Raleigh writes 'Our leaf once fallen springeth no more.' In America, on the other hand, it is the extent of Nature that is ever present to the mind; the infinity of space rather than the infinity of time is opposed to the limited rather than to the transient existence of man. Nothing strikes a traveller in that country so much as this feature of magnitude. The rivers, lakes, forests, plains, and valleys, Niagara itself, with its world of waters, owe their magnificence to their size; and by a transference not unnatural, although fallacious, the Americans generally have modelled their ideas of Art after the same standard. Their wars, their hotels, their language, are pitched on the huge scale of their distances. Compared with Europeans they have gained in surface what they have lost in age.

' That untravelled world, whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when they move,'

is all their own, and they have the hopes of a continent to set against the memories of a thousand years. Where Englishmen recall, Americans anticipate. In thought and action they are constantly rushing into empty spaces. New York 'central park,' and the largest streets in the plan of Washington, are on the outer verges of these cities. Emigration is a normal condition of a great part of the inhabitants. When the backwoodsman's fields in Iowa begin to look less wild he crosses the Missouri. We have heard of a North Virginian farmer

complaining that he had neighbours within fifty miles, and preparing to move away from the encroachment.

‘I’m crowded just to think that folks are nigh,
And can’t bear nothing closer than the sky.’

The domestic attachments of the people have been underrated; but it is rare to find a family mansion rooted to the same town or district. ‘Jonathan,’ says Mr. Lowell, ‘is one drop of a fluid mass who knows where his home is to-day, but can make no guess of where it may be to-morrow.’ The tie which unites one generation with another is easily broken, and this want of continuity in life breeds a want of continuity in ideas. The American mind, in which fitfulness and pertinacity are strangely mixed, delights in speculative and practical, social and political experiments, as Shakerism, Mormonism, Panta-gamy; and the very tenacity with which the majority of Americans cling to their written Constitution is due in part to the acknowledged want of other anchorages. Within this fence everything is allowed; European idealism and materialism are each in turn outstripped by a host of authors,—from Emerson to Walt Whitman,—who have tried to glorify every form of human life, from the transcendental to the brutish. The habit of instability is fostered by the rapid vicissitudes of commerce and the melting of one class into another, by which all landmarks, but that of a temporary public opinion, are drifted away. The great fault of the people is *impatience*; they will not stop to verify and study details, and satisfy themselves with generalizations, which are superficially conclusive rather than suggestive or rich. The mass of them have never learnt that ‘raw haste is half-sister to delay;’ or that ‘works done least rapidly art most cherishes.’ Our agriculturists tell us that they have run over their land like locusts, leaving heaps of stones behind them. Solid Scotch engineers inform us that a shaft which takes six weeks to turn on the banks of the Clyde, is thrown out from the yards of New York in a fortnight; that the steam-boats on the Mississippi are built of veneer, and the summer-houses of papier-maché. This is not quite so, but there is a grain of truth in the exaggeration. The makeshifts, which were at first a necessity with the Northern settlers, have grown into a custom; and beginning with a bravery, like that of the grandiloquent preambles to their codes, they end sometimes in the sublime, sometimes in the ridiculous.

Some of the artistic as well as many of the social peculiarities of the United States may doubtless be traced to their form of government. After the obvious wants of life are pro-

vided for, Democracy stimulates the production of literature. An intellectual world, where the utility if not the beauty of knowledge is universally recognised, rises on the ruins of rank. There is a race in which the prize is to the swift, and every one tries to draw the eyes of others by innumerable efforts,—*multa non multum*. Art is abundant and inferior; white-washed wood and brick, 'cheap and excellent substitutes,' pass for marble, and rhymical spasms for poetry. Antiquity presents only apparent exceptions to this rule. Athens ultimately attained the utmost democracy consistent with the institution of slavery, but her citizens had previously inherited, from a past so vague that they claimed to have originally sprung from their narrow soil, a set of prescriptions in pre-established harmony with the Hellenic mind. The ideas of Limit and Order were paramount on their stage; their most agitated assemblies were still critical, and no orator ventured to address them in the style of a Western member of Congress. Formality is the prevailing defect of Aristocratic literatures; they are apt to be precise and restricted. A Democratic literature runs the risk of lawlessness, inaccuracy, and irreverence. From either extreme the Athenian and Florentine and Elizabethan classics were preserved by the artistic inspirations of a flexible tradition. The one is displayed in the so-called Augustan ages of letters, when men of genius, caring more to cultivate style than to establish truth, more to captivate the taste than to stir the passions, moved, with clipt wings, in a charmed circle of thought. The other is most conspicuously developed in America, a country which is not only democratic but youthful, without the modesty of youth, unmellowed by the past, and untrammelled by authority; where the spirit of adventure is unrestrained by feelings of personal loyalty; where order and regularity of all kinds are apt to be misnamed subservience; where vehemence, vigour, and wit are common—good taste, profundity, and imagination rare; a country whose untamed material imparts its tamelessness to the people, and diverts them from the task of civilisation to the desire of conquest. 'We have,' writes one of their own censors, himself not wholly unaffected by the national vices which he has yet the wisdom to condemn,—'We have need of a more rigorous scholastic rule, such an asceticism as only the hardihood and devotion of the scholar himself can enforce. We live in the sun, and on the surface,—a thin, plausible superficial existence, and talk of muse and prophet, of art and creation. But out of our shallow and frivolous way of life how can greatness ever grow?'

American literature is cramped on another side by the spirit of Imitation. Up to the present time it has been, in great

measure, an offshoot or prolongation of the literature of Europe. Native artists have been prone to take their intellectual culture from abroad, and to seek the sources, the rules, and the sanctions of their art in the Old World. Their themes are frequently European; their treatment of them still more so; and their highest ambition, like that of all colonists, has hitherto been to receive a favourable verdict, not from the country of their birth, but from that of their ancestors. Franklin was a practical disciple of Locke; Jefferson of the French Revolution. Latterly the Americans have followed the French in dress, talk, eating, and architecture, the English and Germans in thought; their bonnets are Gallican, but their books are Teutonic. 'The literary genius of Great Britain,' says De Tocqueville, 'still darts its rays into the recesses of the forests of the New World. I read the feudal play of *Henry V.* for the first time in a log-house. They draw on the treasures of English literature, and I find the literature of England growing on their own soil. The small number of men who write are English in substance, and still more in form.' Of the great number of men who have written since the date of this criticism, only a few have written anything to refute it. Another French critic has remarked that Washington Irving paints all countries but his own, in the style of Addison; a remark applicable to all his works, except his *Knickerbocker*, which is, because of its greater nationality, the most salient of the group. Fenimore Cooper, though possessed of less artistic power, less fluency, and less variety of illustration than Irving, is more vigorous and peculiar. His sea pieces, and, making allowance for their monotony, his delineations of western character and scenery, are unsurpassed in their kind; but, on land at least, he everywhere remembers Scott, and his heroes, his conversations, and his mottoes disclose the latent imitation. As in the works of the Scotch novelist the semi-barbarous feudal spirit is represented in conflict with modern law, in those of Cooper the enterprise of New England is struggling against the ruggedness of nature and a savage life. The writers of the last thirty years have been making strenuous efforts towards nationality, but they are still hampered by Transatlantic associations. In the style of Mr. Motley, one of the most original among them, we cannot help tracing the influence of Carlyle, and the reaction begun by Emerson against the reign of Lockist and Scotch psychology (a movement which merits a separate and extended consideration) is admitted to have derived its first impulse from *Sartor Resartus*. The tyranny which five centuries' load of classics in the same tongue exercises over the mind of a nation not yet a century old, is very much strengthened by the non-existence of an inter-

national copyright, which leads to the intellectual market being glutted with stolen goods. As long as a publisher in Boston or New York can republish a good book written in Edinburgh or London without paying for it, he is likely to prefer an undertaking which involves no risk and comparatively no outlay, to another which involves both, *i.e.*, the republication of the English to the first publication of an American book; for the English book has already attained its reputation, and its popularity in America is secured; while the American book, for the copyright of which he has to pay, has, except in the case of a few authors, still to win its spurs. If the people of the United States had spoken a language of their own, it is probable they would have gained in originality; as it is, they are only now beginning to sign their intellectual declaration of independence,—a fact confessed among the latest words of their own greatest artist:—‘Bred in English habits of thought as most of us are, we have not yet modified our instincts to the necessities of our new modes of life. Our philosophers have not yet taught us what is best, nor have our poets sung to us what is most beautiful, in the kind of life that we must lead, and therefore we still read the old English wisdom, and harp upon the ancient strings.’

Two-thirds of the writing of the author who is, on the whole, the greatest of American poets, are a long commentary on this confession. Mr. LONGFELLOW’S works are entirely free from the special defects that stamp the national literature of his country. He has none of the somewhat uncouth power and spasmodic exaggeration of his Western contemporaries; he is all grace and polish and inexhaustible sweetness. One of his earliest books, ‘Hyperion,’ strikes the key-note of the majority of his minor poems. The source of their inspiration is Outre Mer, among Rhenish feudal towers, Flemish towns, and Alpine passes. Like Irving in the variety and extent of his culture, and superior to him in genius, his imagination is rather Teutonic than English. Cut Germany out of his volume, and you cut out nearly half. He lingers in Nuremberg, Bruges, and Prague, and chooses for his emblem of life’s river, not the Ohio, nor the Hudson, nor the Assabeth, but ‘the Moldau’s rushing stream.’ He has given us the best translations in the world from Swedish, German, Spanish, and Italian authors, and many of his best verses are avowedly suggested by old proverbs, or sentences, or bits of old romance. A few words from an old French author give him the burden of the ‘Old Clock on the Stair;’ a leaf out of Mather’s *Magnalia Christi* is rhymed into ‘The Phantom Ship;’ the ballad of the Count Arnaldos sets him dreaming over the ‘Secret of the Sea;’ a verse of Euripides is the overture to his

'Voices of the Night;' a few lines from Goethe gather up the essence of the 'Psalm of Life.' In the New World, but not wholly of it, he dwells with almost wearisome fondness on the word 'old.' Volumes of old days, old associations that we cannot buy with gold, quaint old cities, old poets and painters, sweet old songs, old haunted houses, dear old friends, the grey old manse, Nature the dear old nurse, dear old England,—on phrases and thoughts like these his fancy broods. American verse is frequently rough-hewn and audacious, sometimes obscure and pedantic, and its novelty is often more striking than its truth. Every sentence that Longfellow has penned is as clear as crystal and as pure as snow. He wears his weight of learning 'lightly as a flower,' and though he rarely creates, he cannot touch without adorning. He puts our best thoughts into the best language, with that high art which conceals itself. An American poet in his songs of labour, he has yet no sympathy with 'the loud vociferations of the street;' and in those days of strife he retires into the sanctuary of the *Divina Commedia*, till

'The tumult of the time disconsolate,
To inarticulate murmurs dies away.'

Severe critics complain of his want of concentration and intensity, and of the conventionality of his epithets (a frequent fault of his earlier poems), but his position as the laureate of women and children and gentle men is unimpregnable; and there are seasons when we prefer his company to that of the 'grand old masters.' His perpetual refrain of 'Peace on earth, goodwill to men,' is soothing to 'weary hearts;' and when we seek an anodyne rather than a stimulant,

'His songs have power to quiet
The restless pulse of care.'

Generally speaking, his later works are his strongest. More is said in less space, his ideas follow one another with greater rapidity, and his imagery is more striking. There is nothing in the 'Voices of the Night' so powerful as 'Victor Galbraith,' or the 'Hebrew Cemetery,' or the verses on the death of Wellington or Enceladus; scarcely anything so effective as the 'Bells of Lynn,' or so tender as the exquisite address to children entitled 'Weariness.'

Longfellow's command of verse alone proves him to be a genuine poet. There are passages in the 'Arsenal,' the 'Occultation of Orion,' the 'Building of the Ship,' and the Household Poems, unsurpassed in melody by any in contemporary English verse. The introduction to 'Hiawatha,' the closing lines of

‘Evangeline,’ and some of the character-sketches which preface the tales of the ‘Wayside Inn,’ have a music equally attractive and more decidedly original. The highest flights of Mr. Longfellow’s imagination are in the strange old-world story of the ‘Golden Legend;’ but his fame most securely rests on ‘Hiawatha.’ This poem, in which a series of idylls are strung together on the thread of an idea common to Indian and Scandinavian legend, has that refreshing flavour of nationality wanting in many of the author’s works, and it yields to none of them in artistic finish. The monotony of the verse is like that of a bird’s song, which has only two or three notes, and yet, from its everlasting freshness, never palls upon the ear. Most modern attempts to reproduce old ballads put new wine into old bottles; but the American poet has here thrown himself as completely into the spirit of aboriginal Western life as he has into that of Gothic Paganism in the ‘Challenge of Thor.’ Like Chibiabos the musician, he is at home among the pine-groves and the prairies, and ‘the great lakes of the northland,’ and

‘All the many sounds of nature
Borrow sweetness from his singing.’

Longfellow’s descriptions charm us more than they astonish. Inferior in luxuriance to those of ‘Enoch Arden,’ in subtilty to Browning’s Italian pictures, they are superior in simplicity. They do not adorn nature as a mistress with the subjective fancies of a lover; they bring her before us as a faithful nurse careful for her children. In ‘Evangeline’ the poet follows the wheels of the emigrants’ waggon through ‘billowy bays of grass, ever rolling in sunshine and shadow,’ and ‘over them wander the buffalo herds, and the elk and the roebuck.’ ‘Hiawatha’ speaks of nature with the familiarity of an inhabitant; there is no trace of the grandiose style of the tourist. In the best episodes of the volume, as the account of the hero’s childhood and his friends, of the wooing of Minnehaha, of the Son of the Evening Star, of the Ghosts and the Famine—the parable of human life, with its incidents of birth, love, and death, of civilisation and decay, is told in a narrative of childlike tenderness and masculine grasp.

A recent New York critic ridicules the European view that ‘Hiawatha’ is an American poem; it belongs, he holds, to the wigwam and not to the exchange. It is true that the feverish ardour of Wall Street has no place in its pages, but it is none the less manifestly Transatlantic and *sui generis*. In celebrating Red Indian life it inevitably discloses some of the features of the race which has come into close contact with that life. Mr. Dixon has dwelt very justly on the extent to which the New

Zealand myth about the strength of the dead man passing into his conqueror applies to the pioneers of the West. 'Hiawatha' sings of the decadence of a primitive people in strains that recall by their pathos the old Briton legends of the death of Arthur: but it has also a prophetic side; from the meeting-point of two races it looks before as well as after.

' I beheld too in that vision
All the secrets of the future.

All the land was full of people,
Restless, struggling, toiling, striving:
Speaking many tongues, yet feeling
But one heart beat in their bosoms.
In the woodlands rang their axes;
Smoked their towns in all the valleys.
Over all the lakes and rivers
Rushed their great canoes of thunder.'

When De Tocqueville asserted that America had not yet produced a poet, only a single poem could be appealed to in contradiction of his statement, and the collective works of the author of this poem help to vindicate another generalization of the French critic. He remarks, that 'in democratic communities, where men are all socially insignificant, and each one sees his fellows when he sees himself, poetry will be less apt to celebrate individuals,' that it will seldom be dramatic, but will incline to dwell either on external nature, or on the ideas which concern mankind in general, it will be either descriptive or abstract. Mr. BRYANT is a poet of nature and contemplation. His masterpiece, 'Thanatopsis,' was written fifty years ago. The following extract must serve to illustrate the style of its verse and thought:—

' Yet not to thine eternal resting-place
Shalt thou retire alone—nor couldst thou wish
Couch more magnificent. Thou shalt lie down
With patriarchs of the infant world—with kings,
The powerful of the earth—the wise, the good;
Fair forms, and hoary seers of ages past,
All in one mighty sepulchre. The hills
Rock-ribbed, and ancient as the sun,—the vales
Stretching in pensive quietness between;
The venerable woods—rivers that move
In majesty, and the complaining brooks
That make the meadows green; and poured round all,
Old ocean's grey and melancholy waste,—
Are but the solemn decorations all
Of the great tomb of man. The golden sun,

The planets, all the infinite hosts of heaven,
Are shining on the sad abodes of death
Through the still lapse of ages. All that tread
The globe are but a handful to the tribes
That slumber in its bosom. Take the wings
Of morning,—and the Barcan desert pierce,
Or lose thyself in the continuous woods,
Where rolls the Oregon—and hears no sound
Save his own dashings—yet the dead are there.'

The reason why Mr. Bryant has never surpassed, and seldom equalled this effort of his youth, is to be found partly in the cast of his mind, which is characterized by a narrow greatness, and partly in the fact, that during the great portion of his life he has been forced 'to scrawl strange words with the barbarous pen' as the editor of a daily newspaper, a fact to which he makes a touching reference at the close of his 'Green River.' But not even Longfellow has penetrated so deeply into the Western woods as Bryant has done. He has lived in thronging streets, an honest and energetic politician, but in his leisure hours his fancy has roamed away to breezy hills and valleys, and the undulating sea of the prairies—

'The gardens of the desert,
The unshorn fields boundless and beautiful;
For which the speech of England has no name.'

The perpetual autumn of his writings is peculiar. They lead us to the margin of plains broader than English shires, by the banks of rivers flowing oceanward with a mournful sound, through sombre wildernesses, and over fallen leaves. Bryant has written smoothly in various measures, but he is never lively. An American 'Alastor,' he loves 'the air that cools the twilight of the sultry day,' better than morning 'clad in russet vest.' In the beautiful verses on the 'Death of the Flowers,' his ear catches a dirge-like tune in the wind:—

'The south wind searches for the flowers whose fragrance late he bore,
And sighs to find them in the wood and by the stream no more.'

The high rank grass of the wild meadow is to his eye the garniture of the graves of a race represented by his 'Disinterred Warrior.' Devoid of the exuberance of his contemporaries, he lingers 'where old empires sit in sullenness and gloom,' and he contemplates 'the living present' with resignation rather than hope. All his best pieces, as 'The Evening Wind,' 'The Forest Hymn,' 'Monument Mountain,' 'The Burial Place,' and 'The Past,' are set to the same slow music, and pervaded by the thought of life as the avenue of death. If we compare

his 'Address to a Waterpool' with Wordsworth's or Shelley's 'Skylark,' we appreciate the monotony of his mind, which is like that of Cowper without Cowper's occasional vivacity. Mr. Bryant stands on a high level, but the space he covers is limited; he has no touch of humour, and only the distant pathos of prevailing melancholy. Master of his position where he is at home—in the woods,—he loses his inspiration when he draws near his own cities. His exclusive nature-worship has a parallel in the feeling which animates some of the most graphic passages in New England prose,—such as the following from one of Emerson's earlier essays:—

'It is the halcyon season of our pure October weather. The day, immeasurably long, sleeps over the broad hills and warm wide fields. To have lived through all its sunny hours seems longevity enough. The solitary places do not seem quite lonely. At the gates of the forest, the surprised man of the world is forced to leave his city estimates of great and small, wise and foolish. The knapsack of custom falls off his back with the first steps he makes into these precincts. Here is sanctity which shames our religions, and reality which discredits our heroes. Here we find nature to be the circumstance which dwarfs every other circumstance, and judges like a god all men that come to her. We have crept out of our crowded houses into the night and morning. . . . The incommunicable trees begin to persuade us to live with them, and quit our life of solemn trifles. Here no history, or church, or state, is interpolated on the divine sky and the immortal year.'

This is a one-sided spirit; but it is a spirit with which we have all an occasional sympathy. To a disposition like that of Mr. Bryant it is permanently congenial. Thus, in the following verse, he gives voice to the impulse which, even in settled countries, often induces eccentric men of culture to banish themselves for a season from society;—the impulse which made captive the 'Scholar Gipsy,' which the hero of Locksley Hall welcomes for a moment, and then rejects:—

'Ay! this is freedom, these pure skies
 Were never stained with village smoke;
 The fragrant wind that through them flies
 Is breathed from wastes by plough unbroke.
 Here with my rifle and my steed
 And her who left the world for me,
 I plant me where the red-deer feed,
 In the green forest, and am free!'

Imaginative and ardent minds oppressed by the 'weariness, the fever, and the fret,' what Mr. Arnold calls 'this strange

disease of modern life,' try to escape from the region of the real drama into that of the ideal lyric, 'arva beata petamus arva divites et insulas,' and have now and then endeavoured to convert it into an actual idyll, as when Thoreau buried himself in a log-hut by Walden Lake, or Winthrop, leaving his ledgers in New York, scoured over the crags of Oregon, or Horne (of 'Orion') was found mining in a quarry of New South Wales. But this *émigré* spirit when put into practice ultimately cures itself; a poet soon tires of working with his hands for a livelihood. The aspirations of Clough's 'Bothie' are stifled by the *vitiosæ curæ* of a hard life, or terminate in the catastrophes of a fanaticism, such as Hawthorne has branded with his genius in the 'Blithedale Romance.' The philosophical refugees find that the solitude they desired charms only by its contrast with the civilisation they have left; as the beauty of the sea is its contrast with the shore. But this wandering impulse, strong in the ancient Greek and the modern English race, has colonized and civilized the world; it is especially strong in the Anglo-American; the very restlessness which makes his cities so noisy bids him long for a remoter rest, and this longing acts in conjunction with more material demands to drive him across the Mississippi, and pioneer the way to the Pacific.

The growth of a history on their own soil is, in the minds of most Americans, a requisite to the development of national art. English history does not supply the background which they desiderate, for they cannot associate that history with what they see around them. Memories of the Revolution War have suggested some stirring verses, as 'Paul Revere's Ride' in the 'Way-side Inn,' but the most effective American national works of recent date owe their generative impulse to the political movements of the last quarter of a century. The assertion of Henri Beyle that politics are like a stone tied round the neck of literature, and Goethe's warning to the young Germans, who were charging him with a lack of patriotic fervour—'Remember politics are not poetry,' must be accepted with a reservation. As a rule, the wider the grasp of the poet, the farther is he removed from the partisan. In Shakespeare, as in Chaucer, this comprehensiveness is so extreme, that he includes in his view of life (like that of a remote star with an infinitesimal parallax) only the common points, and excludes from it the differences of the Catholic and Protestant systems of faith. Dante and Milton, with a narrower range, take more definite sides; but their highest poetry is universal, it transcends the strife of Guelf and Ghibelline, of Puritan and Cavalier. On the other hand, poetry of a secondary, though still of a high order, may in many cases

be referred to the suggestions of living history, *i.e.*, to politics. Ballads, not legendary or purely domestic, have often a political face ; and this is true of the songs which, like the ‘Marseillaise,’ help to fight the battles, or, according to Fletcher of Saltoun, make the laws of a nation. The stalks of asphodel which move to and fro the Gygonian rock grow under its shadow. Even if we admit that the heroic thought which inspires heroic deeds comes from a loftier source, the shrewd thought that condemns or ridicules degenerate deeds is an offshoot of local or temporary circumstances. Satire, not merely personal, is almost always more or less political. The poetry of Sophocles seems to confirm Goethe’s dictum, that of Aristophanes disproves it. ‘Paradise Lost’ is comparatively impartial, but polemical animus points all the wit of ‘Hudibras.’ The *Biglow Papers*, a series of metrical pamphlets, born of the great social and political struggle of the New World, are among the most original contributions to its literature. Previous to the publication of this work, Mr. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL was already known on both sides of the Atlantic as the author of an extensive volume of miscellaneous verses. Generally speaking, his earlier efforts are more impetuous than powerful. Buoyant and vigorous, but bearing everywhere the marks of haste, they display more fancy than imagination. Lowell’s genius everywhere appears in contrast to Bryant’s. Far from shrinking into solitary places, he loves great cities and their cries, and sets them to rhyme with hearty good-will. When he goes into the country it is to have his blood sent faster through his veins by the spring morning, and not to dream among autumn woods. We may read the following, one of the best of his descriptions, by the side of ‘Thanatopsis :’—

‘ And what is so rare as a day in June,
 Then if ever come perfect days ;
 Then Heaven tries the earth if it be in tune,
 And over it softly her warm ear lays.
 Whether we look, or whether we listen,
 We hear life murmur or see it glisten :
 Every clod feels a stir of might,
 An instinct within it that reaches and towers,
 And grasping blindly above it for light,
 Climbs to a soul in grass and flowers.’

Or turn the page to the picture of the grim old castle, which ‘summer besieges on every side,’ or hear ‘Allegra,’ or ‘The Fountain,’ or the ‘Indian Summer Reverie ;’ the same jubilant energy or ‘flush of life’ pervades them all, and the same apparent carelessness. The passage from which we have quoted

runs on 'leaping and flashing' through a long page before it comes to a period, and repeats itself more than once. Mr. Lowell's earlier style is apt to be both verbose and tautological; faults only half redeemed by its fluency and richness. He writes, *currente calamo*, in utter disregard of Pope's 'greatest art,' and, unchecked by any reverences, contemns 'the dead blaspheming Past,' 'Bibliolatry,' and the 'dotard Orient,' after the fashion in which an English poetaster (since converted to Conservatism) was used to deal with 'old opinions, rags and tatters.' The imagery in those poems, drawn direct from nature, is generally true and suggestive, showing a keen eye and a fine sense of analogies. That drawn from history is less successful. Few Americans know how to use the classics with due reticence; and Mr. Lowell's pages are infected with such schoolboy commonplaces as Phidian Joves, Syracusan tyrants, Dodona groves, Olympus, Ganymede, Tyrtæan harps, and rattling shields at Marathon, and now and then confused by abstractions more bombastic than metaphysical. His semi-political and social verses are noble and manly exhortations, never wanting in fine lines and finer thoughts, but many of them are spoilt by mixed metaphors and 'horticultural rhetoric.' We read them at first with a glow of enthusiasm, but their fire seems to burn lower on revisal. The 'Ode to Freedom,' the verses on 'The Capture of Fugitive Slaves,' and those on the 'Present Crisis' (bearing the date 1845), are thickset with stirring watchwords; few are more capable of being recited with effect on platforms, but they will not bear analysis. Mr. Lowell's early volume is by no means the product of a poetaster: his 'Irene,' 'The Requiem,' 'The Token,' 'The Beggar Bard,' and 'The Growth of the Legend,' are really fine poems,—but its weaker and more spasmodic verses are calculated to encourage poetasters. His prevailing faults as a grave writer are, that he frequently confounds aspiration with inspiration, and never knows when to stop. In the 'Fable for Critics,' which may be compared with Leigh Hunt's 'Feast,' and with Suckling's 'Session of the Poets,' he breaks ground on the field where he has since found his richest harvest. The intrinsic merit of this piece lies in its candour and the general excellence of its criticisms, in the course of which the 'whole tuneful herd' of American authors are reviewed with keen appreciation and good-natured banter. The catholicity of the author's taste and his discernment are conspicuous in his lines on Emerson, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Cooper, Irving, Edgar Poe, and Judd, the author of the striking Transatlantic romance of 'Margaret.' He perhaps overpraises Mr. Willis, and under-estimates Bryant, but in his review of the latter he does full justice to Words-

worth. In several instances he shows himself alive to the prevailing defects of his countrymen, which are also his own. The following, on a now obscure writer of Maine, has a wide applicability:—

‘ Neal wants balance ; he throws his mind always too far,
And whisks out flocks of comets and never a star ;
He has so much muscle, and longs so to show it,
That he strips himself naked to prove he’s a poet.’

The style of the ‘ Fable for Critics’ is rapid and sparkling, its ‘ rhymical trinkets’ glitter like icicles in moonlight ; it is ‘ all armed with points, antitheses, and puns,’ which follow each other like sparks from a Leyden jar. Apollo’s lament for Daphne, near the commencement, illustrates his manner of coruscating in verbal allusions ; the reference to Alcott, the brilliant talker and nebulous writer, is even more salient:—

‘ While he talks he is great but goes out like a taper,
If you shut him up closely with pen, ink, and paper,
Yet his fingers itch for them from morning till night,
And he thinks he does wrong if he don’t always write :
In this, as in all things, a lamb among men,
He goes to sure death when he goes to his pen.’

Page after page of this sort of thing becomes tiresome, and sometimes, as in the jests on a graveyard, is even tasteless. Lowell has on all occasions enough of wit, but seldom ‘ as much again to govern it.’ In his recent pleasant volume of ‘ Fireside Travels,’ he still runs riot in puns, which are at the best ‘ the *a-b abs* of humour,’ as these:—‘ Bull enters St. Peter’s with the dome of St. Paul’s drawn over his eyes like a criminal’s cap, ready for instant execution, rather than confess that the English Wren had not a stronger wing than the Italian Angel.’ ‘ Milton is the only man who ever got much poetry out of a cataract—and that was a cataract in his eye!!!’ But there is much about even his earlier works which induces us to forgive those ‘ violences,’—his love of freedom and truth, his hate of all meanness, and the honest expression of both, the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum* without our paralysing caution, ‘ staves from the burly old Mayflower lay,’ and ‘ a smack of the pine woods,’ in which we ‘ drones of the Old World’ find an invigorating refreshment.

Mr. Lowell informs us that his view of the Mexican War as a national crime, perpetrated in the interest of slavery, led to the publication in 1846 of the first of his series of ‘ Biglow Papers.’ This series closed in 1848 ; after an interval of thirteen years the second began to appear in 1861 ; it concludes with an imaginary speech addressed to the Republican March Meeting of

last year. In reviewing those remarkable productions, in which, through the masks of three distinct types of New England character, the poet endeavours to enforce his own political and patriotic sentiments, we have little to add to his own defence of the dialect in which they are written. Bishop Percy, in dedicating his 'Reliques' to the Countess of Northumberland, apologizes for bringing 'the rude songs of ancient minstrels before the notice of her who adorns courts by her presence, and diffuses elegance by her example,'—an apology conceived in the spirit and couched in the fine language of the eighteenth century. But the success of Percy's experiment marked the beginning of a reaction in favour of simpler modes of thought and expression, which, in spite of the bad example of Johnson and the great example of Gibbon, has ever since been gaining ground in England. The revived study of our old literature, the rise of a national philology, the influence of Burns and Wordsworth, have combined to direct attention to the primitive forms of our speech, preserved in outlying districts. Our living scholars dwell on the part played by dialectical regeneration in arresting the corruptions of a language, and the advantages of reinforcing it from its living roots. What were once called vulgarisms have in many cases carried the day against 'diction,' and our authors are willing to admit as true, and with some reservations to act upon the mottoes prefixed to the second series of the 'Biglow Papers'—'Unser sprach ist auch ein sprach.' 'Vim rebus aliquando ipsa verborum humilitas affert.' The indispensable condition to the use of a country dialect is, that it be natural to the writer; it must be 'unser sprach.' There is as much affectation in the assumption of a *patois* as in a starched and swollen style of speech; and the Scotticisms of an Oxonian, besides being generally incorrect, are as incongruous as the classical drapery of the Ayrshire bard's letters to Clarinda. Mr. Lowell has taken pains to show that the peculiarities of the Yankee dialect are not indigenous, that the pronunciations and meanings given to old words, now strange to Englishmen, and the use of words now unknown in England, were familiar to Spenser, Drayton, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Webster, and Middleton, even to Herrick, Herbert, Dryden, and Swift. This vindication of their parentage (supported by Dr. Marsh, and other authorities in philology) is successful as an answer to what Mr. Lowell calls 'the European Mrs. Grundy;' but we are more concerned to know that he has been happy in his use of the words and phrases in question. A man of culture and refinement, the chances were greatly in favour of his failure; but the permanent popularity of his work is a voucher for his success. He is not only at home in the rural

dialect, it seems to fit his genius better than the English of his university. In some instances—

‘ The ploughman’s whistle, or the trivial flute,
Finds more respect than great Apollo’s lute ;’

because the tune is of more consequence than the instrument ; and our author is an admirable player on his satiric idyllic flute. The quasi-dramatic form which he has adopted is also fortunate, as it confines a too discursive fancy within limits. His *penchant* for classical allusion finds vent in a sort of self-satire through the mouth of the worthy though pedantic Puritan minister. Hosea Biglow himself, the rough New England patriot, is ready, like Admiral Rodney, to ‘ damn the Trojans and damn the Greeks,’ while the letters of Mr. Sawin are excellent examples of one of the most effective forms of satire,—that in which contemptible qualities are stripped of their varnish by the sheer effrontery of the wearer.

‘ The Biglow Papers,’ though written as pamphlets, are better matured and more condensed than Mr. Lowell’s other works (for passion, and even political fervour, as well as meditation intensifies), their style is more trenchant and original, and they are really humorous. The English doubt as to the existence of an American humour is analogous to the French problem, ‘ Can a German have *esprit* ?’ Humour is a word of many meanings. When we say it is related to wit as imagination to fancy, we only shift the controversy as to its proper meaning. In the Greek classics it shows itself mainly in the guise of a lambent irony ; in the English as a subtle appreciation of the curiosities of character. In Sterne and Fielding, as in Ben Jonson, we have every man in his humour. In some forms it implies the sense of a contradiction or conflict between the higher and lower phases of human nature, in others a full perception of the whole character, in others the power of isolating and concentrating the attention on single features. The vivid personification of such features constitutes the humour of Dickens, and this, the least mellow and refined of its forms, is that which almost alone we find in the New World. American humour seldom penetrates to the under-currents of human life ; its insight is clear, but not very deep ; it relies largely on exaggeration, and a blending of jest and earnest, which has the effect of singing comic words to a sad tune. The examples given in Mr. Lowell’s preface go to establish this ; he makes us laugh by instancing the description of a negro ‘ so black that charcoal made a chalk mark upon him,’ and of a wooden shingle ‘ painted so like marble that it sank in the water.’ Mr. Brown (Artemus Ward) excited the same kind of laughter by

his remark, in pointing to a mountain on his canvas, 'The highest part of this mountain is the top.' In both cases the amusement is owing to a shock of surprise, produced in the one case by a falsehood plausibly pretending to be truth, in the other by a truism pretending to be a novelty. Similarly, when the last-named writer, among his anecdotes of the conscription, tells us that 'one young man who was drawd claimed to be exemp because he was the only son of a widow'd mother who supported him,' the amusement is all in the unexpected turn of the last three words. Whereas the humour of Falstaff, of Corporal Trim, of Major Pendennis, and Bishop Blougram, consists in its truth; what they do or say never surprises us; it is absurd as a great part of human life is absurd, and laughing at them we laugh at something in ourselves. The humour of the 'Biglow Papers,' like the Scotch 'wut,' is removed on the one side by its breadth from the epigrammatic wit of the *Dunciad*, on the other from the humour of our great dramatists by the obviousness of its ideas. Of the characters with which it plays, Birdofredum Swain is a thorough grotesque (Hosea Biglow is almost wholly serious), and Parson Wilbur a mere sketch of a patriotic pedant. The book derives its popularity from the incisive force of the expression given to the sentiments shared by the author with a large section of his countrymen, and many of the lines most frequently quoted owe everything to their startling directness, as

'Ef you take a sword and dror it,
And go stick a feller thru',
Gov'ment aint to answer for it;
God'll send the bill to you ;'

or in the lines of the pious editor's creed characteristically clenched with a pun—

'I don't believe in principle ;
But, O, I du in interest ;'

or in the honest candidate's declaratory letter, where the log-rolling of elections is ridiculed in the verse,

'Ef you git me inside the White House,' etc.

In these instances, as in the satires on martial glory—so favourite a theme with modern reformers, the humour consists in tearing the paint off dishonesty, and leaving it naked to its own condemnation. It is the same power that has given such wide celebrity to the famous thoughts of Mr. John P. Robinson, as in the verse about the Apostles, where the contrast between Christian profession and military practice is drawn with a recklessness of conventionality that delights some readers and horrifies others. The religion of Americans is more homespun

than that of Englishmen; but it is neither less sincere nor less fervid, and the quaintness of their language in speaking of sacred things may be paralleled by passages from our elder divines, who lived at a time when men faced the facts of spiritual experience more boldly than we do, because they were more closely inwoven with their every-day life. Mr. Lowell speaks of the common sense of his hero being 'vivified and heated by conscience.' His own poetic powers are set on fire by moral indignation. He is a good hater, and his hatreds sharpen the edge of his most effective verses. There is a fine satiric scorn in the following, put into the mouth of Calhoun:—

'Freedom's keystone is Slavery, thet ther's no doubt on,
It's sutthin' thet's—wha'd ye call it?—divine,
And the slaves that we ollers make the most out on
Air them north o' Mason and Dixon's line.
The mass ough' to labour an' we lay on soffies,
Thet's the reason I want to spread Freedom's aree;
It puts all the cunninest on us in office,
And reelises our Maker's orig'nal idee—
Sez John C. Calhoun, sez he.'

Such lampoons as these were the *agentia verba Lycamben* which, with *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and the speeches of Garrison, Phillips, and Sumner, helped to hasten the 'irrepressible conflict' of the two contending forces in the Western Continent. Of those two forces Mr. Lowell had written in 1846:—

'Ef I'd my way I hed ruther
We should go to work an' part;
They take one way—we take t' other;
Guess it wouldn't break my heart.'

Fifteen years afterwards he had changed his mind, or rather events had changed it. The nation had grown greater, the adverse interests more imposing, and the passions on both sides more frantic. Her success in the affair of Texas made the South drunk as with new wine; disdaining equality, she aspired to a permanent domination, and after triumphing in the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, suffered her first defeat in Kansas. Then came the Dred-Scot decision, the Boston Anti-slavery riots, the raid of John Brown. The South hung John Brown. 'That,' replied Emerson, on behalf of Massachusetts,— 'that consecrates the gallows.' Men in this temper must either part or fight; and the manner in which the South attempted to part made it necessary for them to fight. Armed by the stealthy treachery of five years, she began the attack on the United States in the same fashion in which she had begun

the attack on Kansas, in the fashion of Brooks's attack on Mr. Sumner. The second series of the 'Biglow Papers' is animated by the spirit of an uncompromising Unionist as well as that of an Abolitionist. Copperheads and Secessionists, as such, are lashed as mercilessly as the Slaveholders, whom the following mock glorification of Southern society, put into the mouth of a mean political scamp, was certainly not calculated to conciliate. Mr. Sawin *loquitur*,—having settled in 'Old Virginny,' and married a lady of the 'fus' fem'ly' there, whose maiden name was Higgs—

'Fact is we air a different race, an' I for one, dont see,
Sech havin' ollers ben the case, how w' ever did agree.
It's sunthin' thet you lab'rin folks up North hed ough' to think on
That Higgses cant demean themselves to rulin' by a Lincoln;
Thet men (an guv'nors tu) that hez sech Normal names ez Pickens,
Accustomed to no kin' o' work, 'thout tis to givin licken,
Cant measure votes with folks that git their living from their farms,
And prob'ly think that Law's ez good ez hevin' coats o' arms.'

Nevertheless our hero feels some difficulty about the financial condition of his adopted country, and fears that 'swappin silver off for lead ain't the sure way to win:—

'An' fact it *does* look now ez though—but folks must live and larn—

We should git lead, an' more 'n we want, out o' the Old Consarn.
But when I see a man so wise an' honest ez Buchanan
A-lettin us hev' all the forts, an' all the arms an' cannon,
Admittin' we wuz nat'lly right, and you wuz nat'lly wrong,
Coz you wuz lab'rin folks an' we wuz what they call bong-tong,
An' coz there warn't no fight in ye morn'n in a mashed potater,
While two o' us can't skurcely meet but what we fight by natur,
An' th'aint a bar-room here would pay for openin' on 't a night,
Without it giv' the priverlege o' bein' shot at sight,
Which proves we're Natur's noblemen, with whom it don't sur-
prise

The British aristoxty should feel boun' to sympathize,' etc.

Throughout the volume there is a relic of the spirit which 'smote Agag, hip and thigh, from Aroer unto Minnith;' but the writer recognises the difficulty and delicacy, as well as the magnitude, of the task before his country.

'Thet exe of ourn,' says the ghost of an old Ironside, who appears to Biglow in a dream, 'opened a gap that ain't bridged over yet—

Slavery's your Charles, the Lord hez gin the exe,
"Our Charles," sez I, "hez gut eight million necks."

Lowell's satire has lost none of its former point and pregnancy, his patriotism glows with a deeper fervour. His songs rise out of the battle-field 'like rockets druv' by ther own burnin', intensified by the feeling of a personal loss, strengthened by 'the strain of being in deadly earnest,' and dignified by the proud conviction, laid up in the heart of every true New Englander, that

' Earth's biggest Country's gut her soul
An' risen up Earth's greatest nation.'

The serious poetry of this volume reaches a higher standard than the author has elsewhere attained. The short rural romance entitled 'The Courtin',' is one of the freshest bits of pastoral in the language, and the descriptions incidental to the longer pieces,—as that of the rail-posts 'like ghosts o' sogers should'rin' ghosts o' guns,' of the blackbirds 'chat'rin' in tall trees, and settlin' things in windy congresses,' of the spring leaping from April into June, and the lines on the singing of the Bobolink—are all the more effective because they are only incidental. As a specimen of Lowell's graver and maturer music, we select, with difficulty, the following stanzas from a poem in which tender regrets are mixed with triumph, in verses both soft and strong, artistic and original :—

' Under the yaller pines I house,
When sunshine makes them all sweet scented,
An' hear among their furry boughs
The baskin' west wind purr contented,
While way o'erhead, ez sweet an' low
Ez distant bells thet ring for meetin',
The wedged wil' geese their bugles blow
Further an' further south retreatin'.

' Or up the slippery knob I strain
An' see a hundred hills like islan's
Lift their blue woods in broken chain
Out o' the sea o' snowy silence ;
The farm-smokes, sweetes' sight on airth,
Slow thru' the winter air a shrinkin',
Seem kin' o' sad, and roun' the hearth
Of empty places set me thinkin'.

.
' Rat-tat-tat tattle thru' the street
I hear the drummers makin' riot,
An' I set thinkin' o' the feet
Thet follered once an' now are quiet—

White feet ez snowdrops innercent
That never knowed the paths o' Satan,
Whose comin' steps there 's ears that won't
No, not lifelong, leave off awaitin'.

'T'a'n't right to hev the young go fust
All throbbin' full o' gifts an' graces,
Leavin' life's paupers dry ez dust
To try an' make b'lieve fill their places.
Nothin' but tells us wut we miss,
Ther's gaps our lives can't never fay in,
An' thet world seems so fur from this
Lef' for us loafers to grow gray in !

'My eyes cloud up for rain ; my mouth
Will take to twitchin' roun' the corners ;
I pity mothers, tu, down South,
For all they sot among the scorers :
I 'd sooner take my chance to stan'
At Judgement where your meanest slave is,
Than at God's bar hol' up a han'
Ez drippin' red ez your'n, Jeff Davis !

'Come Peace ! not like a mourner bowed
For honor lost an' dear ones wasted,
But proud to meet a people proud,
With eyes that tell o' triumph tasted.
Come, with han' grippin' on the hilt,
An' step that proves ye Victory's daughter,
Longin' for you, our sperits wilt
Like shipwrecked men's on raf's for water !

'Come while our country feels the lift
Of a gret instinct shoutin' forwards,
An' knows that freedom a'n't a gift
Thet tarries long in han's o' cowards.
Come sech ez mothers prayed for, when
They kissed their cross with lips that quivered,
An' bring fair wages for brave men,
A nation saved, a race delivered !'

We have come a long way here from 'Hail Columbia !' and 'The Star-spangled Banner.' To reverse the mistake of a great English statesman, Jefferson Davis has made a nation of the North, and the welding heat of a war, 'worthy a Milton to defend and a Lucan to sing,' has refined the hearts of the people, whom it has united by withdrawing them from the pursuit of selfish ends and studies of European art, to the realization of a great national aim. During the last six years, in

America, the bonds of foreign fashion have been broken, and even commerce has become a secondary interest. The heroic deeds and feelings of a time when from Maine to Colorado it has been a disgrace to have done nothing for the common cause,

‘ Have cast in shadow all the golden lore
Of classic Greece and Rome.’

The same impulse which has made patriots of poets, and has given us Longfellow’s ‘ Wreck of the Cumberland,’ and his beautiful ‘ Christmas Bells,’ and the terse dramatic lines entitled ‘ Killed at the Ford,’ has also made poets of patriots, and has given us the ‘ Biglow Papers.’

The only sentences of this volume which an Englishman need read with regret are those in which the author discloses his feeling towards England. Like many of his co-patriots, he persists in confounding together the perfectly consistent action of our Government, and the inconsistent and unsympathetic criticisms of a portion of our press. The *spretæ injuria formæ* still rankles in his mind, he delights in calling Concord Road ‘ John Bull’s Run,’ and asserts that we have undone the healing work of fifty years. In his idyll entitled ‘ Mason and Slidell’ he exclaims—

‘ Shall it be love or hate, John?
It’s you that’s to decide.’

The critics of both nations can perform no worthier task than that of pointing the way to a wise decision, and helping to smooth over international jars by a candid recognition of each other’s excellences; but nothing more should be needed to secure the harmonious action of the two great sections of the Anglo-Saxon race, than the mutual consecration of the maxim which Mr. Lowell has himself so nobly expressed, ‘ Our true country is bounded on the north and the south, on the east and the west, by Justice.’

Mr. JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER is the lyricist *par excellence* of America, and the best of his lyrics have a nerve, swing, and fire that imparts to the reader a share of the writer’s enthusiasm. His verse, rapid as a torrent, is perpetually overflowing its banks. Lowell, in an appreciative criticism, attributes to him

‘ A fervour of mind that knows no separation
‘Twixt simple excitement and pure inspiration.

Then his grammar’s not always correct, nor his rhymes,
And he’s prone to repeat his own lyrics sometimes.’

No one stands more in need of the advice, once given to Southey,

'Squeeze out the whey,' and to no works more than to his is the maxim *πλέον ἡμῖν παντός* more applicable. The 'Tent on the Beach' is unusually free from the author's prevailing defects; but some of the pieces are still diffuse, and the number of those which have any marked originality is limited. The idea which gives a semblance of unity to the larger half of the volume is slightly modified from that of the 'Wayside Inn.' On an American sea-shore, which recalls the sands between Nahant and Lynn, three friends—a 'lettered magnate,' a sun-tanned traveller, and an editor—have pitched a tent, there to 'fling their loads of custom down,' and 'escape a while from cares that wear the life away.' To the editor, who

' Had left the Muses' haunts to turn
The crank of an opinion mill,'

the common air is still 'thick with dreams,' and, during the picnic, he entertains the company by telling tales. We have seldom read a pleasanter or more graceful set of tales in verse. They are remarkable for their smoothness, a quiet beauty of sentiment, and occasional instances of vivid imagery in the descriptions. The music of Rivermouth Rocks, the Palatine, and the Grave by the Lake, recalls and rivals that of Longfellow's best ballads. But few of them leave a permanent impression, none are so vigorous as the best of those in the 'Wayside Inn,' while they wholly want the realistic subtilty of Clough's 'In Mare Magno.' The most striking of the series is 'The Brother of Mercy,' Piero Luca, who, on his deathbed, feeling himself too poor for the 'grand company' of heaven, is abandoned by the stern monk, his confessor, but welcomed by the angels as one who, like Abu Ben Adhem, loves his fellow-men. The same supreme trust in the Divine love, which is the sum of Whittier's ardent faith, appears in the beautiful religious verses entitled the 'Eternal Goodness,' and 'Our Master.' These are catholic hymns in the widest sense, commended by their humility as well as their comprehensiveness. The spirit which pervades them is condensed in the following verses:—

' And so, beside the silent sea,
I wait the muffled oar;
No harm from Him can come to me,
On ocean or on shore.

' I know not where His islands lift
Their fronded palms in air,
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond His love and care.

‘ O brothers ! if my faith is vain,
 If hopes like these betray ;
 Pray for me that my feet may gain
 The sure and safer way.’

Some of the strongest lines in the book are in the address to ‘Thomas Starr King,’ which, with the valediction to Bryant, have the rare merit of condensation. Its finest music is in the stanzas entitled ‘Revisited.’ Of the national lyrics the most powerful is perhaps ‘Laus Deo,’ a grand burst of acclamation, suggested by the passage of Lincoln’s constitutional amendment. Nothing in this volume does full justice to Mr. Whittier’s narrative power. His masterpiece in this direction is ‘Maud Muller,’ an original and more innocent version of Browning’s ‘Statue and the Bust,’ springing up in an American meadow.

When we compare an author like Whittier with EDGAR ALLEN POE, the relative estimate we form of their works must depend on our view of the province of poetry. If its aim be to astonish or to fascinate, Poe takes a high rank among poets ; according to Wordsworth’s view of poetry, he has hardly a place among them at all. He teaches us nothing, and, living in one world, writes in another. All we know of the personality of the authors we have been reviewing adds to the charm of their works. Regarding Poe’s career, it is enough to say that polite literature has no terms to describe it. He was both mad and bad, and ostentatious in his madness and his badness. The vain and captious jealousy of his criticisms, and his habitual meanness, are, if possible, more repulsive than his other vices, with which literary critics are less concerned. But there are some who maintain that he is the greatest of American poets. This is an exaggeration of his powers only surpassed by his own exaggeration of them. It is true, however, that, by pure intensity of delirium, he now and then takes a flight beyond that of any other Western poet. His ‘Politian’ is perhaps the stupidest fragment of a play that has ever been written ; but, in his lyrics, the fervour of his sympathy for himself makes artistic recompense for his want of sympathy for others. The passion of ‘Annabel Lee’ is at a white heat, and is pervaded by a pathos as deep as ‘the sounding sea.’ The classic finish of the best of his verses that have any meaning is unsurpassed, and his exquisitely musical cadences give an irresistible charm even to those which are most nonsensical. ‘The Raven’ is, at the worst, a marvellous piece of mechanism, and the same delicacy of touch is everywhere visible in the rushing lines of ‘Annie,’ ‘Eulalie,’ ‘Ullalume,’ ‘Leonore,’ and ‘The City by the Sea.’ An appreciative though over-indulgent biographer has directed attention to the precocity of Poe’s genius ; more remarkable is the purity of his

poems. By the side of his life they are like nuns in the convent of a disorderly city; but they are at the same disadvantage: their isolation gives them an air of unreality. The 'banners, yellow, glorious, golden' of his fancy, 'float and flow' on the roof of an imaginary palace. As a romancer Poe inhabits the morbidly analytic world of Balzac; as a poet he is not human, much less American, and has no proper place in our review.

A much more considerable Transatlantic writer comes under the category of great prose authors who have amused themselves, and not unfrequently delighted their readers, by their verse; but Mr. Emerson's verse has the same faults and merits as his prose; the two modes of speech are with him different modes of expounding the same philosophy, and they fall to be considered together. It is enough here to remark that the title of 'The Sphinx,' given to one of his poems, is a fit epithet for many of the others; three-fourths of them are pervaded and spoilt by the gold dust of mysticism. Emerson has been called 'A Plotinus-Montaigne,' whose range 'has Olympus for one pole, for the other the Exchange,' and his muse has a practical as well as a transcendental phase. His best pieces, as the 'Wood Notes,' the 'Inscription for Concord Monument,' and 'Goodbye, proud World,' are inspired by his sympathy with the active energy of American life, and by his love of Nature. Fresh as a breeze from his native hills, they bear the mark of a master hand, and arrest our attention the more strongly that the moods of mind they present are strange to our fashions.

In closing for the present our remarks on American literature, we desire to express our regret for the scant justice we have been able to render to several of the authors we have named. The critics of one nation must, to a certain extent, regard the works of another from an outside point of view. Few are able to divest themselves wholly of the influence of local standards; and this is pre-eminently the case when the early efforts of a young country are submitted to the judgment of an older country, strong in its prescriptive rights, and intolerant of changes, the drift of which it is unable or unwilling to appreciate. English critics are apt to bear down on the writers and thinkers of the New World with a sort of aristocratic hauteur; they are perpetually reminding them of their immaturity, and their disregard of the *juste milieu*. Such sentences as these, where half-truths are clad in discourtesy, cannot fail to excite an unpleasant feeling:—'Over American society there is diffused an incurable vulgarity of speech, sentiment, and language, hard to define, but perceptible in every word and gesture.' 'People of refinement in the States are over-refined: they talk like books, and everywhere obtrude their

superior education.' Americans, on the other hand, are hard to please. Ordinary men among them are as sensitive to foreign, and, above all, to British censure, as the *irritabile genus* of other lands. Mr. Emerson is permitted to impress home truths on his countrymen, as 'Your American eagle is very well; but beware of the American peacock.' Such remarks are not permitted to Englishmen; if they point to any flaws in Transatlantic manners or ways of thinking, with an effort after politeness, it is 'the good-natured cynicism of well-to-do age;' if they commend Transatlantic institutions or achievements, it is, according to Mr. Lowell, 'with that pleasant European air of indirect self-compliment in condescending to be pleased by American merit which we find so conciliating.' Now that the United States have reached their full majority, it is time that England should cease to assume the attitude of their guardian, and time that they should cease to be on the alert to resent the assumption.

We have dwelt at some length on the serious obstacles to the establishment of a national literature in the New World, and trust not to be accused of condescension in referring to some of its advantages. Foremost among these is its *freshness*. The Authority, which is the guide of old nations, constantly threatens to become tyrannical; they wear their traditions like a chain; and, in the canonization of laws of taste, the creative powers are depressed. Even in England we write under fixed conditions, with the fear of critics before our eyes; we are all bound to cast our ideas into similar moulds, and the name of 'free-thinker' has grown into a term of reproach. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is perhaps the last English book written without a thought of being reviewed. There is a gain in the habit of self-restraint fostered by this state of things; but there is a loss in the consequent lack of spontaneity; and we may learn something from a literature which is ever ready for adventures. In America the love of uniformity gives place to impetuous impulses, the most extreme sentiments are made audible, the most noxious 'have their day, and cease to be;' and truth being left to vindicate itself, the overthrow of error, though more gradual, may at last prove more conclusive. A New England poet can write with confidence of his country as the land

' Where no one suffers loss, or bleeds
For thoughts that men call heresies.'

Another feature of American literature is its *comprehensiveness*: what it has lost in depth it has gained in breadth. Addressing a vast audience, it appeals to universal sympathies.

In the Northern States, where comparatively few have leisure to write well, almost every man, woman, and child can read, and does read. Books are to be found in every log-hut, and public questions are discussed by every scavenger. During the war, when the Lowell factory-girls were writing verses, the 'Biglow Papers' were being recited in every smithy. The consequence is that (setting aside the newspapers) there is little that is sectional in the popular religion or literature; it exalts and despises no class, and almost wholly ignores the lines that in other countries divide the upper ten thousand and the lower ten million. Where manners make men, the people are proud of their peerage, but they blush for their boors. In the New World there are no Grand Seigneurs, and no human vegetables; and if there are fewer giants there are also fewer mannikins. American poets recognise no essential distinction between the Village Blacksmith and 'the caste of Vere de Vere:' our Burns wrote for the one, Byron for the other; Longfellow, to the extent of his genius, writes for both at once. The same spirit which glorifies labour denounces every form of despotism. American slavery, partly from its being an anachronism, and partly from its being based on an antagonism of race, was in many respects worse than Athenian slavery. But there is no song of an Athenian slave. When the ancients were unjust to their inferiors, they were so without moral disquietude; the lie had got into the soul. Christianity, which substituted the word 'brother' for 'barbarian,' first gave meaning to the word humanity; but the feudalism of the Middle Ages long contended successfully against the better teaching of the Church; the spirit of Froissart held its ground against that of Langland. At this day our greatest living author has allowed his hero-worship to degenerate into a vindication of a worse than feudal tyranny. The best literature of America is an Areopagitica of Freedom. The verses of her poets thrill with the assertion of right against might. Children are her favourite poetic types. A woman's book, inspired by ordinary talent, and written in a mediocre style, having for its main excellences only a fervid honesty and a hatred of oppression, was among the moving springs of her great political and social revolution.

- ART. VII.—1. *Essais de Politique et de Littérature*. 3 vols. 8vo, 1859-1863.
 2. *Quelques Pages d'Histoire Contemporaine*. 4 vols., 1862-1867.
 3. *Études sur les Moralistes Français*. 1865.
 4. *Elisabeth et Henri IV.* (1595-8.) 3d edition. 1863.
 5. *Du Rôle de la Famille dans l'Éducation*. 1857.

M. PRÉVOST-PARADOL is not forty years of age ; his reputation had become European before he was thirty. A writer of reviews and newspaper articles, he was received upwards of a year ago into that distinguished body, which was founded by Richelieu to watch over the permanent interests of letters, and which maintains, as becomes it, a jealous independence of all Government influences. 'What has he written?' asked the Emperor, when informed of the French Academy's new choice. The short list prefixed to this article contains the reply to the Imperial question.

It need surprise no one, not even the Emperor, that in a country in which the periodical press is not free, a writer of the periodical press should, nevertheless, win a place in the very foremost rank of its literature. The explanation is mainly threefold. There is the attraction which every good cause has for a generous spirit. There is the attraction which such a tribunal as public opinion in Paris, with its far-reaching echoes everywhere, has for a pleader consciously possessing gifts of the highest order. There is the impossibility of interposing, by the sharpest and sternest legislation which official lawyers can devise, an absolute barrier between such a pleader and such a tribunal. He is sure to be heard. Some freedom of discussion, though upon sufferance merely, is an inevitable concession, even from a Government so strong as that of Napoleon the Third, to a power so sensitive, so exacting, so enlightened, and at times so dangerous, as the public opinion of the French capital. Within those uncertain limits, a writer, whose thoughts are deep and wide, whose style is eloquent and clear, whose mastery of the most refined of modern languages is such as to please the most fastidious of modern audiences ; a writer, who to wit and humour of the purest taste, unites a special skill in the art of keeping on the lawful side of any forbidden line, while propelling the thoughts of his readers inevitably beyond it ; such a writer, we say, must get a hearing. M. Prévost-Paradol has done so. Whatever he writes, all men read. Those who read him, either as friends or as generous opponents, represent, without limitation to any one shade of opinion, whatever is best and highest in the political and lite-

rary traditions of his country. Those who read him as foes, to warn, suppress, and imprison, belong, as is fit, to the most zealous and the meanest supporters of the existing rule. They know that the Imperial Government has no more distinguished opponent than this one, none more dangerous, as they judge, because none more distinguished, the one quality being naturally taken as the measure of the other. Add to this the inevitable tendency under the existing Press Laws of France to write, even in newspapers, not simply for the present evil days, but also for a better future, and you may understand how it is that M. Prévost-Paradol, journalist and reviewer, is now a member of the French Academy, to the surprise of the Emperor, but to the satisfaction of all who love what is worthiest and noblest in modern French literature.

Of such men the biography is commonly short. Born in 1829, of a marriage between M. Prévost, an officer in the army, and Mademoiselle Paradol, an actress of the great classical theatre of the Rue Richelieu, he became, in early years, a distinguished scholar and student. His mother won sufficient eminence in her profession to be made a *sociétaire* or partner of the *Théâtre Français*, a distinction for a French actor equivalent in some sort to the dignity of Royal Academician for an English painter or sculptor. Her tenderness and care were remembered in after years, when her son had to write of home and family influences as an element in education. At twenty-six he was Professor of French Literature in the Faculty of Letters at Aix. His teaching there, though it endured but a few months, left behind it some notable traces, to which, on the reception day at the Academy last year, M. Guizot bore this witness from the chair:—

‘ Your claims, sir, are of those which receive a special welcome here. In the field of letters you have not only been a brilliant worker, but a skilful teacher also. From you, your hearers learnt not merely to follow literature, but to love it. You awakened and kept alive in their souls a passion for the beautiful, and a taste for the higher studies. Many years after your teaching in the Faculty of Letters at Aix had come to an end, you spoke this noble farewell to your old pupils once more gathered around you:—“ Be faithful to literature ; live as long as you may in habitual and intimate converse with those immortal writers who have given best utterance to the best thoughts of humanity. The more you know them, the more you will love justice and honour ; the further will you be from all that deadens the moral sense, and weakens the dignity of the soul.” ’

On the same illustrious testimony, we add that M. Prévost-Paradol himself followed the counsel which he gave. No one was ever better fitted than he to find happiness in that quiet

world of letters, where 'Plato is never sullen, Cervantes never petulant; into which Demosthenes never comes unseasonably, and where Dante never stays too long.' His criticisms on the great French moralists, Montaigne, Pascal, La Bruyère, La Rochefoucauld, and Vauvenargues; his studies of Aristophanes and Lucretius, of Demosthenes and Seneca, of Thucydides, Xenophon, Tacitus, and Macaulay, of Spinoza, Lamennais, and Renan, show what great things he might have done had he been content to abide in that serene region where warnings, suspensions, and imprisonments are unknown. But his vocation lay elsewhere. The cause of free institutions and free speech had to be pleaded to a generation grown careless of those things, under a Government vitally interested, as it would seem, in their suppression. In 1856 he left his professorial chair at Aix, to write, alternately with M. Louis Alloury, the leading articles, the 'premier-Paris,' of the *Journal des Débats*. All Paris remembers with what thoughtful eloquence and wit this congenial work was done; with what unmerciful, but dexterous and always polite, exposure of weak points in official procedure, of weak logic in official speeches. Here was a Government, men felt, sworn to stifle all hostile criticism, yet wincing under the sharp strokes of a powerful pen, which gave no pretext for any open show of anger. The unequal conflict could not last. The managers of the eminent liberal journal were privately enjoined to close their columns against this troublesome critic.¹ They had to obey, or live in daily peril of extinction. Naturally (and who shall blame them?) they preferred obedience. To the brave but ill-fated *Courrier du Dimanche* M. Prévost-Paradol carried those brilliant but dangerous gifts, liked by the public and disliked by the Government in equal measure. The public read, approved, and laughed; the Government warned, suspended, and finally suppressed. During the *Courrier's* six years of troubled existence, two important events befell its most eminent, but fatal contributor. In June 1860 he underwent a month's imprisonment for a pamphlet entitled *Les Anciens Partis*. In March 1866 came his admission to the Academy. These are all the details of his biography that need concern us.

What concerns us much more is the interest with which he, in common with all eminent thinkers, past and present, of his country, has studied the institutions of ours. It is pleasant to

¹ See M. Jules Simon's speech at the *Corps Législatif* on 21st January 1864. It is right to add that for some time back M. Prévost-Paradol has returned to the *Journal des Débats*, not to write the 'premier-Paris' as formerly, but as an occasional contributor of literary reviews, or articles on political questions of permanent interest.

read in pages like his, one more weighty testimony from abroad to our great privileges, political and civil, among the nations of the earth.

Of these the chief is the right of publishing one's opinions by speech or print, subject to no preliminary hindrance, and to no subsequent penalty other than follows the breach of known laws applied by independent judges upon the verdict of a jury. If, in this respect, a difference exists between one nation and another, it is a capital and characteristic difference, passing before every other in point of political importance. For without this right, no institutions, whatever they may be in form or in name, can in fact be free ; with it, no form of despotism can last. Here is the point of contrast between France and England on which M. Prévost-Paradol's thoughts chiefly and sadly dwell ; thoughts to which we owe many of the noblest pages he has written. The managers of the *Times* were apparently of this opinion when, some years ago,¹ they published in their columns a full-length translation of an article contributed by him to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, entitled *De la Presse en Angleterre et en France*, in which he sets forth the public function of the newspaper in either country as affected by its laws, its habits of thought and feeling. Never was this deep and striking contrast set before the world in more accurate language, in language worthier to endure as a contribution to the history of our age.

Our daily paper is to us a daily reminder of our public liberties, our national strength and wealth, our living, restless indomitable energy in every field of human activity and human progress. Speaking of the English newspaper in the abstract, we inevitably mean the *Times* in the concrete, the leading journal, as we all acknowledge it to be ; if not the eldest, certainly the biggest brother of all that wonderful family. Its huge size, its thick outer coating of densely printed advertisements, its inner core of political discussion in clear type ; there, from without, a cry of innumerable voices, faint echoes of the great city, if one may call them so, offering everything that civilisation can supply to every want that civilisation can feel ; here, from within, as you open up the vast sheet, the clear, strong editorial voice, in bold and able language, expressing opinions which for twenty-four hours at least will be the political creed of the majority of educated Englishmen ; then the reports of Parliament, of the Courts of Law and Police, of every kind of public meeting ; the literary criticism, the foreign correspondence, accurate and full, from every corner of the globe ; something like all this may perhaps be found on the other side

¹ See *Times* of 8th January 1858.

of the Atlantic, but what like it can be found on the other side of the English Channel ?

‘ Those who have travelled with a *vetturino* through certain parts of Italy, and who, shortly afterwards, have been borne along the great iron highways of Northern Europe, retain an impression of the liveliest and most interesting contrast. Yonder the small insecure carriage with its uneven motion, its ceaseless jolts, avoiding by many windings sometimes a precipice, sometimes a bandit on the watch ; here an immense train gliding, all steam up, along a solid shining line, from which law and custom keep away every obstacle, bearing with it an entire population of travellers continually renewed, useful to all, by all inviolate. A like contrast will arise in the thoughts of every cultivated man, who, familiar with our public press in France, desires to know the public press of our English neighbours.’

Assuredly, as M. Prévost-Paradol himself warns us, this difference is not the whole case between the civilisation of England and the civilisation of France. There are other elements of national life and greatness than this one. Art, philosophy, the higher literature, a great place in the world’s history, a weighty influence on the world’s destinies, these things must be remembered even when we place such a newspaper as the *Times* and such a newspaper as the *Journal des Débats* in opposite scales as organs of publicity and free opinion. A comparison turning on the purely intellectual element in both, will go far to restore the balance. Even the very dangers typified by the precipice and the watching bandit of the foregoing quotation, develop in the French journalist an art unknown, because happily unneeded among ourselves, the art of covertly suggesting truths which it would be perilous to tell openly ; an art not to be left out of account in reckoning up M. Prévost-Paradol’s titles to fame. But we must not set greater store by this accomplishment than he does himself. More than once he has bitterly deplored its necessity as a weapon forced into his hand by the Press laws under which it is his misfortune to live. In the preface to one of his collections of republished newspaper articles, we find these sad but noble words :—

‘ Are these the conditions of high art in literature, and is the smallest literary ambition open to those who, under such rigorous laws, endeavour to write about public affairs ? They may hope for the compassion of posterity ; they can by no means be candidates for its admiration. Let us not deceive ourselves. The art, sometimes necessary, but always humbling and painful, of presenting truth under a veil, is powerless to produce an enduring work. It gives, if you will, flexibility to the writer’s hand ; and there are some among us who have ingeniously enough contended that a journalist owes some grati-

tude to these hard times for this necessity of becoming flexible. You forget how heavy this necessity lies on his heart, how it forbids all hope of a wholesome and lasting reputation. Yes, I know it, that wretched art, and use it too when need is, with an untroubled conscience ; but I feel all its grievous burden ; and those who sometimes praise me for having practised it with some measure of success, will never know with what disdain I look upon it, how I would fain have lived in times which allowed me to be ignorant of it !'

Not the art of *Æsop* and of *Rabelais*, but rather the art of *Junius* and of *Swift* is needed by the modern journalist. The aim of his logic or his wit must be shrouded by no veil, however transparent to keen-sighted eyes. He must write so that they who run may read. He must take hold of public attention by being clear, and must not even affect to solicit public ingenuity by being mysterious. The thought which he knows to be in the hearts of all men must not merely be stirred by a delicate sarcasm, a historical allusion, a suggested contrast ; it must be expressed boldly and openly, as in the face of day. If he is not allowed to do this he loses much more than half his value. If he is merely to state general principles, of which the application to current events is obvious, but withheld ; if he is merely to give one member of a parallel or contrast, in reliance on the reader's sagacity to supply the other ; if he can but suggest certain logical conclusions as flowing from certain official premises not designed for that end ; if, with all due caution, he may only appeal in general terms to the better principles of better times ; he fulfils an office not useless indeed, especially when surrounded by a public in whom the tradition of former freedom requires to be kept alive, but an office of subordinate utility as compared with that of our British journalist criticising public men and public events without circumlocution and with no fear, subject to no control but the control of law and public opinion. In this point of view the contrast between the *vetturino* and the railway train is by no means an exaggeration.

Yet it is not so much in this respect as in the universality and accuracy of its information that the English newspaper shines in contrast with its French 'contemporary.' The freedom of the one, the servitude of the other, have much to do with this difference, but do not account for the whole of it. It is not merely that the one lives on sufferance and the other as matter of right ; the craving for exact and trustworthy news is much keener in our country than in France. Hence it happens that we always know more of French politics than Frenchmen ever do of ours. In 1848 French newspapers announced, and many thousands of Frenchmen believed, that on the 10th of April in that memorable year of grace, the constitution which

governs these islands would meet with its final doom. When the Indian mutiny of 1857 was known in this country to be quelled, French newspapers (the *Débats* excepted) still foretold, with all but universal belief in France, the impending downfall of our Indian empire. At this moment that miserable form of Irish discontent which, under the characteristic, because unintelligible, name of Fenianism still occupies a corner of our newspapers, is in the eyes of most Frenchmen a great Irish national movement, and a great English national peril. Costly machinery to obtain early and accurate news would be too heavy a burden for a property so precarious and so frail as a French newspaper; and would often be useless under an iron rule which interferes as much with the publication of fact as with the expression of opinion. But in reality the public to be served in either country differs almost as widely as the press laws of each. We exact much from our daily newspaper. We don't insist that its news shall be good; we do insist that its news shall be early, full, and accurate. No editorial eloquence, no skilful flattery of national prejudice or party feeling, will atone for any shortcoming in this respect. Whatever position a newspaper may have won among us by its ability to defend great principles, its ability to supply rapid and complete information on all topics of public interest is much more to the purpose. This is a vital element in its continued prosperity.

This eagerness, this keen competition in the supply of news is very much modified in France by the nature of the demand. Correct news there, is not so much the article wanted as good news. Now good news to that public means generally, though somewhat vaguely, that 'France is marching at the head of civilisation.' For if the case be otherwise, if France be not marching at the head of civilisation, then it is manifest that the time is out of joint:—

'When our newspapers wish to keep us in a state of good humour towards our rulers, they tell us that the foreigner is obedient to our will; when they wish to humble and irritate us, they have nothing better to do than to insinuate that we are led by the foreigner. If they go out of either of these two positions, we mistrust and cease to understand them.'

But this is not the only disturbing cause in a Frenchman's opinions on foreign politics:—

'The love and the hatred of the Revolution which divide France so deeply, have much to do with our prejudiced judgment of foreign affairs. To those of us who would like to see the Revolution dead and buried, and to those of us who wish it long life and prosperity, foreign news are little else than a daily bulletin of its health; and we

go straight to those papers where this bulletin is drawn as we wish and hope it to be. Those who want peace at any price, those who want the final subjection of the earth, moon, and stars to France; the friends of the Revolution and its foes, all those people hungering for news and contradictory prophecies seek their food in the newspapers, and each one regularly finds there the only food he can bear. For this public, not the most authentic news, but the most agreeable are needed; not the freshest, or the best proved, but the properest to indoctrinate and move it, as it insists on being moved and indoctrinated. You even irritate it by announcing or foreseeing anything else than what it wishes; and men who see clearly must feign at least to see dimly, under pain of displeasing men blinded by passion. If, after all, the event shows the road followed to have been the wrong one, it matters little, provided readers and journals have walked in it in company and keeping step. The event, that judge feared by the English press, has for ours no inconvenient consequences. Our public willingly tolerates errors which it has desired and shared; nothing indeed equals its gratitude towards writers who have deceived it agreeably, except its desire to be so deceived again.'

Such is the French press in its weakness; here is now the English press in its strength, the *Times* being justly taken as the best and most characteristic example:—

'The freedom of saying everything on every topic of general interest, joined to the absolute necessity of speaking to the public the only language which that public understands and likes, gives to the leading articles of the English press a singular character of simplicity, familiarity, and energy. You will find there the most trivial comparisons side by side with the strongest and the clearest reasoning. The highest matters are purposely reduced to the most vulgar proportions; the nation is almost always represented as a private person, who in any given situation, tries to make the best of it. The greatest wars, the most important negotiations, are, as much as may be, assimilated to the ordinary acts of private life, and are so put as to enable each reader to feel his way, and choose his side, according to the rules of common sense, and as easily as in his own affairs. Of this special kind of eloquence the best model will be found in the closest and most familiar argumentations of Demosthenes. Add to this chain of reasoning some touches of that penetrating, and above all, bitter irony which rises to genius in the writings of Swift, and you have the most ordinary substance of a good article of the *Times*. No wonder that such articles are little pleasing to our French taste, that to us they seem too narrow, too vulgar, and too violent. They have little conformity with the genius of our nation; to them we much prefer the softened splendour of general ideas and abstract terms. Moreover, when not mutilated, they are generally ill translated, a thing easily understood; for the common knowledge of English is not sufficient to import them into our tongue, any more than the common knowledge of Latin would serve the turn of a translator of Lucretius

or Tacitus. To give in French the equivalent of a good article of the *Times*, almost implies ability to write the original.'

There are differences here indicated, not always nor altogether to our advantage. With us the particular and the practical are apt to degenerate into the narrow and the unjust, in striking contrast with that philosophical breadth and equity to which the love of general ideas sometimes elevates our neighbours. Our home politics, disfigured as they often are by party feeling; our foreign politics, warped as they often are by a prevailing sense of national interest, pass into a clear daylight of truth and justice when they pass into the hands of such men as M. Prévost-Paradol and M. Forcade. Even our peculiar advantage in the possession of full and trustworthy sources of information has at times been neutralized by national feeling; and our loss in this respect has been the foreigner's gain. He has read rightly what we have chosen to read wrongly; and the event naturally puts him in the right and puts us in the wrong. The late American War is an instance. Never at any moment of that great contest did the greater part of our public consent to look upon it in its true light, the light to which we cannot now close our eyes. One of the most eminent of our statesmen proclaimed that Mr. Jefferson Davis had made the South a nation; another declared that the North fought for dominion, and the South for independence; the very opinion, be it said in passing, which half Europe would turn against us to-morrow, if Fenianism should become rebellion to-day. Full news, accurate news of every incident, from the fall of Fort Sumter in April 1861, to the fall of Richmond in April 1865, was always within our reach; but the text came with a commentary, and the commentary prevented our right reading of the text. Federal victories were announced with a warning that the information came from exclusively Federal, and therefore untrustworthy sources. No such warning accompanied exclusively Confederate news of Federal defeat, and Federal brutality. We were not to believe any good of the North, if the South denied it. We might believe any evil of the North, if the South affirmed it.¹ When the end came, it found us unprepared. It was a surprise, a sudden downfall, an inexplicable collapse. To readers of the *Journal des Débats* and the *Revue des Deux Mondes* the case was quite otherwise. For many months the decisive advance of the North

¹ It is right to note that it suited the Mexican policy of the present French ruler to encourage the American Secessionists, and therefore the Government newspapers of France, official and 'officious,' echoed the opinion, which was all but universal among ourselves, on the probable success of the Southern arms, and its desirableness.

had been noted step by step; its powerful grasp shown to be steadily closing upon its foe; its final victory foretold as an inevitable conclusion in the inexorable logic of events. We are not sure that our public, in its displeasure, did not feel some slight irritation against its leading, in this instance misleading, journals. They misled us quite honestly, no doubt, being themselves misled by national feeling. But we are a public quite unlike the French in this respect: we cannot bear to be deceived in matters of fact, even although the deceiver be in good faith, and the deceit pleasant while it lasts.

The signatures make a notable difference between French newspapers and ours, not in form merely, but also in substance. It is obvious that the proper name at the end of an article has some influence on its style. A man who signs what he says to the public, will naturally be more prudent and courteous than one who speaks unknown from behind the broadsheet. Compare, as is right, our neighbour's best with our own best. In the one there is a tone of high breeding which the other scarcely condescends to use. Anything sharply said, even to the verge of coarseness, seems to us well said, if we be but convinced that it is well deserved. Justice in substance, as we reckon it, atones for many sins of form. The French journalist, signing his name, writes as he would speak within hearing of his adversary before a select assemblage of well-bred critics; his politeness in the use of his weapon serving at times to sharpen its sting. The English journalist shrouded behind his editorial '*we*' uses no polite circumlocution. He speaks the strong, fearless, authoritative language of a public functionary fulfilling a public duty. This is the language we understand and like, and therefore it is spoken. It is best spoken anonymously. Universal wisdom and universal justice must not be narrowed to the personality of Smith and Jones.

A law of signatures like the French one is not matter for discussion in this country. But our custom of anonymous writing has sometimes been discussed. It is a question between the newspaper's name and the name of the writer. Each has its partisans; and the arguments on both sides seems pretty evenly balanced. What the anonymous journalist gains in independence towards the public, he sometimes loses in another direction. He is free to attack prevailing opinions in high places; but the traditional opinions of his journal are sacred. There is an artificial personality here to which he must sacrifice his own; a certain consistency of opinion which, by using the anonymous pronoun, he is taken bound to respect. He may perhaps thus gain a hearing unattainable by him in his own proper person. But there is a *contra* for every *pro*. The article

might not be read if the obscure name were given ; it may not be read because the great name is withheld. The reputation of the journal may give undue authority to opinions which deserve none ; a dwarf having crept that morning into the giant's armour. Both ways, perhaps, are best. Let us be thankful that we are at liberty to follow both or either ; public taste being the supreme arbiter in the long-run.

Our custom in this respect strengthens the dividing line between our journalists and our statesmen, a dividing line which does not exist in France. With many points of contact and interdependence, these two callings are essentially distinct amongst us. Our eminent newspaper editor belongs to a world of his own. He does not covet a seat in Parliament ; he does not aspire to some great office in the State. He wields a power sufficient for the ambition of most men ; a power less tangible, but not less real, than that of statesmen ; a power to which his anonymous writing lends a sort of half mystery. Being a power, he has some enemies and many flatterers in every rank of society. He may keenly enjoy his position. The exquisite luxury of successful thinking is often his, enhanced by the consciousness that his thoughts, as soon as uttered, become the convictions of many thousands of his countrymen. We are apt to claim his ideas as ours. We feel grateful to him for expressing our own opinions so clearly ; for putting our own reasoning in such irresistible language. All the more rapidly on that account do these unsigned words pass out of human memory. A collection of newspaper articles, however effective in their day, would scarcely find a purchaser when that day is past. They have served their turn. In some respects the glory of our eminent journalist is like the glory of an eminent actor. When he leaves the scene, he leaves nothing behind but a great tradition. Of course, we only compare the literary fame of the one with the artistic fame of the other. The good actually done to society does not pass away. But on that monument, if it may so be called, the name of the journal is engraven in larger characters than the name of the journalist. The wit, the eloquence, the logic by which that good was done, are sometimes buried out of sight even during the lifetime of their possessor.

The French law of signatures has, at all events, helped to preserve M. Prévost-Paradol's name from oblivion. Even his noble protest already quoted must not blind us to the fact that he owes something to the iron rule under which his rare talent as a journalist has made him known. Somewhere he compares the French press in its tribulations to 'that fair storyteller who each night began her tale, under peril of being

suppressed before day-break.' To the present Government of France he is under an obligation not unlike Scheherazade's debt of gratitude to Schahriar. As a writer of politics, he has not only been allowed to live, but to become famous. Never was situation more difficult for a journalist; never was there a journalist abler to meet and overcome in a brilliant manner the difficulties of the situation. What the situation is let him describe with the help of a picture from Brobdingnag:—

'Whether it be matter of regret or of rejoicing, all agree to acknowledge that the French press is now in the hands of the central authority, like Gulliver in the hands of the giant, who had picked him up in the corn-field. "He took me up behind by the middle between his forefinger and thumb, and brought me within three yards of his eyes, that he might behold my shape more perfectly. I guessed his meaning, and I resolved not to struggle in the least as he held me in the air above sixty feet from the ground, although he grievously pinched my sides for fear I should slip through his fingers. All I ventured was to raise mine eyes towards the sun, and place my hands together in a supplicating posture, and to speak some words in an humble melancholy tone, suitable to the condition I then was in. For I apprehended every moment that he would dash me against the ground, as we usually do any little hateful animal which we have a mind to destroy."

'What will he do, that powerful giant who thus holds the French press hanging midway between heaven and earth? Will he tighten his fingers more and more, to the suffocation of that ingenious little creature which has fed so many great thoughts, and scattered such noble words to the very ends of the earth? We do not believe that he will be so blind to his true interest. If the contrary did happen, however, nothing would be more conformable to the course of human affairs. Pascal long ago put the thinking reed in its place when he declared it subject to the forces of nature, and thrown into this world only to be crushed thereby.'

This was written nearly ten years ago, and the giant has not yet relaxed his grip. The promise of a new Press law was given in the beginning of the present year. We do not anticipate any substantial improvement. Instead of administrative 'warnings,' there are to be seizures, and severer judicial condemnations. No freedom, no jury trial; the 'crowning of the edifice' as far off as ever.

Here is another specimen of M. Prévost-Paradol's style, a peep at an election scene, showing how these things are managed in the remoter districts of a country where public meetings and a free press are forbidden. M. Dabeaux is the Government candidate, and it is to be remembered that the mayor is a Government nominee:—

'The election day comes, and the voting begins. For the most part the operation is carried on under the eye of the mayor, with M. Dabeaux' voting-papers taken from the voting-table, or offered by the mayor to the silent elector, or put by the mayor himself into the ballot-box. And in what kind of ballot-box? At Gueytes-la-Bastide, the electors vote in a bushel; at Rennes-le-Chateau, in a tureen; at Coudons in a *toupine*, or open two-handled vessel; lastly, at Donazac the mayor remains with his committee in one room, while the ballot-box is in another; and he kindly undertakes to put into it the voting-papers, which he gathers up in his hands or in his pocket. We understand how, in some districts where patriarchal manners survive, the French people vote in a bushel, a tureen, a *toupine*, and in any kind of vessel; but to vote in the mayor's pocket is a token of confidence which takes one back to the golden age!

'These vessels, thus filled, have a night to spend between the first day's voting and the second; where are they to spend that night full of peril? Is it, as the law requires, in the voting-room, under the free custody of the citizens? Not so. Here is the town-clerk of Armissan, who carries off the ballot-box, and makes it spend the night in the bosom of his family. The ballot-box of Saint Polycarpe spends the night in the mayor's house; the like hospitality is given to the tureen of Rennes-le-Chateau. The Montazels box is shut up by the mayor in his linen press. It is not said in what domicile has rested the *toupine* of Coudons.

'Accordingly next morning, if the parties signing the protestation of M. Guiraud (independent candidate) are to be believed, the scrutiny of votes in some places discloses some inexplicable contradictions. Who does not know that a single pike in a pond will depopulate it by the quantity of fish it devours? Either a multitude of electors are bearing false witness, and deserve prosecution, or else a like phenomenon must have taken place in several of these electoral vases, and the greater number of voting-papers bearing M. Guiraud's name must have been swallowed up by the rest.'

Anything like this writing would, in the days of the elder Napoleon, have insured its author a lodging at Vincennes. Accordingly the 'officious' journals, the 'thurifers,' if one may borrow a ritualistic term, among other incense offered on the altars of Government, celebrate the remarkable freedom which in these days is allowed to the Press. Doubtless their hymns of praise invite no warnings, provoke no suspensions, excite no administrative anger. All things go by comparison; and it must in fairness be acknowledged that something very like free discussion is allowed in Paris, as compared with those regions where men vote in the pocket of the mayor. For instance, no longer ago than December last, the *Impartial Dauphinois* was 'warned' for having said that in France the right of free discussion did not exist. Here is a still more curious instance

of administrative interference with the provincial press. The *Journal de Loudéac*, in Brittany, got a warning in April 1854 for having made remarks likely to prejudice the sale of some manure which the Prefect, for reasons of his own, thought fit to patronize. So it is. In Paris you may quiz with impunity the doctrines of Duke Persigny, or the platitudes of M. Duruy, Minister of Public Instruction. But in the provinces no citizen must make bold to say that he is not free, nor criticise unfavourably the favourite manure of Monsieur the Prefect.

Instances have been given of what a long-suffering Government will endure from a Parisian paper. Here is an instance in the opposite direction, where that measure of patience, such as it is, was exceeded. It is a dialogue on the Roman question, published by M. Prévost-Paradol in the *Courrier de Dimanche* in October 1862. Would Napoleon III. support the temporal power, or would he let it fall? A. maintains the one side and B. maintains the other, each with the most cogent reasons derived from the past Italian policy of Government. Every repartee is a biting epigram on the incoherencies and contradictions of that policy. At the end of the talk, the author, a silent listener hitherto, hints at a matter which both speakers seem to have quite overlooked. Have they not thought of the miserably humble position of the French public in relation to that great question? Powerless to influence the decision of its rulers, it eagerly, but helplessly, guesses what its own Government will do next.

‘At that moment the house-dog came near to us and sat submissively on the ground. Only his tail was in motion, but his eye was keenly fixed on that of his master, watching for the slightest token of his thought, the least hint of his wishes. Would the paper pellet be tossed to him on the right, or the pebble on the left? The eager looks of the fine animal asked this question as clearly as if he had spoken. To me nature is always pleasing; I could not help admiring him.

‘“See,” . . . I began to say. . . .

‘B. Let us go to breakfast; he is going to say some impertinence.

‘A. You are right; let us go to breakfast.

‘So ended our conversation.’

This was too strong for M. de Persigny’s nerves, and down came a warning.

To the gentlemen in charge of this department of the French Home Office, the difficulty must always have been serious how to ‘warn’ M. Prévost-Paradol without putting him greatly in the right, and the Government just as greatly in the wrong. The ‘watching bandit’ was apt to hit one of his own superiors.

The last shot fired at the poor *Courrier du Dimanche* is an instance. It was killed because of the following paragraph, in which the author once more borrows from that strange book, to boys a delightful fiction, to men one of the saddest and bitterest satires which genius ever invented against our poor human nature :—

‘ In Gulliver’s voyage to the “ Flying Island,” the story is told of a great Court lady, very beautiful, loved by the handsomest men, who flies from her home to go and live with a deformed footman. She is stripped, and beaten, she sinks into deeper degradation from day to day, but she likes her shame, and declines to be torn from her worthless lover. That story returns to my thoughts whenever I see France attentively listening to the voice of the *Constitutionnel*, and seeking to read her destiny in the responses of that oracle.’

In the Home Minister’s official report, this paragraph was shorn of its concluding sentence ; the story was stripped of its application. Doubtless the Emperor was in this manner made to recognise as his a likeness not intended for him. It may have excited official indignation ; perhaps also some non-official laughter. But here ended the *Courrier du Dimanche*. In the more prudent *Journal des Débats*, M. Prévost-Paradol had already found a place of refuge.

He is best known as a political writer ; those who are familiar with his writings will allow him no rank under the first as a literary and philosophical critic. Quotations would be needed to do him justice ; and for sufficient quotation there is no room. What depth he has, and yet what clearness ; what refinement, and yet what strength ; what instinctive dislike of all that is vile or degrading ; what sympathy with all noble suffering ; all this let our readers learn for themselves. Specially we commend to their attention the charming little volume of *Studies of the French Moralists*. His highest philosophical thoughts never part company with human nature ; there is always an undertone of sadness provoked by the contrast between the fate for which man seems to have been formed, and the actual common fate of humanity. He keenly feels the attractiveness both of religious belief and of philosophical speculation, and seems to hesitate between them when they pull, or seem to pull, in opposite directions. In another age he would have been the friend of Pascal, as in our own he is the friend of Renan. From the conclusion of a paper on Spinoza we take, as a final sample of his style, the following words (very insufficiently rendered, as all his words in these pages have been) showing something of the conflict to which we have just alluded :—

‘ He (Spinoza) has left us an eternal trace of his passage, one foot-

path more, neither the least ingenious, nor the least trodden in these our days, through the labyrinth of human opinions concerning God, man, and the world. It seems to me at times as though these paths were traced within a sort of great park, enclosed on all sides by a wall that cannot be overpassed. Some of them lead inflexibly to the foot of the wall, and there break off; others turn aside a little from it, but reach it before long; others again have many windings, plunge into beautiful groves, go up and down again, avoiding so carefully that fatal wall, that we almost fancy that we have got beyond it; when suddenly it appears again at a turn of the road, and fills us with irritation against ourselves, and against the too skilful guide who has lured us onward with vain hopes. Then it is that we envy those of us who seeking none of these paths, and, peacefully abiding in their own place, do not even see the obstacle which arrests us, while, far beyond it, they behold, with tranquil faith, regions full of peace and light.'

In the general election of 1863, M. Prévost-Paradol was twice a candidate for a seat in the *Corps Législatif*, and twice was beaten. Liberals of every shade rallied round him, but his opinions are not those which universal suffrage delights to honour. No worshipper of democracy, he foresees its inevitable progress with a painful consciousness of its dangers. He rather looks regretfully backward than hopefully forward. Both for the Republican and for the Legitimist he has always some generous word, acknowledging equitably the measure of truth and expediency contained in their respective principles. But like most of those who may be said to form the intellectual aristocracy of his country, his political adherence is given to that constitutional Government which fell in February 1848. In the elections just alluded to, a cry was got up against him,—a very deadly one as it would seem in France,—that he was 'a man of the past.' M. St. Beuve somewhere calls him, not without justice, '*le secrétaire général des anciens partis*;' in their best and noblest aspects he represents them all. For all this, or rather because of it, we venture to prophesy, that if within the term allotted to the present generation, France shall resume her place among free nations, her most eminent journalist during the evil days will, when the better days come, take rank among the most eminent of her statesmen..

ART. VIII.—*Second Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the Schools in Scotland, with an Appendix. On Elementary Schools.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 1867.

ALTHOUGH the Scottish Education Commissioners have not yet concluded their labours, still the Report which they have just issued is so important, and attempts the solution of a question which has taxed the ingenuity of so many Statesmen and Commissioners, that it deserves immediate consideration. The subjects into which the Scottish Commissioners were directed to inquire were sufficiently extensive. They embrace, in fact, the same subjects which in England have required the appointment of three Commissions—the first of which, under the Duke of Newcastle, was issued in June 1858, and did not publish a Report until 1861, and the last of which was issued in 1864, and is still pursuing its labours, under the chairmanship of Lord Taunton. The Report which has just been issued is confined to the Elementary Schools in Scotland, and therefore covers precisely the same ground as that covered by the Duke of Newcastle's Commission. The Burgh and Middle Class Schools, which are still under investigation, are the same class of institutions which are now being investigated by Lord Taunton and his colleagues; and we may add that there are no institutions in Scotland precisely corresponding to the great Public Schools of England which were reported upon by Lord Clarendon and his colleagues. It is now some years since the University system of Scotland was thoroughly investigated, and Parliament dealt with that subject. It may be observed, therefore, that as soon as these Commissioners have issued their third Report, all the facts connected with Scottish Education, and the measures recommended for its extension and improvement, will be before the public. In the meantime, however, our attention must be confined to the Elementary Schools, or, in other words, to that class of institutions which supply elementary instruction to the mass of the people of Scotland. And whatever opinion may be formed of the wisdom of the measures recommended by the Commissioners, it will probably be admitted that they have collected together all the information which can be obtained upon the subject, or at all events, much more than sufficient to frame any general measure.

Originally the Commission consisted of fifteen members, namely—The Duke of Argyll, Lord Belhaven, Lord Polwarth, Lord Jerviswoode, Sir James Fergusson, M.P., Mr. Moncreiff, M.P. (then Lord Advocate), Lord Ardmillan, Sheriff Davidson, Lord Mure, Mr. Murray Dunlop (the legal adviser of the Free

Church of Scotland), Mr. Adam Black, Mr. Alexander Shank Cook (Procurator of the Church of Scotland), Mr. James Mitchell of Glasgow, Mr. John Ramsay of Kildalton, and Mr. David Smith, a leading member of the Church of Scotland. To these fifteen were subsequently added Lord Dunfermline, Sheriff Tait, also a leading member of the Church of Scotland, and Dr. John Brown. It is needless, perhaps, to point out that these eighteen Commissioners may be taken as representing every variety of opinion on all matters connected with public affairs, ecclesiastical as well as civil, in this part of the kingdom. If four Scottish Peers, three ex-Lord Advocates, three or four influential members of Parliament, several large landed proprietors connected with various districts, and one leading layman belonging to each of the three largest religious denominations in the country—namely, the Established, the Free, and the United Presbyterian Church—cannot be taken to represent the opinions of the people of Scotland on the subject of Education, it is tolerably clear that no such representation can be found; but if, on the other hand, a body of men so various in their political and religious opinions, shall have succeeded in agreeing upon a plan which, in their judgment, will have the effect of supplying efficient schools to the whole population, the probability is that any such plan is not only practicable, but will be accepted by a large majority of the community. No doubt Dr. Candlish expressed the prevailing opinion when he said, that it was of the very last consequence that, if possible, this question of education should now be settled.

‘On that account,’ he added, ‘I may be allowed to say that I hailed with very lively satisfaction this Commission, and if you will allow me to say, the constitution of it; because I have the strongest conviction that if the members of this Commission see their way to agree unanimously upon any mode of settlement, there will be the utmost disposition in the country to acquiesce in it.’

At the time when the Commissioners began their inquiry, the information as to the state of Education in Scotland was very imperfect. Partial inquiries by the Church of Scotland, by Select Committees by either House of Parliament, and by persons interested in Education, had been made at distant intervals of time. But the only inquiry approaching completeness was that conducted by the Census Commissioners in 1861; and it is notorious that no satisfactory conclusions can be deduced on such a subject from the facts collected by these authorities. Accordingly, the Commissioners determined to investigate the whole matter for themselves. With this object, they began by collecting the ‘opinions of persons of weight and experience’ as to the general state of Education in this

country, 'the evils which were supposed to exist, and the remedies which might seem desirable.' Besides the oral evidence on this subject, which was published some time ago as a first Report, they distributed a number of written questions to various persons acquainted with the state of the schools, and the answers returned to these questions furnished very valuable information. The most striking result, however, of the evidence thus obtained, was to show that while a very large majority of the witnesses were of opinion that a National system of education was both possible and expedient for Scotland, there was much diversity of opinion as to the actual condition of the existing schools, the number of scholars, and the quality of the instruction which they now receive. Before proceeding further, therefore, measures were taken to ascertain the facts. Schedules containing certain inquiries were prepared and transmitted to the Registrars of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in each district; and duplicates were sent to the Ministers of the various Religious Denominations. Thus, the information as to the condition of each school, and the number of its scholars, rests upon the authority not only of the Registrar, but also of the Minister of the denomination with which it is connected. In this way the number of schools and scholars throughout the rural districts and smaller towns has been accurately ascertained. And it can scarcely be disputed that the information thus obtained may be regarded as absolutely correct. With respect to Glasgow and twenty-two other towns, however, the Registrars declined to act, and it became necessary to adopt a different plan. The plan was to despatch two gentlemen as Assistant-Commissioners to Glasgow, who visited all the schools in that City, and drew up a detailed Report on the subject. The substance of their Report forms the second chapter of the volume before us, but the educational condition of the City may be conveniently ascertained from a map prepared under the directions of the Commissioners, and inserted in their Report. As the population of Glasgow is about one-seventh of the whole population of Scotland, it seemed unnecessary to institute the like examination into the schools of all the other large towns in Scotland. Glasgow was taken as a specimen of the rest, for it was considered that any plan which would meet the educational wants of the most populous City in the North, would certainly meet the wants of the others. Such was the method adopted for the purpose of ascertaining the statistical facts connected with Education in Scotland,¹ and the general result may be thus stated:—

¹ The details are contained in a folio volume of 256 pages, entitled 'Statistics relative to the Schools in Scotland.'

‘According to the census of 1861, the population of Scotland was 3,062,294. The returns obtained from the Registrars embrace a population of 2,050,024, which may be taken to comprehend the whole of the rural population; while the remaining 1,012,270 comprehend the whole of the burghal population. Provision, however, was afterwards made for a complete investigation of the schools in Glasgow, with a population of 395,503; so that the only part of the population from which no returns were received is 616,767. The result is that, either through the Registrars or the Glasgow Assistant-Commissioners, information has been obtained as to the educational condition of four-fifths of the people of Scotland.’

According to the Commissioners, the following facts have been established :—Throughout Scotland, 1 in 6·5 of the whole population is on the roll of some school, and 1 in 7·9 is in attendance. Considering that in Prussia, where education is compulsory, the proportion of children receiving instruction to the whole population is only 6·27, while in England it is 1 in 7·7, it is obvious that the state of Scotland is by no means unsatisfactory. But when one district is considered separately from another, the result is somewhat different. Thus, in the Insular districts, the ratio of scholars on the roll to population is 1 in 7·5, and the scholars in attendance 1 in 9·7. And when we examine separate parishes, we find that the ratio varies from 1 in 4 to 1 in 15, 20, 25, and even 30. In short, it is clear that no accurate conclusion as to the state of education in Scotland, or indeed in any country, can be drawn from the average percentage of children who are at school. Fortunately, however, the facts collected by the Commissioners and the elaborate tables appended to the Report furnish all the information which is needed with respect to every individual parish in the country, and every registration district in Glasgow.

Probably the most interesting information elicited by these returns refers to the Religious Denomination of the scholars who attend the various schools. It has often been stated, that while the clergy, and especially the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic clergy, attach the utmost importance to the denominational character of a school, the parents of the scholars are comparatively indifferent to any such distinction. The accuracy of this opinion is conclusively established by these returns, so far as the rural districts are concerned; and in the case of Glasgow the same conclusion may be drawn from other sources. The Commissioners state, that in their opinion the denominational system in Scotland is unnecessary. The Assistant-Commissioners, with respect to Glasgow, state, ‘most emphatically,’ that the school-attendance is not to any great degree affected by the circumstance

that 'the parents differ in religious belief from the conductors of the schools within their reach.' Again, in the rural districts, it seems that in the Parish schools, out of 76,493 scholars 47,161 belong to the Established Church, 14,486 belong to the Free Church, 7462 to the United Presbyterian, 521 to the Episcopalian, 1243 to the Roman Catholic Churches, 1644 to other Denominations, and 3976 are returned as not known. In the General Assembly Church of Scotland schools, out of 33,000 scholars, in round numbers, there are 18,000 Established Church, 8000 Free Church, 2700 United Presbyterian, 1000 Roman Catholic, and 200 Episcopalian children; in the Free Church schools, out of 48,000 scholars, 10,000 are of the Established Church, 28,000 of the Free Church, 3000 are United Presbyterians, 974 Roman Catholics, and 313 Episcopalians; while in the Undenominational and other schools, containing 91,000 children, 39,000 belong to the Established Church, 19,000 to the Free Church, 12,000 are United Presbyterians, and 2898 are Roman Catholics. Out of the 6202 in the Episcopalian schools in rural districts, only 1929 are Episcopalians; and the whole number of Episcopalian scholars in the same districts is only 4552. Out of 5736 scholars in Roman Catholic schools in the same districts, 5229 are Roman Catholics; but there are 7343 Roman Catholics in Protestant schools. 'It seems, therefore,' says the Report, 'that whatever may be the case in individual localities, the situation of the school and the merits of the teachers weigh much more in determining the school which children attend in Scotland than religious differences.' It appears, moreover, that there is no reason to make any change in the existing arrangement as to the religious teaching in most of the schools in Scotland. The people are quite satisfied.

But further, the vast majority of the population is Presbyterian; and so far as religious doctrine is concerned, there is no substantial difference between the Establishment, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterians. Again, it should be observed that in all the Presbyterian schools, the right of the parent to determine the character of his children's religious instruction is still, as it always has been, fully recognised. The discussions as to the conscience clause, which occupy so many disputants in England, excite no kind of interest in Scotland. Its necessity is admitted by all Presbyterians. It is not so however with the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics; and upon this subject the Commissioners make the following observations:—

'It has been seen already that the parochial school partakes of the character which is common to all Presbyterian schools,—of being entirely undenominational as respects the attendance of scholars. In

this respect there never has been in Scotland any material difficulty arising from what is called the religious or conscience element. So long ago as 1829 the Education Committee of the General Assembly reported that "the teachers had been directed not to press on the Roman Catholic children any instruction to which their parents or their priests might object, as interfering with the principles of their own religion." In 1832 the same Committee again recur to the subject, and state that "by this toleration these Protestant schools have been everywhere acceptable and attractive to the Catholic population." Moreover, in the case of all Presbyterian schools established under the Committee of Council, the feu-charters contain a conscience clause. By these means security is given to parents that their children may absent themselves at the time of religious instruction. Such at present is the tolerant system pursued in all the Presbyterian schools. In some of the Episcopalian schools, however, it is otherwise. According to Mr. Sellar, the rule in most of these schools is that the children should not be compelled to learn the Church Catechism; but in two of them it was held to be incumbent, and in one attendance at chapel was also deemed necessary. In this school, which derives aid from the Parliamentary grant, and in which there were 92 on the roll, there were only 19 Episcopalians. In the other school, out of 98 on the roll, only 33 were Episcopalians. The contrast between the conduct of the managers of the various denominational schools becomes more striking when it is observed that while 2623 Episcopalians, and 7000 Roman Catholic children enjoy the benefit of the conscience clause in Presbyterian schools, there are 4000 Presbyterians in Episcopalian schools who enjoy no such protection. Such being the existing state of matters in some of the denominational schools in this country which derive aid from the Treasury, it seems impossible to reconcile the omission of a conscience clause with the claims of justice.¹

It will be observed that the facts obtained through the Registrars were entirely confined to the *quantity* of education—to the numbers of the schools and scholars. So far it was assumed that every *nominal* school and every *nominal* teacher were efficient. It has been established, however, that such is by no means the case. In order to ascertain the state of the school-buildings, and the quality of the education supplied, five Assistant-Commissioners were appointed, who were directed personally to visit and examine the schools, and to draw up Reports. 'It appeared to us,' say the Commissioners, 'that there were three great divisions of the population which required to be dealt with as entirely distinct. *First*, the Lowland parishes; *second*, the Highland parishes; *third*, the large towns.' To Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell and Mr. A. C. Sellar was committed the duty of reporting on the Lowland parishes; to Mr. Greig and Mr. Harvey that of reporting on Glasgow;

¹ Pp. xxx. xxxi.

and Mr. Nicolson was instructed to report on the schools in the Hebrides and Western Highlands. The reports of these gentlemen have been published, and they evince remarkable care and ability. In addition to these reports, Mr. Fraser furnished a report on the elementary schools in Canada and the United States. The Commissioners say:—

‘ We have already alluded to the differences in the condition of the school-buildings in Scotland, and in the quality of the education furnished in the various schools. The information which we have collected on this subject may be thus summarized :—

‘ According to the Report of Messrs. Maxwell and Sellar (p. 174), out of the school-buildings examined 71 per cent. are “ good ” and “ fair ; ” while 28 per cent. are “ indifferent ” and “ bad. ” From the Hebrides, Mr. Nicolson reports (p. 94) that out of 226 buildings, 52 per cent. require to be repaired or to be rebuilt ; while only 48 per cent. are in good condition. In Glasgow, out of 233 schools, the accommodation in 72 per cent. is good, while in 28 per cent. it is indifferent and bad (Report, p. 129).

‘ It is natural to suppose that, as a general rule, good school accommodation should be combined with good teaching ; and such appears to be the fact. Out of the schools examined by Messrs. Sellar and Maxwell, the teaching is said to be “ very good, ” “ good, ” and “ fair, ” in 71·5 per cent. ; while it is said to be “ indifferent ” and “ bad ” in 28·5 per cent. Mr. Nicolson has not prepared any summary on this subject for the Hebrides, but it appears that the teaching requires to be improved in at least 52 per cent. of the schools in these islands. In Glasgow, out of 233 schools, the teaching is said to be “ good ” in nearly 72 per cent. of them, and “ indifferent ” or “ bad ” in 28 per cent. of them : so that the percentage in this and the last paragraph are almost identical.’

In another part of the Report the Commissioners make the following remarks upon the same subject:—

‘ Probably, the following proposition will command general assent. If it should appear that, throughout Scotland, the children who actually attend school are more in number than can be accommodated in *efficient* schools, the conclusion to be drawn is, not that parents neglect the education of their children, but that they are indisposed to send them to school, because there are no efficient schools to receive them. What are the facts ? In the 133 parishes examined by Colonel Maxwell and Mr. Sellar there was *efficient* accommodation for somewhat less than 26,694. In the schools of all kinds they found 26,971 in actual attendance at the time of their visit, so that there was a want of accommodation in *efficient* schools for 277 children. In the Hebrides, Mr. Nicolson found 226 schools, but of these, even “ assuming a very moderate standard of adequacy, ” only 112 are equal to this standard. Deducting, therefore, half the nominal school accommodation as inadequate, it appears that there is efficient ac-

commodation for no more than 6059 scholars. But the number of children actually in attendance at the time of Mr. Nicolson's visit was 7173 ; so that in the Hebrides there was a want of *efficient* accommodation for 1114 children. Lastly, let us take Glasgow. In that city, according to the most moderate estimate, there is accommodation in good schools for 36,704 children, and 35,565 are in actual attendance. It does not appear whether the same standard of efficiency was adopted by Messrs. Harvey and Greig, as by the other Assistant-Commissioners. The Glasgow standard was confessedly extremely moderate. There are 233 schools in the city, of which only 64 are inspected : out of the 88 private adventure schools more than a third are schools only in name, and the average cost of education in the 25 Mission Schools is under 13s. for each scholar in attendance per annum ; nevertheless, Messrs. Harvey and Greig reckon 167 as good schools. Moreover, it is distinctly stated, with respect to the south side of the Clyde, that they feared lest, by applying too strict a standard, a mere "handful" of schools might be left "to represent the supply of what is truly a flourishing and rapidly increasing town."

'It must be observed, however, that Glasgow exhibits peculiar features. The city extends over a wide area, and the character of one district differs materially from that of another. Blythswood, Messrs. Harvey and Greig say, is "the richest and most fashionable quarter;" "only on the outskirts does it come in contact with comparative poverty." Every single school there is classed as good ; and, particularly, the private adventure schools, numbering 22, present a striking contrast to the same class of schools in the other districts of the city. Now, it appears that in Blythswood there is *efficient* school accommodation for 6243 scholars. This exceeds the total number of children between 3 and 15 in the district ; and it is shown that 1 in 6.6 of the population are on the roll of some school. It follows, of course, that the state of education in this district of the city is perfectly satisfactory, and requires no improvement. But then the population which it contains is only 28,697 ; while that of other districts amounts to 366,806. Omitting, therefore, the Blythswood district, as possessing peculiar features, what is the state of school accommodation in the other nine districts ? The Assistant Commissioners have ascertained that in these districts there is *efficient* school accommodation for 30,551, whereas the actual attendance of scholars amounts to 31,553, so that there is a want of *efficient* accommodation for 1002 scholars.

'From these facts it seems to follow, that the parents of the poorer classes do take advantage of the means of education provided for them at present, and, therefore, there is every reason to suppose, that if these means were multiplied still more extensive use would be made of them.'

These facts furnish conclusive proof, that although the number of *nominal* scholars in Scotland is more numerous than in most countries, the buildings in which they receive their in-

struction, and the quality of the instruction received, urgently need improvement.

The most important questions, therefore, which engaged the attention of the Commissioners, were, in the first place, to ascertain the causes of these defects, and, in the second place, to devise the means of remedying them. In discussing these, it was necessary to bear in mind, not only that one district of the country differs from another in its natural features, and in the means of education, but that the character and constitution of the schools in the various districts differ from each other. It is needless to enlarge upon the characteristics which distinguish the city of Glasgow, with its vast manufactures and 400,000 inhabitants, from the small country town or rural parish in Perthshire or Selkirkshire; or to point out how the Western Highlands and Islands differ from both. 'Taking the twenty-five parishes in the Hebrides,' say the Commissioners, 'which are wholly insular, it will be found that on an average they are eighty square miles in extent.' And again: 'The natural features of the district of which we speak, the numerous intersecting arms of the sea, the rugged mountains and rapid streams, the absence of good roads, and the limited facilities for communication, isolate the inhabitants, and have deprived them of the advantages which they might derive from intercourse with the districts more advanced in agriculture and the arts.' It must surely be admitted that no scheme of Education will meet the wants of a population situated in circumstances so various, unless it takes into account, and provides for, the peculiarities of the several districts of the country.

But, further, the character and constitution of the existing schools had to be taken into consideration in devising any general plan for amending the defects of the present school-system. Nor is it possible to appreciate the difficulties which beset the Commissioners, without explaining the old Parochial system, and the various means which have been taken to supplement it. 'Scotland,' as the Commissioners observe, 'is the only part of the United Kingdom which possesses anything in the nature of a National system of Education.' From the sixteenth century the Legislature has shown the utmost solicitude that the Scottish youth should be well instructed. But it was not until 1696 that an effectual law was passed, requiring the Heritors to erect and maintain a school in every parish. Under this Statute parish schools have been erected in every parish in Scotland; and although some changes have been made in the qualification of the electors, the main features of the original design remain. The school is supported by the Heritors or proprietors of the parish, who pay the master's salary, and, along

with the Minister,¹ manage the school. Such is a general description of the well-known *Parish Schools*. But some parishes are so large that one school will not suffice. In such cases the Heritors may, by Statute, divide the salary and pay two teachers, but in this case there is no provision for any houses for the teachers. The schoolmasters appointed under this Statute are called '*Branch*' or '*Side-school*' teachers. In other cases, the salary of the teacher is paid by the Treasury, provided that a house is supplied by the proprietors, and these are known as *Parliamentary Schools*. But the whole of these National schools together do not exceed 1133, and furnish instruction to no more than 53,000, or 27 per cent. of the total number of scholars in the rural districts. It must also be observed that these schools do not exist in Burghs, to which the obligation to set up a school does not extend.

As the number of schools required for the whole population cannot fall short of 6000, it is apparent that what may be termed the National system is now, as it has long been, totally inadequate to meet the necessities of the case. The result has been that, as in England and elsewhere so in this country, the various Religious Denominations, the proprietors and employers of labour, and numerous charitable persons both in town and country, have set up schools from time to time to supply the inevitable defects in the National system. In the country districts this supplementary system furnishes more than two-thirds of existing means of education, and it is upon the same system that the education of the towns mainly depends. As to the management of these supplementary schools, it is almost entirely denominational. Both in the country and in the towns the schools are connected with particular congregations, and are practically under the control of the Minister, aided sometimes by a local committee consisting of members of the same congregation as that to which the school belongs. In short, the schools in question are strictly denominational. In the country they are called General Assembly schools or Free Church schools, according as they are under the management of the Education Committee of either Church ; Society schools, because supported by the funds of various charitable societies ; or Subscription schools, because maintained by private subscribers. In towns they are classified as Sessional schools, because under the control of the kirk-session ; Mission schools, which are generally connected with United Presbyterian congregations ; and Subscription schools, for the reason already assigned. Besides these there are, of course, Episco-

¹ Mr. Black states that the minister was not a member of the Board until 1803. The minister was a member from 1696.

palian and Roman Catholic schools, supported by persons of these Denominations, Charity and Endowed schools and Private Adventure schools, which are maintained by persons for their own profit. In the rural districts and the smaller towns these denominational and Private Adventure schools number about 3300, with 226,000 scholars on the roll. But it is the unanimous opinion of the Assistant-Commissioners that the Private Adventure schools are worse than useless. As we have already stated, the Commissioners have not ascertained the number or character of the schools in any large city except Glasgow. But in Glasgow there are 209 school buildings, many of them, no doubt, containing several departments, with 35,565 scholars in actual attendance. All of these are denominational schools ; and it may be assumed that there is the same number of them and of scholars in the other large towns of Scotland. These schools in Glasgow vary in merit, but with respect to the Private Adventure schools, which profess to educate 6838 scholars, the Assistant-Commissioners express this opinion:—‘ We can only say, for the sake of all concerned, teachers and taught alike, that the sooner Private Adventure schools for the lowest classes cease to exist the better.’

Besides the fees paid by the scholars and the aid received from the Privy Council, which, however, only extends to 1500 schools throughout the whole country, there are two sources of school income. In the case of the Parochial school, the Heritors are bound by law to contribute a *minimum* salary of £35 to each teacher ; but the denominational schools are supported by sums voluntarily subscribed by the several congregations for their own school, or by money contributed according to a certain scale by the Education Committees of the Established and Free Church. A table of the funds applied to Education in each county, and the various sources from which it is derived, has been compiled by the Commissioners. Excluding the £70,000 derived from the Parliamentary grant, the sums annually contributed from local sources amount to £101,385 ; but of this the amount derived from voluntary subscriptions amounts to somewhat more than £40,000. The remarks of the Commissioners upon this subject are important:—

‘ According to the summary in the Appendix to our Report (p. 48), the annual voluntary subscriptions amount to £20,271 ; to this must be added a sum of £20,000, which, according to Mr. Laurie, the Secretary to the Education Committee of the General Assembly, is raised by individual congregations, and does not pass through the hands of that Committee. This raises the whole amount of annual voluntary subscriptions in Scotland to a sum of £40,271. There is no doubt, however, that the total sum obtained in this fashion is even

larger; for it appears from the Report of the Committee of Council, Table No. I. (p. 2), that the sum obtained by voluntary contribution towards 1442 schools amounts to £42,077. As these schools constitute only a fraction of the total number of schools supported by voluntary subscribers in Scotland, the amount of annual voluntary contributions must be considerably larger than the sum of £40,271, to which reference has been made.'

Such being the existing state of education in Scotland, the problem which the Commissioners had to solve was by no means simple. Throughout the country, and especially in the towns, there seems to be an actual deficiency of schools; and many of those in operation require improvement, both as to the state of the fabric and as to the quality of the instruction. But further, the school system is so complex and heterogeneous, and the denominational system has been so largely developed, that to introduce a new symmetrical system and greater uniformity might seem well-nigh hopeless.

According to the opinion of some, the easiest plan would have been to allow the present denominational system to continue, and to endeavour to extend that system by renewed energy on the part of the churches, and by obtaining additional aid from the Privy Council. The Commissioners however considered this plan, and pronounced against it. After explaining that the Privy Council system is a system of aid, and that before this aid can be invoked some degree of voluntary effort is presumed, the Commissioners proceed thus:—

'The necessary effect of the Privy Council system is that it labours under a defect which is not only inevitable but incurable. "Where, I think," said Mr. Lingen, "the denominational system essentially fails, is not in the efficiency of the schools that are established, but in its uncertainty. It offers you no security for an equally diffused education; you have too much in one place, too little in another, and none in a third." Such, according to the same witness, has practically been the result, nor can it possibly be otherwise. "I believe myself," continued Mr. Lingen, "that you never can unite really those three qualities: that education shall be *voluntary*, that it shall be *efficient*, and that it shall be *universal*."

'Nor, indeed, was it supposed by those who originated the Privy Council system, that it ever could supply education to the whole nation. Thus we find Lord Russell, one of its leading supporters, asserting in Parliament, that "it was not intended by those who in 1839 commenced the (Privy Council) system, that its plan should be such as to pervade the whole country." And the accuracy of this anticipation, and of Mr. Lingen's opinion, is conclusively established by the Reports of the Committee of Council, by the tables compiled from the Registrars' returns, and by the Reports of our Assistant-Commissioners.

‘From the Table printed in the Appendix to the Committee of Council Report for 1865-6, it may be shown that in about 40 parishes more schools are aided by the Committee of Council than are really required; and Mr. Lingen mentioned cases to us in which the Committee of Council have been induced to aid in building schools which have since been abandoned from want of scholars. On the other hand, the Registrars’ table discloses more than 200 cases in which schools are urgently required, but to the erection of which no aid can be obtained from the Committee of Council. From these facts alone, one of two conclusions seems to follow: either that the Privy Council system has been badly administered—which has never been alleged,—or that the system is not fitted to supply the amount of education required by the country.

‘But, further, it appears from the Registrars’ returns, and the tables compiled from them, that only 41 per cent. of the scholars on the roll of schools in the rural districts and the smaller towns of Scotland are on the roll of schools aided by the Parliamentary grant. And referring to particular counties, it appears that, as a general rule, the largest share of the Parliamentary grant is obtained by counties in which the annual valuation per head is highest, in which the population is most concentrated, and in which, therefore, there is no need for an extraordinary number of schools.

‘Thus in Ayrshire, where the annual valuation, according to a Table to be found in the Appendix, is nearly £5·9 per head of the population (1861), which, moreover, is collected in large masses, the number of scholars in schools aided by Government is 57·6 per cent. of the whole number of scholars on the roll in the county.

‘In the rural districts of Edinburgh, where the annual valuation is £8·1 per head, and where the population is collected in masses, the scholars in aided schools are 48·6 per cent. of the total scholars in the county.

‘But in Caithness, where the annual valuation is only £3 per head, and where the population is so scattered as to require an extraordinary number of schools, there are only 33·7 per cent. of the total scholars in the county on the roll of schools aided by Parliament.

‘In Inverness, where the annual valuation is only £3·1 per head, and where the population is much scattered, there are only 20·6 per cent. of the total number of scholars in the county on the roll of schools aided by Parliament.

‘In Orkney and Shetland, where the annual valuation per head is £1·2, the percentage of scholars in aided schools to the total numbers is respectively 10·3 and 9·2. In Ross and Cromarty, where the annual valuation per head is £2·8, and where the population is also scattered, there are but 29·5 per cent. of the scholars in the county on the roll of schools aided by Parliament.

‘The Long Island comprises a population of 37,000, and an area of 650,000 acres. The gross annual rental does not exceed £28,000, or little more than 15s. per head of the population. Towards education the heritors contribute £305, and the voluntary subscriptions amount to £2242. But the grants from the Com-

mittee of Council amount only to £194, 10s. ; and out of 115 paid teachers, only 36 have been trained in Normal schools or hold certificates.

‘ Again, referring to the whole Hebrides, it appears that the voluntary subscriptions to the 226 schools there amount to £4719 per annum, and the heritors’ legal assessment to £1091 per annum. But the total amount expended in building up to the end of 1864 out of the Parliamentary grant was only £1514 ; and the annual grant from the Privy Council amounts to no more than £748, distributed among 33 schools out of the 226 schools in these Islands.

‘ In Glasgow, the partial operation of the Privy Council system is still more striking. Glasgow is divided into ten registration districts, of which eight are on the north side of the river Clyde, and the remaining two, which are inhabited by that part of the population which is the most destitute, and therefore most in need of assistance from the State, are on the south side of the river. Out of a population of 395,503, the eight northern districts of the city contain 312,884, and the two southern districts 82,619 inhabitants. But in the northern districts, while 25 per cent. of the children at school are on the roll of schools aided by the Privy Council, in the southern districts the percentage is only 10·3 (Glasgow Report, p. 138).

‘ From these facts it is abundantly clear not only that the Privy Council system is partial in its operation, but that while those districts, which are most competent to provide themselves with schools, receive considerable aid for this purpose from the Treasury, those districts which are least competent receive little or no aid.’

How then stands the case? How is it possible to supply education to the people of Scotland? The old Parochial system has failed. Voluntary effort has failed—aided though it has been by religious and ecclesiastical zeal. And, lastly, the Privy Council system, though it has done much to improve and extend education in certain districts, has nevertheless failed to supply schools where they are most needed. If therefore a thoroughly efficient system of schools is to pervade the country, it must be founded upon principles other than those which have hitherto been tried.

The facts which have already been stated, upon the authority of the Commissioners, must have sufficiently indicated the defects in the existing state of things. Many of the school-buildings need repair, many of the teachers are inefficient, some schools are superfluous, but many more new schools are required. If these defects are to be repaired, there must be some central authority, to point out what schools are superfluous, where new schools are needed, to organize those institutions which now exist, and to hasten the transformation of a Denominational into

a National system ; means must also be provided for getting rid of inefficient teachers, and for supplementing deficient salaries. Such are the chief objects which ought to be attained by any system of Education which deserves the name of National ; in addition to which it is to be understood that every child should be entitled to claim admission into the National schools, and that if the parent object to any part of the instruction on Religious grounds, his objections should be respected. And such, in fact, appear to be the principles of a National system as understood by the Commissioners. They say :—

‘ Before proceeding further, it may be right to explain precisely what we mean by a National system. We have already stated that the Privy Council system, though efficient so far as it extends, is entirely dependent upon voluntary effort, and does not extend beyond a limited area. But further, the managers of denominational schools—the only class of schools aided by the Committee of Council—claim the right of excluding children from all instruction unless they are willing to accept the dogmatic teaching of the Church to which the managers belong. It is true, as Mr. Lingen said, that in Scotland the children who attend the Presbyterian schools are one and all exempt from any religious instruction to which their parents object. It is also true that in the feu-charters of the inspected schools established in connexion with the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland security is given that the rights of conscience of the parent will be respected. But this tolerance is not practised in all the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic schools. No corresponding security is inserted in their deeds ; and, in some cases, the children of Presbyterian parents are compelled to learn the Episcopalian Catechism, and to attend the Episcopalian chapel.

‘ Now the object of a National system is to remedy these defects.

‘ 1. A National system implies that there shall be some recognised body invested with legal power to establish as many National schools as may be required, and to prevent the establishment of more.

‘ 2. A National system implies that the law shall enable the inhabitants of a district to raise by taxation such funds as may be necessary to erect and maintain schools, instead of leaving them to be erected and maintained by voluntary efforts.

‘ 3. A National system implies that the schools shall be public and national, or, in other words, that every parent shall be entitled to claim admittance for his child into any such school, but that if he objects upon religious grounds to any part of the instruction, his objection shall be respected.

‘ 4. A National system implies that any inspection of National schools should be undenominational.’

In addition to all this, it should be observed that any scheme of National education must be so framed as to have the effect of introducing something of that uniformity and system into

the Scottish school-system which is now so conspicuously absent. According to the principles laid down by the Commissioners, and particularly the second, it is important to observe that school-funds, whether derived from local or imperial taxation, will be employed, not—as the Committee of Council does—to aid voluntary effort or to increase the income of a school, provided it be connected with some religious denomination, but simply to defray part of the cost of erecting and maintaining Elementary schools, which shall be open to the whole population of the district, and shall be liable to be inspected by any person commissioned by the State to conduct the inspection. The denominational element is thus completely eliminated.

The next question is in what way these principles are to be carried into practical effect. If indeed there were no existing school system, the problem would present no great difficulty. But in Scotland, as we have explained, there are several, and in some respects rival systems; and the chief difficulty is to introduce some sort of symmetry into this chaos, and to set up a regular framework into which the irregular and loose materials may be gradually fitted. Accordingly, the first proposal of the Commissioners is the establishment of a Board of Education. The circumstances of the case render such a Board practically indispensable, and, as the Commissioners state, ‘such we find to be almost the universal opinion among the witnesses we have examined.’ The duties of this Board are thus defined:—They are—*first*, to determine the number and character of the schools in each Parish or Burgh; *secondly*, to recognise as National schools as many of those in existence as may be deemed necessary, and choose to submit themselves to the orders of the Board; *third*, to authorize and enforce the erection of such new schools as may be required; and *lastly*, to insist that all school buildings are efficient, and that the teaching is satisfactory,—the information on these matters being derived from the Inspectors. To endow the Board with less power would be to perpetuate the inefficiency of the present system; to endow it with more power would be a needless interference with the local managers. The constitution of the Board may perhaps provoke discussion; and we observe that Lord Belhaven alone of the Commissioners records his protest against it. But the principle on which it rests is sufficiently obvious. The interests of Education are represented by the four members appointed by the University Courts of the Universities; the interests of the Burghs by the Chief Magistrates of the four most populous towns in Scotland. The landed interest is represented by the nominees of the Commissioners of

Supply of the three counties of Perth, Inverness, and Ayr, and the same interest will probably be represented more or less by those who are to be named in the Act of Parliament. The only other member is the paid Chairman, whose constant services will certainly be needed. It is well known that there is no more hard-worked official than the secretary of the Committee of Council; but the duties of the man who has to superintend some 6000 schools will certainly not be less laborious. It may be suggested that the Board is too numerous, but on the other hand, the several interests which are represented must have a voice. No doubt a smaller number of persons might do the work of the Commission; but it must be observed that the Commissioners are supposed to be invested with considerable powers of control over Heritors, Teachers, and others, and are even empowered in certain cases to compel recalcitrant ratepayers and town-councils to do their duty by imposing a school-rate or erecting additional schools. Power such as this can only be exercised by a Board representative in character, and appointed partly by election.

The next question the Commissioners had to determine was the mode in which they should deal with various classes of schools. In dealing with this part of the subject, the Commissioners lay down the principle that no school shall be recognised by the Board, or derive aid from any public fund, unless it be a National school; and the characteristics of a National school are these:—

First, Every child must be admissible into it, and after admission, the right of conscience of the parent must be respected.

Second, Every National school must be liable to be inspected by any Inspector duly appointed, whatever may be his religious denomination; but he shall not examine in religious knowledge unless requested so to do. This will certainly put an end to the notion that these schools are in any sense denominational, and will probably secure more uniformity in the standard of the Inspectors.

Third, Every teacher in a National school must hold some certificate of competency.

Fourth, National schools, and none but National schools, shall be entitled to share in the Parliamentary grant administered by the Committee of Council.

Fifth, None except National schools, and of these only such as are managed by persons elected by the Ratepayers, shall be entitled to share in the local rates which the Commissioners propose shall be levied for the maintenance of new schools.

It will be observed that these conditions imply the continued jurisdiction of the Committee of Council in Scotland. To a

certain extent this will be the case. But the jurisdiction of the Committee of Council and the Edinburgh Board is carefully defined, so that the one cannot clash with the other. The Committee of Council will continue to administer the Parliamentary Grant according to certain principles defined by Act of Parliament, and embodied in the Revised Code for Scotland. These principles are in marked contrast to those which are at present in force. The Parliamentary Grant, instead of being made to promote the education of a particular class of the community, will be made to defray part of the cost of educating all the children in National schools. And the schools to be aided will be those approved by the Scotch Board, whether or not they are connected with any religious denomination. The Committee of Council will continue to appoint the Inspectors, who will render duplicate reports to them and to the Education Board. On the other hand, the Board will have absolute power to determine the number of schools in Scotland which are to be deemed National, and to superintend the buildings and the teachers. In short, the Board will exercise complete control over the Elementary schools in Scotland, except so far as the administration of the Parliamentary Grant is concerned, and will even point out the schools to be aided by Parliament. Such being the general characteristics of National schools, we now proceed to the various classes of which they are composed.

1. Probably the most convenient way of dealing with this part of the subject will be to begin by what the Commissioners term the New National schools, since this is the type of school to which it is hoped and reasonably believed that all the others will in time conform. In many parts of the rural districts, and in all the large towns, there is no doubt a deficiency of schools. These must be supplied: and one of the chief duties of the Board will be to ascertain where such new schools are required, and to resolve that they shall be erected. It has already been shown that at present there is no power to establish schools. The Privy Council can only aid others in their establishment: it initiates nothing. And it is in order to remedy this defect that the Board will be instituted. The resolution will then be communicated to the Sheriff of the county, or the chief magistrate of the burgh, in which the school is needed. A School Committee will then be elected in the manner described, who will consider the resolution of the Board, and take measures to carry it into effect. In certain cases where the School Committee is perverse, the Board is empowered to compel them to act.

The same School Committee which is to deliberate upon the resolution of the Board directing the establishment of the new

school, will erect it and manage it when erected ; and if more than one of such schools exists in any burgh or parish, one School Committee will superintend them. The election of this Committee will be in the hands of the ratepayers in country districts, and in those of the Town-Council in burghs. The means of supporting such schools will be derived partly from fees, partly from the Parliamentary grant administered by the Committee of Council, and partly from a local rate which the School Committees will be authorized to impose. We may add, that these schools will possess the general characteristics which we have described as belonging to all National schools.

2. The next class of National schools will consist of the Parochial, Side, and Parliamentary schools. With respect to these no immediate and compulsory change in management is contemplated ; in short, they will be incorporated into the National systems as they stand. It is clear, however, from the Recommendations, that upon this subject there must have been considerable difference of opinion among the Commissioners. Some thought that the minister should no longer have an *ex officio* seat at the Board ; and many considered that the managing body should be extended by including all the proprietors of a certain rental, as well as the tenants paying a certain rent. 'Many of our number,' says the Report, 'think that the parochial schools would possess more of a national character were such changes adopted. But after considering the Reports of the Assistant-Commissioners with respect to the parochial schools, and the difficulties which would necessarily attend a change on a long-established practice, we have resolved not to recommend that any alteration should be made in the existing management of the parochial schools.' The truth is, that according to the information furnished to the Commissioners, whether as respects buildings or teaching, the Parochial schools are quite equal, if not superior, to any of the other schools in Scotland ; and there seems to be no good reason for introducing any fundamental alteration into an institution which has hitherto proved so successful. There are, however, some important changes which are imperatively required. Of course, like all other National schools, the Parochial schools will be subject to inspection. But further, the tenure of the schoolmaster's office will be altered. At present a parochial teacher holds office, as it is said, *ad vitam aut culpam*. He is practically irremovable. The Commissioners express a very strong opinion that this must be altered, if the Parochial schools are to be made efficient ; and they appeal to the practice in all other schools in Scotland—they might have added in England also—to show that the tenure of the parochial

schoolmaster's office should be temporary for the future, and that facilities should be given for the purpose of getting rid of those now in office who are inefficient.

3. The third class of National schools will consist of all Non-Parochial schools, which, as we have said, are chiefly under denominational management, and connected with religious bodies. The Report states, that 'out of 4451 schools in the rural districts, there are 1133 Parochial schools, and 910 Private Adventure schools.' This leaves 2408 schools supported by voluntary efforts, denominational or individual, supplying education to a large proportion of the rural population, besides a very considerable number of schools similarly supported, which exist in the large towns.' We can well believe the Commissioners when they say: 'This state of things presented to us perhaps the most formidable difficulty which we had to encounter. These schools,' they add, 'are for the most part all wanted. They represent an immense amount of denominational, local, and individual energy in the cause of education, and large sums drawn from voluntary sources. They have school-buildings, masters, and other appliances more or less efficient, but actively engaged in and adapted to the work of teaching. To dispense with them at once, and cast them into a symmetrical new system, would have been extravagant. To leave them as they are would be to perpetuate a state of things necessarily defective.' It is to be observed that the number of these denominational schools amounts to 3000 at the lowest computation. The question which the Commissioners had to decide was, what was to be done with them? were they to be incorporated with the National system; and if so, in what way was that object to be accomplished? It would have been easy to have recommended that any or all of these schools should be at once transferred to or purchased by the ratepayers of the parish or town in which it was situated. But ratepayers are by no means ready to submit to be overridden by any extraneous power, or to be taxed without very grave necessity. Why should the ratepayers be taxed for a new school if there is already one in existence with which they are perfectly satisfied? In the case of the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics any such plan would of course be impracticable. Parliament never compels any individual to part with property which he has created, and perhaps endowed under the public sanction, unless such transfer is absolutely necessary. The avowed purpose for which the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic schools in Scotland have been built, is to promote the views and interest of the denomination to which they belong, and to pass a law at once excluding the existing managers of such schools

from the management would be harsh and unnecessary. It has been suggested that a certain time should have been allowed within which all denominational schools should be required to abandon the denominational, and admit a more general management. But it is obvious that neither the Episcopalians nor the Roman Catholics would recognise the justice of being compelled to abandon their schools two or three years hence, any more than they would recognise either the justice or the necessity of being deprived of them at once. But there is a more serious difficulty. There are at least 1000 denominational schools in Scotland, many of which have been built by grants from the Committee of Council, and all of which are now, and have for years been, maintained partly from the same source. What chance would there be of inducing Parliament to pass a measure depriving these denominational schools, against their will, of the aid to which they are at present entitled from the Treasury,—unless indeed they chose to divest themselves of the denominational character, and become purely National schools? These 1000 schools have acquired certain rights, of which it would be very difficult now to deprive them. At all events, even if some of these institutions, such as the 300 belonging to the Free Church, were willing at once to cease to be denominational, and to accept School Committees chosen by the ratepayers, as managers, it is vain to expect that the Episcopalians or Roman Catholics, or even the General Assembly schools, would be inclined to do so. At the same time it is clear, that all sects and denominations must be placed on precisely the same footing. Whatever privilege is accorded to one denomination must be accorded to another. If the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics are allowed still to claim their share in the Parliamentary grant, the schools of other denominations must be allowed to claim it also. All should have the option to convert their schools into purely National schools, but either all or none should be compelled by law to do so.

What course, then, was open to the Commissioners? It was obviously impossible to cast aside those 3000 denominational schools. Most of them were efficient, and many were receiving aid from the Parliamentary grant. As we have said, any attempt to transfer them to the rates without the sanction of the ratepayers, must have failed. In other words, neither the ratepayers nor the managers would have submitted to a compulsory conversion of denominational into undenominational schools. The only course that remained was to adopt these denominational schools as they stand—to leave the existing management untouched, but to make provision that the school shall be efficient in every respect, and shall not be used for sectarian purposes:

in other words, that the school, though managed by the members of a particular denomination, shall be used for national purposes. The schools thus incorporated into the National system are styled by the Commissioners Adopted schools. It is to be observed, however, that in the case of any denominational school now receiving Parliamentary aid, the managers will have practically no choice whether their school shall or shall not be adopted. For unless adopted the school cannot become National, and unless National cannot continue to receive any Parliamentary grant. The managers therefore must either forego this grant or get their school adopted. So with respect to any denominational school which does not receive Parliamentary aid, the managers can never entitle themselves to any such aid unless the school is adopted also ; it is therefore obviously their interest to have this done. But further, it is important to observe the effect of Adoption. It is true that the managers will continue to elect a master, holding a certificate of competency, and to superintend the instruction. But the school will be open to all ; it will possess all these characteristics of a National school which have already been described ; and particularly, it will be subject to the jurisdiction of the Board. The powers vested in the Board will very greatly modify the powers of the managers ; and a school once adopted will never be able to withdraw itself from the jurisdiction under which it has once placed itself. Thenceforward the managers of the school will be bound to obey the injunctions of the Board ; to repair and enlarge the school buildings at their own expense, and generally to use their school for purely National purposes. It should seem that schools in this predicament are much more National than Denominational in character.

But the Commissioners distinctly intimate that this privilege of being adopted must be restricted. Their conviction is, that the denominational system in Scotland is unnecessary. This is apparent indeed from the fact that the children of parents of every denomination attend the schools in Scotland promiscuously ; and although it would be extravagant, even if it were possible, to throw aside existing denominational schools, still it is essential that no such school shall, for the future, be erected by the aid of the Treasury, or, after a fixed time, be adopted into the National system. No more important resolution has been adopted by the Commissioners. The effect of it is, that for the future the progress of the denominational or sectarian system in Scotland is arrested. Henceforward all schools which are recognised as public schools must be under popular management, and unconnected with any particular denomination. Nor have the Commissioners stopped even here. They contem-

plate the probability of all the existing schools being converted into schools of a more popular and less sectarian character, or, in other words, into purely National schools.

It is probable that this part of the scheme will excite some opposition. The leaders of the Church of Scotland have never been anxious to surrender power; and the transfer of a parish school from the control of the Minister and Heritors to the Rate-payers will, of course, be represented as a diminution of clerical authority, and the destruction of religion. No doubt, when a parochial school has been converted into a new National school, the Minister of the parish will cease to superintend the school as Minister, and the Presbytery of the bounds will cease to pay their annual visit. But, on the other hand, it is certain that the Minister, if he has the confidence of the parish, will be one of the School-Committee, and will probably be aided by the other Ministers of the neighbourhood. It is also certain that if the Presbytery cease to pay their annual visit, Her Majesty's Inspector will take their place, and will come with an authority which no Presbytery can venture to claim. These objections, feeble as they are, of course proceed upon the supposition that the superintendence of the Minister and the annual visit of the Presbytery are really effectual, and that the religious knowledge possessed by the children is all that could be wished. The evidence collected by the Commissioners scarcely supports this view. As to the examinations of the Presbytery, the secretary of the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland does not venture to go further than to say that it is a 'salutary examination,' while Dr. Guthrie says, 'I never attached any importance to the Presbyterial examination. I remember it was a very pleasant meeting with the brethren, but that was the amount of it.' Mr. Nicolson says, with a certain humour, 'that it comes in early spring with the March winds, but usually less severe, a most excellent and time-honoured practice; full of interest and temporary stimulus to the school, but more useful often as an occasion for showing what the scholars know than for testing how far they are ignorant.' Nor indeed does it appear that the Presbyteries are very severe or accurate in their judgment of schools. The following is a specimen of a school which the Presbytery pronounced 'fair,' but which the Assistant-Commissioner considered to be 'bad:—

'Bible Knowledge.—We asked them some questions in the historical part of the Gospels, but they knew absolutely nothing. It is hardly possible to conceive the hopelessness of their ignorance. We asked them to mention any miracles that Christ performed, but could get no answer till the master came to the rescue, and by prompting

them in everything but the last letters of the last word, he managed to get them to achieve one or two correct, and one somewhat inadvertent answer. The examination was in this way :—

‘ *Question.*—Mention any miracle Christ performed?—No answer.

‘ *Master.*—Come, now, some miracle? “He turned water into wi—.”

‘ *Children.*—Wine.

‘ *Master.*—Quite right, “He turned water into wine.”

‘ *Question.*—Where did he perform this miracle?—No answer.

‘ *Master, for children.*—Where did he perform this miracle? “In Cana of Gal—.”

‘ *Children.*—Galilee.

‘ *Master.*—Quite right, “In Cana of Galilee.”

‘ *Question.*—On what occasion was this miracle performed?—No answer.

‘ *Master.*—On what occasion? you know this, “At a mar— mar—.”

‘ *Children.*—“At a marriage.”

‘ *Master.*—Quite right, “At a marriage.”

‘ As the examination proceeded in this way, the children answering not one word, only the last syllable, we came to the names of some of the disciples.

‘ *Question.*—Can you tell what Peter did to Christ shortly before his crucifixion?—As usual, no answer.

‘ *Master.*—Come, now, you know what Peter did?—“Peter betray—betray—.”

‘ *Children.*—“Betrayed him.”

‘ *Master.*—Yes, quite right, “Peter betrayed him.”

‘ It was suggested that it was not Peter who betrayed Christ, and we asked who did; but this time both master and children were dumb. Presently the master said that the class was engaged on the Old Testament, and that they knew it better than the New. They turned up a chapter in Kings, and read a few verses with great difficulty, and then he proceeded to examine them on these verses, the children keeping their books open.

‘ *Question.*—What happened in the time of David? Look verse 5.

‘ *Children, all together.*—“It happened.”

‘ *Question.*—What is “it?” Look two lines further on.

‘ *Children.*—“A famine.”

‘ What is a famine? (question interpolated.)

‘ *Answer, prompted by Master.*—“A de—dear—.”

‘ *Children.*—“A dearth.”

‘ *Question.*—And what is a dearth?

‘ *Children.*—“A famine.” ’

Though considerable importance is attached to a knowledge of the facts in the Old and New Testaments, or to what has been termed sacred history and biography, still there is no doubt Mr. Nicolson is correct when he says that the Shorter Catechism is looked upon as the proper text-book for ‘religious instruction,’ in the higher sense of the term, which goes beyond mere names

and historical events; and it is learned, he adds, by a larger number of children than read the Scriptures. According to the traditions of the country, 'religious instruction,' as it is called, is regarded as the very corner-stone of the Scottish system of education, and is generally believed to be 'well attended to,' whatever be the state of the rest. 'I am afraid, however,' says Mr. Nicolson, 'that there is considerable delusion in that belief.' A portion of the Scriptures is daily read, and a portion of the Catechism daily repeated. So far, to adopt the usual form to be found in the Reports of the Presbytery, religious instruction is 'duly attended to.' 'But,' the same witness says, 'any stricter application of that phrase to the general mode of communicating this kind of instruction in the schools, as distinguished from other branches, is more than my experience warrants.' The number of scholars who can readily answer questions on any part of the Old Testament history without prompting or routine order of examination is very limited, and the number who show any familiarity with the New Testament is still more limited. As to the Catechism, the knowledge of the children with respect to it is not more satisfactory. It is true that they are carefully instructed in it so far as the repetition of the words goes. But the repetition is only mechanical. As to this, Mr. Nicolson says:—

'How this mechanical acquisition of mere words may be accompanied with total ignorance of their meaning is a fact perhaps too well known to need illustration. Let me, however, give a few examples to make plain what I mean. The question is asked, "What is faith in Jesus Christ?" The answer is given, "Faith in Jesus Christ is a saving grace," etc. etc., correctly as in the Catechism. Q. "Now, what do you mean by a saving grace?" Total blank, and no glimpse of a rational answer from anybody. Q. "What is meant by "receiving and resting" on Jesus Christ for salvation?" Profound silence. "Christ is 'freely offered in the gospel;' what does that mean?" Long silence; one intelligent little girl at length suggesting, after much varying of the question, that "freely offered" meant "without paying anything." Q. "Are you a sinner?" "Yes." Q. "Is everybody a sinner?" "Yes." Q. "What is a sinner?" Long pause, after which one answers, "A bad person." Q. "Is the minister a bad person?" Sensation, and at last, "No." Q. "Then is he a sinner?" Impenetrable silence.'

Those who have studied the more abstruse parts of the Shorter Catechism, will possibly doubt whether any child should be expected to understand the words which they seem to be able to repeat by memory. And even Dr. Guthrie tells us that he does not think the Catechism fitted for children. On the contrary, he would prefer a more sensible and catholic

formulary to be framed, by shutting up in a room such men as the late Archbishop of Canterbury, the late Dr. Bunting, and the late John Angell James, and telling them that they were not to get out till they had made a Catechism for children of all denominations. Dr. Guthrie seems to have great reliance either upon the pangs of hunger or upon the Christian liberality of such theologians. For his opinion is, that if they began their deliberations after breakfast, they would, as he said, 'have their dinner at the usual hour of five o'clock like other people.'

Dr. Guthrie, indeed, scarcely ventures to hope that the people of Scotland will forego the mysterious benefit of teaching their children a Catechism which he considers 'unsuitable.' But until some more reasonable and effective mode of instructing children in religion is adopted than that which at present prevails, it was scarcely to be expected that the Commissioners would be deterred from allowing the Heritors the right to transfer the school to the ratepayers, by the fear that scholars would cease to acquire a knowledge of the Scriptures or to learn and understand the Catechism.

The plan of the Commissioners for converting an Adopted into a new National school is this :—

The Heritors and Minister, in the case of the Parochial schools, and the managers in the case of the Denominational schools, may, by a vote of two-thirds, determine to divest themselves of their privileges as managers, and transfer the school to a School Committee elected by the ratepayers. Sufficient securities, however, are provided, to prevent any Denominational school being converted into a purely National school without due notice and deliberation. In this way the Parochial and the Adopted schools would assume a thoroughly national character. The chief advantage to be obtained by the managers of these schools by such a change would be, that on the one hand the Heritors would be relieved from the payment of the schoolmaster's salary, though they would be liable as ratepayers ; while in the case of the other schools, the managers, instead of relying upon voluntary subscriptions, would be entitled to claim a share in the school rate which it is purposed to levy in every burgh or parish. Much unnecessary discussion has arisen as to the probable rate at which Denominational schools will be converted into purely National schools. There can be little doubt that at present the Denominational schools are a considerable burden upon the resources both of the Free Church and of the Establishment, and that these bodies will gladly relieve themselves of this burden by transferring their schools to the rates. But whether the process of transformation be slow or swift, it is certain

that the progress of the Denominational system in Scotland will be effectually stopped. After the passing of the proposed Bill, no new Denominational school will be erected by money supplied out of the public funds ; and no existing school will continue to receive any public money until it assume more or less of a National character, and place itself under the Board, whose duty it will be to insist that it is thoroughly efficient. The object of the Commissioners has been to furnish the people of Scotland at once with a system of efficient schools, adequate to the wants of the whole population, and to prepare the way for the attainment of a uniform and thoroughly National system.

It would be vain to expect that a scheme, framed on such principles, will meet with the unanimous approbation of the rival Churches. Nor is there any injustice in saying that the eighteen noblemen and gentlemen who have signed this Report have more disinterested views on the subject of Education than the leaders of the various Ecclesiastical parties. The object of the Commissioners throughout has been to advance as far in the direction of uniformity as they could with safety, or with any hope of practical success in Parliament. After a patient and laborious inquiry, they have laid their scheme before the public ; it remains to be seen whether the majority of the clergy will accept it, or will succeed in persuading Parliament to reject it, and thus deprive the people of Scotland of those advantages in the way of Education which they have hitherto so earnestly desired, but desired in vain.

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